



DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS

2ND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

**CONSOLIDATING THE GROUND
TOWARDS SOCIALIST POWER!**

13th – 16th December 2019

NASREC

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ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTER AND RE-DESIGN

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1) INTRODUCTION

1. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is an economic emancipation movement founded in the year 2013, as a political party. When measured against political parties founded post the 1994 first inclusive elections in South Africa, the EFF has recorded tremendous quantitative and qualitative growth. The EFF effectively outdid all political organisations founded post-1994, in terms of rapid quantitative expansion and qualitative contributions to South Africa's political, ideological and parliamentary discourse. In its few years of existence the EFF has registered numerous organisational, political, ideological and economic victories. These range from real impact on the lives of ordinary people in various corners of South Africa, to determining and guiding the country's political discourse, and importantly changes at a systemic level that have seen to a considerable improvement in the lives and conditions of black people.
2. The strength of the EFF as a political party that intends taking over government is, however, not adequate when compared to the ruling party in South Africa, and when measured against its own potential and capacity to grow. In a country, the foundation of whose economy is super-exploitation and oppression of the working class and black people in general, the EFF as the only available dependable instrument in the hands of the working class ought to have an impact on society much bigger than it is at present. To comprehend this, the political and organisational strength of the EFF must be measured against the ruling party, and not against the smaller political parties because none of them exist with a deliberate intention, agenda and programme to take over political power and advance society towards a socialist and pan Africanist alternative.
3. The EFF is an **economic emancipation movement for socialism with a pan-Africanist and internationalist outlook**- and its comprehension and appreciation of socialism is located within the ideological commitment to Marxism-Leninism and Fanon's thoughts. What distinguishes Marxist scientific socialism to what is known as utopian socialism is its commitment to political action. When scientific socialism was distinguished from utopian socialism, the 1st International Resolution on working class organisation said; **"considering, that against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes... that this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end - the abolition of classes"**.
4. This formulation represents the original foundation of political parties representing the working class. And the central kernel in this formulation is the claim that the **"working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes"**. The EFF is a political party of the working class, and it ought, and should as such distinguish itself from parties of the propertied classes.

5. This **Organisational Re-design Discussion Document** is styled as an organic contribution to how the EFF ought and should be positioned as an impactful political party of the working class and as a party that must win political power from **those** who have it now, capture the State, take over the economy and redistribute it equally amongst all people. In doing so, the document will focus on the following areas;
- a. What is the Economic Freedom Fighters?
 - b. What is an ideal Organisation, the Economic Freedom Fighters?
 - c. What should define a Central Command Team of the EFF?
 - d. What should define a Province of the EFF?
 - e. What should define a Region of the EFF?
 - f. What should define a Sub-Region of the EFF?
 - g. What should define a Branch of the EFF?
 - h. What is the current state of the Economic Freedom Fighters?
 - i. What is to be done?
 - j. What must be avoided?
 - k. Organisational re-design
 - l. Specific Constitutional Amendment Provisions.
6. The outright and unapologetic purpose of this Organisational Re-design Perspective is to build an organisation that is capable of mobilising all social forces behind the struggle for economic freedom, win political power, govern and lead a political Pan-Africanist programme to decolonise the African continent in its entirety. To achieve such, the EFF must not be a clone of any of the existing organisations. The EFF ought and should be a modern revolutionary mass organisation that maximally appreciates the new technological developments/ innovations and communication platforms, without de-centring the need for direct grassroots organising, mobilisation, education and agitation. The redesign document aims to build an organisation that will win over mass power, take political power, take over the state, and reclaim the economy on behalf of the working class and property-less majority.

2) WHAT IS THE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS? THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE EFF

7. As a revolutionary mass and ideologically grounded organisation, the EFF has several manifestations, yet retains a singularity of purpose. This means that despite being a single organisation, the EFF manifests itself in different forms in the same way anti-colonial political parties manifested themselves as liberation movements, mass movements, underground movements, civil organisations, and armed liberation forces. To completely understand the EFF as an organisation, it is important to understand it in all its manifestations. Accordingly, the EFF manifestations include:
1. THE ORGANISATIONAL MANIFESTATION.
 2. THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL MANIFESTATION.
 3. THE ACTIVIST, CAMPAIGNING AND MASS MOVEMENT MANIFESTATION.
 4. THE GOVERNANCE MANIFESTATION.
 5. THE PAN-AFRICANIST AND INTERNATIONALIST MANIFESTATION.
 6. THE EFF STUDENTS' COMMAND MANIFESTATION.

8. Reality is that every organisation manifests itself in different forms to different people and in different contexts.

3) THE ORGANISATIONAL MANIFESTATION OF THE EFF

9. The EFF Founding Manifesto, adopted at the National Assembly of the 26th and 27th of July 2013 says, correctly that the, **"ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS is a radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers' movements, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and lobby groups under the umbrella of pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation"**. Despite bringing all these streams together, the EFF is a membership-based organisation, meaning that each and every person who joins the EFF, joins as an individual and is bound by its Constitution, Code of Revolutionary Discipline and upholds the non-negotiable pillars and principles enshrined in the Founding Manifesto.
10. The Constitution of the EFF establishes structures of the organisation under the principle of democratic centralism. Currently, EFF has individual members, who should necessarily belong to a ward based branch as demarcated by the Demarcation Board. Each branch of the EFF is required to have a minimum of 100 members before it can convene a Branch People's Assembly (BPA) to elect a fifteen (15) member Branch Command Team (BCT), that includes a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer and ten (10) additional members. BCTs have a term of twenty-four (24) months in office and are responsible for coordination of EFF work at ward level, mostly; recruitment of new members, induction, and campaigns
11. As of July 2019, the EFF has branches in not less than 80% of South Africa's officially demarcated wards, meaning that the organisation has minimum of hundred (100) members in 80% of the demarcated wards in South Africa. All branches convene BPAs, and once 90% of branches are launched in a region (demarcated as District or Metropolitan Municipalities), they convene a Regional People's Assembly (RPA) to elect a fifteen (15) member Regional Command Team (RCT). RPAs happen at three (3) year intervals and are attended by delegates from all branches on the basis of minimum 50% representation. Currently, the EFF has offices, addresses and staff members in fifty-three (53) regions of South Africa, and these provide administrative support to members and branches of the EFF on a daily basis.
 - a. When all regions have convened their RPAs, and when 90% of wards in a province have been launched and elected their branch leadership, the province convenes a Provincial People's Assembly (PPA) to elect a twenty-one (21) member Provincial Command Team (PCT). PCTs of the EFF are constituted of the twenty-one (21) directly elected members and the regional chairpersons and secretaries elected in the RPAs. PPAs happen at four (4) year intervals and are responsible for EFF work at provincial level and provide constant support to regions. Members of the PCT are allocated regions which they provide constant support to on all organisational and political matters.

- b. The highest decision-making body in the EFF is the National People's Assembly (NPA), which is convened once every five (5) years. The 1st NPA took place in December 2014, in Bloemfontein and was attended by elected delegates from all provinces and regions. The NPA elects a Central Command Team (CCT), which becomes the highest decision-making body in between NPAs and meets on a quarterly basis to receive reports from all regions and provinces to determine the next course of action. The 1st meeting of the CCT elects a fifteen (15) member War Council, whose responsibilities include constant evaluation of the work done and determination of the next course of action in between CCT meetings.

4) THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL MANIFESTATION OF THE EFF

12. The EFF is the only ideologically sound political organisation in South Africa and possibly in the African continent today. The ideological perspective of the EFF is outlined in its Founding Manifesto, which outlines the key historical challenges of the oppressed peoples of the African continent, and clearly defines what becomes the next course of action for the oppressed and conquered peoples of the Southern tip of the African continent. The Founding Manifesto is one of the most important contributions to South Africa's political struggles and should be read in the same league as the Freedom Charter.
13. The EFF Founding Manifesto says; **"the EFF is a radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles. The EFF will be the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws"**.
14. Furthermore, the Founding Manifesto says; **"the EFF draws inspiration from the broad Marxist-Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in their analyses of the state, imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keeps the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation"**.
15. Of course, there is a litany of prejudices, misconceptions and falsehoods that are associated with the EFF's ideological tools of analysis and guide to action. Many organisations that uphold Marxism-Leninism are often associated with the degenerated workers' states and autocracies that came to define Eastern Europe for a great part of the 20th century. This, however, does not negate the fact that Marxism-Leninism constitutes a body of ideas, thoughts, and propositions which can sustain a movement, even when the founders of such a movement are no longer physically present.

16. As explained in *The Coming Revolution*, "by adopting Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian thought, EFF is placed in the unique position to articulate black demands without shame or hesitation. EFF is not wobbled by concerns of what the white section of the anti-capitalist tradition thinks or feels, but it places black liberation at the core of its endeavours while extending an invitation to all peoples and races to participate in the struggle for economic emancipation for all. Accepting the uniqueness of the African experience liberates the language that shapes the demands that the EFF makes and the claims it presses against oppression. The meeting of Marx, Lenin and Fanon is the most wholesome development in the history of struggle against imperialism, capitalism and racism. This gift completing this circle maybe be recognised by generations of fighters to come as the most important gem of liberation".
17. *The Coming Revolution* further elaborates that, "[T]he Marxist-Leninist tools of analysis and guide to action dictate that, as a movement, the EFF is fighting for socialism and there is no doubt about that". Furthermore, "The scientific socialism EFF ascribes to should necessarily lead to the development of the productive forces, and ensure greater workers' control of the economy, and we have no hesitation about saying that. There are various interpretations and even distortions of what Deng Xiaoping meant, but an observation he made that "Socialism means eliminating poverty. Pauperism is not socialism, still less communism" is correct".
18. *The* aim of the EFF is to defeat the racial capitalism that began with colonialism in South Africa, and that was consolidated and continued under apartheid oppression. As an anti-capitalist and socialist movement, the EFF is required to thoroughly understand the nature and character of South African capitalism in order to know what kind of an animal we are dealing with in the struggle for socialism.
19. The EFF's usage of Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian tools of analysis and guides to action constitute an elementary feature of the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. Replacement of these tools of analysis will subject our movement to a shapeless organisation, only obsessed with the attainment of political power and no real transformation of the state and society for the benefit of all. For the EFF, Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian tools of analysis and guides to action are not dogma, but ideological instruments that will guarantee our movement mass, political and economic victory over the bourgeoisie.
20. *The* EFF Founding Manifesto clearly spells out the non-negotiable cardinal pillars in the war for economic emancipation. These pillars are a frame that holds the organisation together and are equally important. These are pillars that will never be negotiated. It is their realisation that will constitute victory of the economic emancipation struggle. The reason why these pillars are non-negotiable is because the EFF exists for a generational purpose and does not intend to brainstorm solutions every time there is a People's Assembly. Whatever additional solutions the EFF members and leadership collectives provides should seek to attain the seven (7) non-negotiable cardinal pillars.

21. Politically, the EFF appreciates that there were struggles for **emancipation** before the existence of the EFF. In the relay race of the anti-colonial struggle, the EFF represents a generation that has picked up the baton and is running towards the finish line. The first generation are those that resisted colonial occupation, followed by those that fought against colonial expansion, followed by those that fought against dispossession, followed by those who fought for inclusion, and we, the EFF, are a generation that is fighting for the return of the land, the wealth and all it brings to the rightful owners.
22. The attainment of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime is our strategic mission. Towards this, we have identified 7 (seven) non-negotiable cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime. These are:
- i. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
 - ii. Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.
 - iii. Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.
 - iv. Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
 - v. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wages in order to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor, close the apartheid wage gap and promote rapid career paths for Africans in the workplace.
 - vi. Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.
 - vii. Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.
23. The EFF strategic mission is therefore attainment of these goals, and in the progression towards the attainment of these, the EFF will take tactical decisions, some of which will appear as not immediately revolutionary. The ultimate realisation of these goals will come with the attainment of political power, and pursuit of political power require superior tactics and capacity to win the people over to the side of the revolutionary forces.
24. EFF elections manifestos, policies and articulations that are not contained in the **Founding Manifesto** are informed by the left leaning perspectives outlined here. It should be highlighted that there is no mention of Joseph Stalin in the EFF as the liberals would love society to believe.

5) THE ACTIVIST, CAMPAIGNING AND MASS MOVEMENT MANIFESTATION OF THE EFF.

25. As an activist, campaigning mass movement, the EFF is a weapon in the hands of the economically excluded, the landless and oppressed peoples of South Africa. The EFF is also a weapon against structural and individual racism. The EFF is a beacon of hope and inspiration for a generation that seeks to fight for economic emancipation. At all times, the EFF remains cognisant of the fact that the struggle should be buttressed by mass mobilisation. The EFF abides by the sagacity of Amilcar Cabral's injunction that, "[H]ide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories".
26. The EFF's mass character is not an after-thought, it is a core constitutive element of the organisation. This entails that everything the EFF does should always be for the benefit of the people and should always involve the people.
27. In the **Founding Manifesto** the EFF is defined as "a radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles". "The EFF will be", continues the **Founding Manifesto**, "the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movements in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws."
28. Since its formation, the EFF has remained true to its characterisation as a protest movement, has led a number of community protests to demand justice and services on numerous occasions:
- i. The EFF can directly trace its origins to the tragic massacre of 34 mineworkers by police in Marikana in 2012, at the time when the leaders of the EFF were being systematically pushed out from the ANC fold. EFF leaders were one of very few allowed by Marikana workers to intervene in quest to find a solution days before the massacre. The EFF has remained steadfast in fighting the noble struggle of a salary of R12 500 for mineworkers. In parliament, the very first motion tabled for debate by the EFF was for fair remuneration of mineworkers, a motion inspired by the brave workers of Marikana.
 - ii. Free Quality Education: the call for universal free quality education directly emanates from the EFF and was led in the main by EFF student activists. This struggle coincides with the formation of the EFF Students Command, which has been relentless in fighting for access to institutions of higher learning, as well as free education across the country. This led to the EFF Students Commands gaining trust amongst young people at universities, who voted the Students Command to lead respective SRC's, even at universities traditionally considered to be liberal, such as UCT and WITS.
 - iii. Land Expropriation without Compensation: No other party can claim to have raised awareness about black people's landlessness more than the EFF. EFF activists across the country have been leading community land struggles and forcefully repossessing land for urban settlements.

- iv. Insourcing of workers: the EFF correctly identified the practice of outsourcing workers to labour brokers as repressive, and thus took a conscious decision to fight for the insourcing of workers at universities and in municipalities. This initiative has had massive benefits for the workers. The Johannesburg City Council adopted an EFF motion to insource workers, and a number of universities including Wits and UCT have also insourced workers, viz cleaners and gardeners, freeing them from the slave-like conditions of labour brokering.
29. These are but a few examples of how the EFF has significantly managed to maintain and enhance its role as a grassroots movement, responding and leading community protests on key issues; and using the opportunity in legislative bodies such as parliament, provincial legislatures and municipalities to leverage immediate benefits for the people.
30. The ability of the EFF to use its grassroots support to both highlight and resolve the problem of urban land shortage, and its ability to use persuasive arguments to win key debates in parliament such as the motion for land expropriation without compensation demonstrate rare qualitative ability within the revolutionary movement to change the nature of power relations in society without necessarily being in charge of state power.
31. This is important for progressive forces in the country in many respects, but primarily in exposing the limitations of puritanical approaches to the revolution. It is illustrative of the fact that in the current conjuncture in South Africa, the revolution is of necessity a matter of strategy and tactics, and the ability to constitute key, community level struggles and make these local articulations of the revolutionary discourse at a national and international level

6) THE GOVERNANCE MANIFESTATION OF THE EFF

32. The EFF participated in the 2014 national and provincial elections and received 6.35% of the votes which translates into sixty-one (61) public representatives. These comprise of thirty-one (31) Members of Parliament, twenty-five (25) of whom were members of the National Assembly (NA) and six (6) of whom were members of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). In total the party had thirty (30) Members of the Provincial Legislatures (MPLs) spread throughout the nine Provincial Legislatures of the Republic.
33. In the 2016 general local government elections, the EFF received 8.25% of the votes, an increase in all provinces compared to 2014, and this translated into eight hundred and twenty seven (827) Councillors in two hundred and twenty one (221) of the two hundred and thirty seven (237) municipal councils. It is important to highlight the fact that the EFF holds the swing vote in eleven (11) municipal councils, which include four (4) metropolitan councils, one (1) district council and seven (7) local municipalities.

34. In the 2019 national and provincial elections, the EFF received 10,70% of the votes, which meant an increase in the EFF's share of the vote in all provinces compared to both 2014 and 2016. This translated to forty-four (44) Members of the National Assembly, nine (9) Members of the National Council of Provinces, and fifty (50) Members of Provincial Legislatures. The EFF is the only major political party that grew its numerical share of the votes in the 2019 general elections.
35. It is on account of the EFF's exertions that the country is today able to speak of a people's parliament with a recognisable ethic to hold both government (and its institutions) and private capital accountable. Parliament has as a consequence become a respectable body, feared by senior government officials and managers of state-owned institutions and private capital alike.
36. In the past, parliament and other legislatures used to undermine the powers of Chapter 9 constitutional institutions intended to foster democracy. On account of the EFF's constitutional court bid against the Speaker of the NA and others, remedial arrived at by the Public Protector in terms of section 182 (1) (c) of the Constitution is now considered binding unless taken for judicial review. Whereas prior to the EFF case room for doubt existed, post the case it is no longer so.
37. Today, the tax affairs of and the moving of money by untouchable multinational corporations through illicit financial flows, profit shifting, tax avoidance and mispricing have all attracted the critical eye of the public eye because of the EFF. In due course, the EFF will table a private member bill, named General Anti-Avoidance Tax Bill. When passed it will make or declare all forms of aggressive tax avoidance illegal.
38. Similarly, because of the EFF, the National Assembly has adopted a resolution for the constitution of the Joint Constitutional Review Committee to review and amend Section 25 of the Constitution to allow government to expropriate land without compensation for equal redistribution for all use. The Committee has commenced its work and is going to hold public consultation processes in each province as per the resolution sponsored by the EFF.
39. More than twenty-five 25 years into democracy, unions and civil society failed by and large to persuade government to introduce a national minimum wage despite concrete evidence elsewhere in the world where it has been implemented that it reduces income inequality gap, poverty and support economies to grow. To date government has introduced a national minimum wage bill in parliament, and the EFF is participating actively in the committee. The EFF was amongst the first political parties to persuade the Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Labour to allow for more time to engage on the bill instead of allowing the African National Congress (ANC) to steamroll it through using its majority despite the obviously shocking flaws like the R20 per hour rate stipulated therein. The EFF remains resolute that a R4 500 national minimum wage is possible and must be secured through a democratic parliamentary process.

40. The state of public healthcare in South Africa is in crisis. Our people go to hospitals not to get care and recovery but to be humiliated, condemned and sickened to death. Our public healthcare institutions have no basic facilities and lack skilled healthcare staff. There is no attention given to hygiene, our clinics and hospitals are riddled with pests, rats, pollution and generally unclean. As though all of that is not enough some of our public healthcare facilities do not have water, electricity and sanitation. Throughout all legislatures and councils where the EFF has public representatives, we have tabled motions to ensure that government builds and operates clinics for 24 hours, seven days a week. It has since become the ambition of local, provincial and national governments to do so.
41. EFF public representatives in all legislatures and municipal councils across the country continue to record achievements that have meaningful impact on people's material condition. To mention but a few, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature passed a motion for all provincial departments to insource workers and cancel all KPMG contracts; in the City of Johannesburg, the council passed an EFF sponsored resolutions to insource general workers, prevent evictions in municipal owned buildings and allocate land to people who can afford to build their own houses; in Nelson Mandela Bay, through a consistent call for insourcing the council eventually adopted a motion to insource all security guards with a their salaries increasing from R4 000 to R11 000 per month. These are but a few among many other meaningful achievements.

7) THE PAN-AFRICANIST AND INTERNATIONALIST MANIFESTATION OF THE EFF

42. Outside of the anti-colonial movements, the EFF is the only organisation that has inspired with its ideals the organisation of economic emancipation movements in other parts of the African continent. It is not a secret that, although still at nascent stages the Economic Freedom Fighters organisations in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Liberia and Zambia draw inspiration from the EFF in South Africa.
43. This inspiration stems from the reality that the EFF's mission for economic emancipation is not constrained by the colonial borders bequeathed to our generation by colonial conquerors. The ultimate aim of the EFF is the development of the entire African continent, its unity and free movement of its peoples and goods. This is articulated in the **Founding Manifesto** of the EFF.
44. The EFF itself draws its inspiration from the Fanonian school of thought, primarily because, the organisation recognizes that for South Africa and the African continent to develop there needs to be a thoroughgoing process of decolonisation to free African people from social, cultural and economic dictates that are essentially anti-African, and hinder the growth of the African continent.
45. Cardinal Pillar #6 of the **Founding Manifesto** advocates for; "[M]assive investment in the Development of the African Economy", and that this investment must emphasize on "massive footprints concerning skills transfer, the development of the communities where investments happen, the payment of tax, reinvestments, corporate social investment, safety standards, compliance with labour laws and regulations and the fundamental economic development of these countries".

46. Furthermore, the **Founding Manifesto** directs that South African should provide strategic leadership to Pan-African economic development and trade. It recognizes that South Africa cannot develop to her full potential if the African continent lags behind. It further says; "government should establish a sovereign wealth fund, which will prudently invest in the development of the African economy".
47. This must be done in order to attain economic justice for the dispossessed African people. To that effect the **Founding Manifesto** says; "the question of economic justice is fundamental to the political programme of the Economic Freedom Fighters in South Africa and should be promoted actively in the African continent. This includes the regulation and abolishment of foreign control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy in South Africa and the African continent. The EFF political programme should deliberately provide ideological, political and economic support to countries that seek to discontinue foreign control in order to take ownership of their own economic resources within the context of providing assistance where there is difficulty".
48. The EFF recognizes that Pan-African unity must however not be narrowly understood as concerned with racial unity within nation-states, as often perverted by those who view themselves as more radical than others. As Julius Nyerere noted, "**African nationalism is meaningless, dangerous, anachronistic, if it is not, at the same time, Pan-Africanism**".
49. The Pan-Africanist manifestation in the EFF therefore seeks to unite all African people, wherever they may be in the universe, towards the common goal of advancing African interests and African development. This must also entail measures to fight against looting of treasures, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, under the name of trade, based on unequal, rather than mutual exchange.
50. The most seminal work done thus far towards the realisation of the goal of African unity remains the Abuja Treaty, aimed at establishing a common African Economic Community. This has not been realised because of weak leadership in the continent, and the continuing stranglehold that former colonizers and new economic colonizers have over the fate of African nations.
51. This must be done through "**the ultimate integration of the African continent through the erosion and eventual elimination of unnecessary borders**" as stated in the **Founding Manifesto**. The EFF is also committed to "building solidarity and working relationships with all movements in the world that identify ideologically with anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism". For this reason, the EFF stands in solidarity with the people of Palestine, of Western Sahara, West Papua, Cuba, Venezuela and all others involved in a concerted struggle against imperialism.

8) THE EFF STUDENT'S COMMAND MANIFESTATION

52. The Constitution of the EFF establishes the EFF Students' Command (EFFSC) as a relatively autonomous organisation within the EFF, which must mobilise students behind the banner of economic freedom in our lifetime, whilst championing their interests. In its Constitution, the EFFSC outlines its founding principles, which are;

- i. Mobilising students behind the struggle for economic freedom, embodied in the EFF **Founding Manifesto**.
- ii. Pursuit of radical higher education transformation with the aim towards free, quality education.
- iii. Championing the interests of students and all workers in institutions of higher learning.
- iv. Building a dynamic relationship between students and community struggles and campaigns.
- v. Participating in progressive international campaigns and programmes.
- vi. Promoting academic and research excellence and progress.
- vii. Contributing to intellectual and ideological discourse in a manner that seek to promote the struggle for economic freedom.

53. Since its formation in June 2015, the EFFSC has championed students' interests and fought for the introduction of fee-free education. The EFFSC is leading in many institutions of higher learning, TVET colleges and continues to inspire confidence on the capacity of the EFF to lead now and in the future. Many students are in institutions of higher learning today pursuing different qualifications because of the assistance of the EFFSC.

54. The EFF provides all forms of necessary support to the EFFSC, yet gives it the necessary autonomy to build its own organisation because such serves as an important platform to mould future leaders of the EFF.

9) WHAT IS AN IDEAL ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS AS AN ORGANISATION?

55. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is an organisation for agitating for political power and for it to achieve its aims and objectives, it ought and should seize political power, take over the state, capture the economy in order to redistribute the wealth to all the people. In whatever form taking over political power requires mass people support, be it democratic, mass or military overthrow of government. In this regard the EFF **Founding Manifesto** claims; "[T]he forms in which the EFF contests political power will, from time to time, be reviewed in the light of prevailing circumstances, but the primary role of mass organisation and activism, as a means to raise the political consciousness of the people, will remain the bedrock of our political practice".

56. An ideal EFF will be an organisation which is (THE DREAM):

- i. A Marxist-Leninist, Fanonian pan-continental Movement with unquestionable ability to lead the whole of society towards economic freedom, comprised of community based activist branches and members, affiliated workers' unions, civil society organisations, research and educational institutions, professional organisations (Doctors for Economic Freedom, Lawyers for Economic Freedom, Engineers for Economic Freedom, Teachers for Economic Freedom, etc).
- ii. An organisation that has built adequate mass, political and ideological power to win elections and provide progressive, decisive and responsive socialist government at national, provincial and local level.
- iii. An organisation with maximal capacity to train, develop, guide, oversee and monitor all its deployees in all spheres of the state.
- iv. A mass campaigning organisation that consistently wins over members to the struggle for economic freedom and is active even in the period when there are no elections.
- v. A Pan-Continental Movement with ability to win elections not only in South Africa, but in other parts of the African continent.
- vi. An organisation with elected structures at all levels that have an independent capacity to organise and mobilise society behind the struggle for economic freedom and assist ordinary people with everyday challenges.
- vii. An organisation with functional EFF owned offices at national, provincial, regional, sub-regional and branch level, which interact with members of the community constantly.
- viii. A fully functional organisation with an optimally functioning EFF Women's Command, Youth and Students' Command, and ultimately a Young Pioneers Movement.
- ix. An organisation that maximally uses information technology and other forms of technology for internal systems and communication with the entire membership.
- x. An organisation with a high technology membership system that knows each and every member, their address, gender, race, employment status, and additionally with capacity to produce membership cards within a week of members joining.
- xi. An organisation with excellent research and policy development capacity to guide all Fighters and Commissars deployed in all spheres of government.
- xii. An organisation with an institutionalised political school that produces the best graduates in various fields of study and has internal capacity to send a minimum 500 students to the best universities across the world every year.
- xiii. An organisation with a sound relationship with other fraternal organisations on the African continent and other parts of the world.
- xiv. An organisation with sound business interests that generate enough money to fund its own programmes without reliance on external funders.
- xv. An organisation that owns all its properties and has a property portfolio which includes national conference facilities and accommodation.

- xvi. An organisation with a fully functional and efficient media and publicity division that publishes a weekly newspaper, quarterly journal(s), books, and has capacity to directly communicate with more than 10 million people all at once through various channels.
- xvii. An organisation that has a perfect internal communications mechanism which will ensure that on a weekly basis, members and activists of the organisation have access to the latest organisational resolutions and programmes.

10) WHAT IS AN IDEAL CENTRAL COMMAND TEAM (CCT) OF THE EFF?

57. The Central Command Team (CCT) is the highest decision-making body in between the National People's Assemblies. It ought and should function in a manner that demonstrates the determination, capacity and willingness to lead the struggle for economic freedom. The CCT should collectively be the beacon of sound ideological, political and organisational principles. The following are some of the features that should define leaders of the EFF;

- i. The Central Command Team should be comprised of commissars who have individual as well as collective capacity to provide leadership to the people of South Africa.
- ii. Every CCT member must be an all-rounder who has capacity to organise and mobilise without seeking external assistance.
- iii. The CCT should be composed of members who deeply understand the **Founding Manifesto** of the EFF, the Constitution and all other policies of the organisation.
- iv. The CCT should be composed of members who are able to conduct political education and training to all lower structures.
- v. The CCT should be composed of members who will not complain about the vastness of South Africa and are thus able and willing to travel the length and breadth of South Africa to do the work of the organisation.
- vi. The CCT should be composed of commissars who will not completely depend on the organisation for everyday basic organisational necessities such as travel to their areas of deployment and must have capacity to legitimately and legally fundraise in a manner that will not compromise the organisation and themselves as leaders.
- vii. CCT commissars should command absolute clarity on all issues, actively and consistently seek to improve their levels of knowledge and expertise on a diverse range of issues/topics.
- viii. The CCT should be defined by a certain degree of meritocracy wherein only those who have demonstrated verifiable leadership qualities and loyalty to the organisation should be elected into the CCT.
- ix. The CCT should be composed of commissars who are able to coherently write perspectives and submissions and are able to make presentations on their own writings.
- x. The CCT should be composed of commissars who can speak coherently and cogently with the power to persuade and agitate the people.

- xi. The CCT should be composed on commissars who are able to conduct media interviews and participate in public debates in a manner that will not bring doubt on the collective capacity of the organisation.

11) WHAT IS AN IDEAL PROVINCE OF THE EFF?

58. The province of the EFF must have a properly constituted PCT, and should be constituted of the following key ideals;

- i. EFF provinces must have organisational capacity implement their own programmes and hold mass rallies in stadiums without assistance of EFF head office.
- ii. EFF provincial offices must be owned and controlled by the EFF with autonomous capacity to provide organisational assistance to all structures and formations of the EFF.
- iii. The Provincial Command Team (PCT) should be constituted of fighters who have individual and collective capacity to provide leadership to the people of South Africa.
- iv. Every PCT member must be an all-rounder who has capacity to organise and mobilise without seeking external assistance.
- v. The PCT should be composed of members who deeply understand the **Founding Manifesto** of the EFF, the constitution and all other policies of the organisation.
- vi. The PCT should be composed of members who must be able to conduct political education and training to all lower structures.
- vii. The PCT should be composed of members who will not complain about the vastness of South Africa and can be able and willing to travel the length and breadth of South Africa to do the work of the organisation.
- viii. The PCT should be composed of members who are financially independent, with capacity to legitimately and legally fundraise in a manner that will not compromise the organisation and themselves as leaders.
- ix. PCT members should command absolute clarity on all issues, actively and consistently seek to improve their levels of knowledge and expertise on a diverse range of issues/topics.
- x. The PCT should be defined by a certain degree of meritocracy wherein only those who have demonstrated verifiable leadership qualities and loyalty to the organisation should be elected into the PCT.
- xi. The PCT should be composed of members who are able to coherently write perspectives and submissions and are able to make presentations on their own writings.
- xii. The PCT should be composed of members who can speak coherently and cogently with the power to persuade and agitate the people.
- xiii. The PCT should be composed of commissars who are able to conduct media interviews and participate in public debates in a manner that will not bring doubt on the collective capacity of the organisation.

12) WHAT IS AN IDEAL REGION OF THE EFF?

- i. The Region of the EFF must have a properly constituted RCT with a full-time Regional Secretary and a full-time organisational staff.
- ii. Replica of CCT aspirations at the regional level and guided by the same principles that should guide a revolutionary fighter.
- iii. EFF Regions must have the capacity to organise their own events and hold mass rallies and programmes without assistance of the province and/or head office.
- iv. EFF Regional Offices must be owned and controlled by the EFF with autonomous capacity to provide organisational assistance to all structures and formations of the EFF.

13) WHAT IS AN IDEAL SUB-REGION OF THE EFF?

- i. Sub-region of the EFF must be fully functional and provide constant support to branches.
- ii. EFF sub-regions must have the capacity to organise own events, hold mass rallies and programmes without the assistance of the province and/or head office.
- iii. EFF sub-regional offices must be owned and controlled by the EFF with autonomous capacity to provide organisational assistance to all structures and formations of the EFF.

14) WHAT IS AN IDEAL BRANCH OF THE EFF?

59. As the basic organisational unit of the EFF, the branch should have a minimum of two hundred (200) members, a functional BCT, a functional VD Co-ordinating Teams (VDCT), Street and Block Co-ordinators, and a programme of action. The following should additionally define an ideal branch of the EFF;

- i. Every EFF branch must have its Programme of Action (PoA) and internal capacity to hold branch meetings without assistance from upper structures.
- ii. EFF branches must have internal capacity to organise own transport to transport EFF members and supporters to sub-regional, regional, provincial and national programmes without assistance from upper structures.
- iii. The BCT meets at least once per week and holds membership meetings at least once per month
- iv. Branch must have a branch office with volunteers who attend to EFF work on a daily basis.
- v. BCT must be inducted within fourteen (14) days after its election by the branch membership.
- vi. Branches must be fully functional, each with a VD Co-ordinating Team of ten (10) Fighters per VD.
- vii. EFF branch must have active member in each and every street, organisation, club, such as churches, stokvels and all such organised formations.

- viii. EFF branch must be able to communicate with all members of the community in the branch through the use of local media and all other necessary forms of mobilisation and organising.

15) WHAT IS AN IDEAL ACTIVIST OF THE EFF?

60. The EFF Constitution obliges all members to, "constantly and continuously strive to raise the level of her/his own political consciousness and understanding of EFF Policies, Resolutions, Rules and Regulations". Within this context, all Revolutionary Fighters should be defined by the following values:

- i. Sophistication and simplicity to understand and explain the modern economy and systems of government and ability to generate new ideas and solutions.
- ii. Understanding of the nature and character of imperialism in the face of attempts to re-colonise the African continent.
- iii. Versatility that appeals to all South Africans, old and young.
- iv. Acceptable behaviour and conduct to appeal to all South Africans.
- v. Fearlessness of the previous oppressor and imperialism.

61. This therefore means that all Revolutionary Fighters should be able to know and understand the key documents of the EFF, particularly the **Founding Manifesto** and the Constitution. All Revolutionary Fighters should know and be able to explain the seven cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime without reading from any script. Fighters should be able to localise and explain what each and every pillar means to the lives of the people on the ground and in their own locales.

62. Fighters ought to be community activists and caring individuals that;

- i. Partake in community struggles and activities. This means that a revolutionary fighter will always be the first whenever there is a funeral or party or wedding in their community.
- ii. Always know the exact details of their community, including the number of people in their wards and the challenges the majority of the people are confronted with in the ward.
- iii. Always willing to listen to the concerns of the people and find solutions to help the people.
- iv. Always available for genuine protests and mass actions in their community.

63. The following are the values that define a fighter;

- i. A Revolutionary Fighter is an organiser who knows how to move crowds towards mass revolutionary action.
- ii. A Revolutionary Fighter is a professional in the way he/she approaches the political question of revolution.

- iii. A Revolutionary Fighter is the one who abolishes his/her ego and his/her attachments to personal success and achievements; s/he is selfless and one with the people.
- iv. A Revolutionary Fighter is the one who believes that Revolutionary Morality is the core of the revolutionary belief-system (revolution by any means necessary).
- v. A Revolutionary Fighter is never depressed, bored, and sad; there is always something to do, there are always revolutionary actions to take up.
- vi. A Revolutionary Fighter does not hold grudges and always complaining about unnecessary matters.
- vii. A Revolutionary Fighter always reads and listens to people to understand the struggles and suffering of the people on the ground. A Revolutionary Fighter knows his community, neighbours and details of the challenges they confront on a daily basis.
- viii. A Revolutionary Fighter that is charitable and practices the principle of the left hand must never know what the right hand is doing.
- ix. A Revolutionary Fighter does not dwell in the conspicuous consumerist practices that seek to blindly show-off privilege.
- x. A Revolutionary Fighter leads by example and does everything with integrity.
- xi. A Revolutionary Fighter is an internationalist who seeks at all times to connect local to international struggles.
- xii. A Revolutionary Fighter is not xenophobic and appreciates that our struggle is linked to the struggles of all the oppressed and exploited people in the African continent and all over the world.

64. These key principles and values that guide a fighter should be exercised with maximum discipline in the context of understanding, internalising and accepting discipline not as an incidental/side issue but a weapon which will make the EFF realise all its objectives in our lifetime.

16) WHAT IS THE CURRENT REALITY? THE DIAGNOSIS:

65. One of the key drivers of the Russian Great October socialist revolution was the honesty, frankness and truth articulated by Vladimir Lenin after the first wave of the revolution. Lenin says; "[T]ell the people: workers of St. Petersburg, Riga, Warsaw, Odessa, Tiflis ... we are not strong enough to launch a rising and be victorious in a rising. Therefore, there is no point in thinking, no point in vain talking about a popular constituent assembly. Don't debase grand words with petty subterfuges. Don't cover up your weakness with a belief in miracles. Proclaim your weakness aloud to one and all—a fault confessed is half redressed. False rhetoric and false boastfulness spell moral ruin and lead unfailingly to political extinction".

66. Lenin says further; “[W]e are not strong enough to bring about an uprising, fellow-workers! We are not strong enough to rouse the people to the pitch of revolution! We are not strong enough to attain freedom.... We have only enough strength to jostle the enemy, but not to overthrow him, to jostle him in such a way that Petrunkevich will be able to take a seat beside him. Hence, away with all talk about revolution, liberty, and popular representation; whoever talks of these things without actually working at the ladder needed to attain to these things, at the uprising needed to win them, is a liar and a humbug, who is merely deceiving you”.
67. It was on the basis of such frank admission that the revolution was taken to a different level leading ultimately to the victory of the working-class forces. The EFF should not be trapped in over-celebration of the otherwise impactful victories we have achieved in the first 6 years. The stark reality is that with 10,7% of electoral support a staggering 89,3% of South Africa's electorate does not as yet believe in the capacity of the EFF to lead South Africa. Perhaps a more generous assessment is that we still need 56% more of South Africa's voters to vote for the EFF in order to achieve the two-thirds majority needed to effect the changes we proclaim should happen in South Africa.
68. The EFF should not draw comfort over marginal growths, rather we should develop courage and determination to build on the successes we have achieved. The EFF should also not be trapped in the tranquilising drug of gradualism. The EFF should never compare itself to liberation movements that took so many decades to achieve meaningless transitions that did not change the lives of the people. The EFF should always take leaf from Amilcar Cabral proclamation; “[A]lways bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children”.
69. The sections above presented a comprehensive ideal perspective of what an ideal EFF ought to be. At this point an admission should be made that this is not where the EFF currently is. However, the challenges identified here do not in any way suggest that the EFF has no hope for growth and development. What then are the current organisational realities?
- i. The EFF is not yet fully established in all corners of South Africa with branches and revolutionary activists who understand and are passionate about its mission.
 - ii. Many branches do not have programmes of action and do not meet regularly to decide on the work that must be pursued to win over the masses to the struggle for economic freedom.
 - iii. The EFF CCT committees are not fully functional, and despite being assigned to specific tasks, most commissars do not do anything in relation to their CCT portfolios.

- iv. A substantial number of the EFF leaders, mostly those deployed in positions of responsibility are not loyal to the organisation, but loyal to their positions of deployment.
- v. The EFF has not built adequate internal capacity to win municipal ward based elections. This is a huge challenge in light of the fact that municipal elections are partially ward based.
- vi. The EFF does not have a fully functional membership system and cannot accurately account for each and every member.
- vii. The EFF does not own the buildings it uses as offices at all levels.
- viii. Not all CCT, PCT, RCT, and BCT members can articulate the EFF visions and standpoint with clarity.
- ix. Whilst established, a lot of branches do not meet consistently and do not lead community struggles.
- x. The EFF is still not present in many of the voting districts in South Africa. The 2019 election outcome reveal that the EFF did not receive a single vote in some VDs, received less than a hundred (100) votes in some municipal wards.
- xi. Most regional structures are directionless, and do not have the necessary impact expected from EFF structures.
- xii. Provincial leaders don't know the length and breadth of their provinces, and PCTs do not meet from time to time as is expected of them.
- xiii. Regions do not meet consistently and have no mechanisms to consistently monitor the work of branches.
- xiv. Branches are not fully functional, not engaged in any form of programme, and the majority of them only meet when either the elections or conference are approaching.
- xv. Branches are lopsided towards specific VDs, and not present in all the VDs.
- xvi. The EFF Students' Command has not gained a life of its own, it remains heavily dependent on the EFF mother body to carry out its daily and constitutional functions.
- xvii. Whilst this remains an ideal, the EFF has not yet attained organisational maturity necessary for it to carry additional organisations such as; Trade Unions, Women and Youth wings, which are mandated by the constitution. These are necessary organisational wings and instruments.

17) WHAT ARE THE STRENGTHS OF THE EFF?

70. The EFF has various strengths, which should be consolidated and built on for as long as the organisation exists. These include;

- i. The EFF has massive capacity and potential to lead South Africa, demonstrated by the steady qualitative and quantitative growth since its formation in 2013.
- ii. The EFF demonstrably has the best policy alternatives compared to all existing political parties in South Africa, evinced by its superior submissions on various policy issues including; land expropriation without compensation, insourcing of workers, free education, alternative tax policies, alternative energy policies, etc, it has volunteered in all spheres and levels of government.

- iii. Strong sense of organisational democracy and democratic centralism, meaning that official structures of the EFF do not communicate contradictory messages.
- iv. Strong appeal to young voters, illustrated by the reality that wherever the EFF pays dedicated focus on youth voters, it in most instances always emerges victorious.
- v. Cogent and comprehensive ideological and political positions, which are understood both by supporters and opponents of the organisation.
- vi. Unwavering commitments to gender equality, illustrated by its progressive deployment policies to positions of responsibility.
- vii. Appeal to young black people in the entire African continent and black people in the diaspora.
- viii. Established EFF structures spread throughout South Africa, meaning that the EFF is not a regional organisation, unlike many other political parties.

18) WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

71. The abiding purpose of all EFF members and structures should be to build structures of the EFF, improve collective and individual capacities of structures and members with the ultimate aim of achieving the aspirational goals and ideals of the EFF. From time to time, all members and structures must read through the aspirations and check if they are indeed growing and developing in accordance with the ideals of the Movement.

72. An outline of the vision of what an ideal EFF ought to look like is clearly articulated in the sections above. The question that remains is: what must happen to achieve an EFF that is ideologically sound and provides cogent alternatives? A straightforward response to that is; the EFF and its members at all levels must internalise the following principles of EFF organisational democracy:

- i. **Elected and Collective Leadership**
- ii. **Powers of the National People's Assembly**
- iii. **Democratic Centralism**
- iv. **Mandates, Accountability and Reporting**
- v. **Constructive Criticism and Self-criticism**
- vi. **Discipline and Hard Work**
- vii. **Selflessness, Love for the Organisation and Love for one Another**

73. These principles are what guides revolutions and ought to be internalised by all members of the EFF. For clarity on what these means, it perhaps important that we elaborate on what each of these principles mean;

i. **ELECTED AND COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP**

74. This means that all leaders of the EFF are always democratically and transparently elected in People's Assemblies and should at all times work as a collective.

75. Collective leadership means that all leaders of the EFF should carry the obligation to consult the collective before engaging in activities and programmes that have organisational consequences and must never act in isolation.

ii. POWERS OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

76. This means that the National People's Assembly (NPA) is the highest decision-making body of the EFF and all programmes and resolutions adopted at the NPA guide the organisation until the next NPA.

77. The CCT, Provincial People's Assemblies, PCTs, Regional People's Assemblies, RCTs, Branch People's Assemblies, BCTs, and all members must be guided by the core thrust of the resolutions of the NPA.

78. The CCT is the highest decision-making body in between NPAs and its resolutions carry the same weight as those of the NPA until the next NPA.

iii. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

79. Democratic Centralism refers to the practice of democratic consultation and engagements before decisions are adopted and once adopted, they are binding on all members and structures of the organisation. The key and non-negotiable themes under democratic centralism are;

- i. The majority rules over the minority, and once majority has taken a decision, there is no expression of minority reports and perspectives that contradict the adopted position.
- ii. Decisions of upper structures are binding on all lower structures and should be implemented and adhered to without any form of defiance.
- iii. Once decisions are adopted, the right to differ dwindles into insignificance.

iv. MANDATES, ACCOUNTABILITY AND REPORTING

80. This means that once mandated on any task, members of the EFF at all levels must fulfil the mandate, take full accountability and report. Whosoever is given a responsibility at all levels of the organisation and in deployments carry the obligation to account and report on the work mandated. After every meeting, each member of the EFF participating or belonging to the Command Team should have absolute clarity of what is expected from them over what period of time.

v. CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

81.(a). This means that from time to time, members and structures of the EFF should engage in constructive criticism and self-criticism. Meaning they should openly and honestly review the work they do and avoid all forms of boastfulness and self-glorification over minor achievements. The People's Assemblies, CCT, PCTs, RCTs, BCTs, deployed cadres and members should periodically review the work they are doing against their own set targets. They should always ask whether they have taken correct decisions, whether they have achieved what they intended to achieve in the time periods they had set to achieve their mandates and resolutions.

vi. DISCIPLINE AND HARD WORK

82.Discipline in a revolution is not an incidental issue, it is an essential ingredient and component of what the EFF seeks to achieve. Without discipline and hard work, all the objectives and aspirations of the EFF will not be achieved. Discipline means utmost adherence to organisational resolutions and programmes. Discipline means punctuality in fulfilling organisational mandates. Discipline means that members and leaders alike must be able to publicly own up to everything they do in private.

83.Hard work means that additional to fulfilment of mandates, leaders are willing to go an extra mile and do constructive and organisational tasks that seek to improve, enhance and harness the organisation.

vii. SELFLESSNESS, LOYALTY TO THE ORGANISATION AND LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER

84.Selflessness means that members and leaders alike perform tasks and mandates of the organisation without expecting financial benefits, promotion or praise. Selflessness means that members and leaders alike do not claim individual victory for collective work or for work they did in pursuit of the revolution. Selflessness means that instead of heaping individual praise and worship, members and leaders must always make the organisation shine.

85.Loyalty to the organisation means that at all times, members and leaders will not keep quiet when the organisation is unfairly criticised and attacked in private and in public. Loyalty to the organisation means that members will remain active members even when removed from positions of responsibility or deployment.

86.Love for one another means that members and leaders should at all times look after each other and should not amass privileges and wealth when other members of the organisation are living in poverty and suffering.

19) WHAT TO OPPOSE AND COMBAT IN THE MOVEMENT

87. The following are tendencies that must be opposed and combatted at all cost and should never be allowed to define the EFF as an organisation. Even though some of these factors/tendencies are derived from the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute because of the scientific nature of their theoretical foundations they hold relevant and true to this day. These are the factors/tendencies to combat and oppose:

- i. **Factionalism**—Factionalism refers to the practice of members who are loyal to other members rather than to the organisation.
- ii. **Laziness**—Laziness refers to members and leaders who do not perform mandated tasks or only perform tasks that they assigned and are not willing to go beyond the line of duty to promote and grow the organisation.
- iii. **Sectarianism**—Sectarianism refers to the trend defined by a complete refusal to conduct dialogue with other groups or work with them on small projects, following one's own line dogmatically without striving towards one's further education. This includes refusal to conduct work with other local groups on the grounds of high theoretical differences, to refuse further investigation and cling to superficial understandings, to become an in-group rather than a mass organization. To combat sectarianism the EFF must engage with other groups locally when goals align, put aside petty differences for the interests and well-being of the masses, conduct itself mannerly when others do the same, and focus on political work rather than squabbles.
- iv. **Academicism**—Academicism refers to the trend that separates theoretical development from practical activity. This trend supposes that organization is less important than theory, to apply the Marxist method without focusing on the revolutionary socialist implications, to over-intellectualize Marxism by focusing on its academic applications which only relate to the few who have received an elite education, to not attempt to translate Marxism-Leninism to common language. To overcome academicism the EFF must reassure itself of the revolutionary, popular character of Marxism-Leninism, engage the masses in a revolutionary education that allows the understanding of Marxism, emphasize the importance of praxis rather than isolated theory or practice.
- v. **Conspiracism**—Conspiracism refers to the trend that equates the bourgeoisie to an Illuminati-like organization, to see the workings of class society and its contradictions as the conspiratorial actions of the ruling classes rather than as historically and materially-defined processes. To wilfully ignore antagonisms within the ruling classes and have weak analysis of current conditions, opting for a caricature of Marxist analysis. On the other hand, to conduct oneself secretly when the conditions do not call for it, to avoid working with the non-communist masses and therefore refrain from taking a leading role in political work, to operate as an isolated clandestine organization and refuse to see the masses as the motive force of history. To combat conspiracism the EFF must translate its analysis into the popular language of the masses when engaging in dialogue, work with the masses directly and openly, build ties to the localities in which it operates.

20) ORGANISATIONAL RE-DESIGN

88. The following constitute key considerations concerning organisational redesign in the bid to consolidate the ground to build socialist power. These are structural changes that need to be considered. If agreed up and resolved, some of the proposals will lead to constitutional amendments;

A. NATIONAL AND CCT LEADERSHIP

The CCT must meet bi-monthly to appraise itself of progress in the work of the EFF at all levels. Furthermore, the following should be considered;

- i. The CCT must be retained in the current 6 + 35 + 18 **OR** increased from the current 6 officials + 35 additional members + 18 Provincial Chairpersons and Secretaries to 6 + 40 Additional Members + 18 Provincial Chairpersons and Secretaries, which in total will increase the CCT 64 members.
- ii. The **Deputy Secretary-General must be a non-negotiable full time official**. In addition to being head of organisational human resources, must be responsible for **membership and membership system**.
- iii. The **Treasurer-General must be a full time official unless decided otherwise** by the CCT.
- iv. The secretariat convened by the Secretary-General with all departments in the SGO and Provincial Secretaries should meet monthly to monitor and check the status of the organisation in all provinces.
- v. In addition to the current full-time officials, **the CCT should have a full-time Head of Organising and Mobilisation**.
- vi. The CCT should also have a **full-time Communications Office led by a Commissar who shall be a Spokesperson**.
- vii. Parliamentary and Governance structures of the EFF should develop separate but integrated Communications Units through a guideline adopted by the CCT. What this means is that the **EFF Parliamentary Caucus should have a separate Spokesperson/Communications Manager** distinct from those doing same job for the organisation.
- viii. The **International Relations Office should be fully established** as one of the departments in the Head Office of the EFF under the supervision of a designated Commissar and the Presidency.
- ix. **Political Education headed by a full-time Commissar must be institutionalised** with modules and assessment models established on different key subjects such as Ideology, Organising and Governance.
- x. CCT members must belong to committees decided upon by the CCT, and these committees must give periodic reports to the CCT and War Council.
- xi. **The CCT must be permitted to co-opt up to five (5) commissars in a five-year term** and should in addition be permitted to replace through co-option CCT members who vacate their seats through resignation, expulsion and/or death.

- xii. **Starting from the 3rd NPA henceforth any member serving at the CCT level must have a post-secondary qualification from a recognised institution and should have been a member of the EFF for more than five (5) years.**
- xiii. The CCT should be constitutionally obliged to **convene a National General Assembly (NGA) at least once in between National People's Assemblies (NPA)**, which will serve as a mid-term assembly to give update to branches on the work undertaken by the organisation.
- xiv. Whilst recognising the relative autonomy that defines the EFFSC, **the CCT should permanently deploy a Commissar who shall be responsible for the EFF Students' Command**, to ensure that its organisational and political programmes are consistent with the programmes and politics of the EFF.
- xv. The EFF Constitution should be amended to permit the top six officials to be a juristic person with the power to enter into contracts and have regular meetings to recommend and take key decisions and deployments.
- xvi. **The Governance Task Unit (GTU) should be constitutionally established** as a structure that can take decisions and recommend actions on all matters relating to governance.

B. MEMBERSHIP SYSTEM

- 89. The EFF should build a dependable membership system with capacity to know how many members the organisation has in each and every VD, municipal ward, sub-region, region and province. The membership system should be able to provide detailed demographics, i.e. members' race, gender, employment status and educational status.
- 90. The EFF membership system should permit potential and new members to join the organisation or renew membership online in a secure technologically dependable manner.
- 91. The EFF should use technology and grassroots mobilisation to build a supporter's database of not less than 10 million people, who can be allocated to regions and sub-regions in terms of their voter registration status.
- 92. War Council must receive weekly growth indications in terms of membership and supporters captured per sub-region.

C. WAR COUNCIL

- 93. The War Council is responsible for day to day running of the organisation. It should be constituted of 19 Members of the CCT plus Presidents of the Wings, Commands, which are;
 - i. Top 6 Officials

- ii. Four full time Commissars and Heads of Departments, i.e., Organising and Mobilisation, Communications, International Relations and Political Education.
- iii. 9 Convenors of Deployees to Provinces.
- iv. Presidents of the Wings Commands as ex-officio with full participating rights.

94. The War Council must receive weekly membership growth reports from the Organising and Mobilisation Department to keep track of the organisation's quantitative growth in all parts of South Africa.

95. **War Council must be empowered to appoint a Provincial Secretary in cases of incapacity and incompetence from amongst members of the CCT or PCT**, and must report to the CCT when such is done.

D. PROVINCES

96. Until Provinces are constitutionally abolished as demarcation areas of administrative governance in South Africa, they should be retained as EFF constitutional structures mandated with the task of overseeing EFF work in the demarcated provinces.

97. The sizes of PCTs can be one size fits all as is currently the case **OR** the National People's Assembly can decide to adopt resolutions on the sizes of PCTs taking into consideration the following factors; number of regions and sub-regions in a province, population size of each province and the number of potential voters in a province. The Constitutional amendment in this regard could read as follows, **"The PCT is a constitutional structure elected in a properly constituted Provincial People's Assembly and should compose of top five (5) officials plus anything between 16 and 40 additional members as determined by the NPA or the first CCT after the NPA"**.

98. PCTs and Provincial programmes must be obliged to always have directly elected member of the CCT in all their programmes.

99. PCTs must hold bi-monthly meetings to appraise themselves of the progress pertaining to organisational work.

100. The Regional and/Sub-Regional representation in the PCT will be determined by what the decision on the RCTs and SRCTs will be.

101. Provincial Secretaries must continue as full-time officials

102. From amongst the PCT members, there must be a full-time Head of Organising and Mobilisation.

E. REGIONS

103. If retained, RCTs must change from being 5 + 10 to 5 + 15 and must meet monthly.
104. Below are propositions on what possibly could be done with regional structures;
- i. **Regions are completely removed as constitutional structures.**
 - ii. **Regions are established as co-ordinating structures with constitutionally established sub-regional structures underneath.**
 - iii. **Regions are retained as constitutional structures together with constitutional sub-regions underneath.**
 - iv. **Regions in Metros are retained whilst regions at district municipality level are abolished and replaced with sub-regional structures that correspond with local municipalities.**
105. If retained as full constitutional structures regions should build adequate membership capturing capacity and should constantly account on the recruited membership.

F. SUB-REGIONS

106. It is proposed that sub-regions be constituted as constitutional structures with Sub Regional People's Assemblies, which will elect five (5) sub-regional officials + ten (10) additional members.
107. The Chairpersons and Secretaries of Sub-regions will be members of RCTs if regions are retained or PCTs if regions are abolished as constitutional structures.
108. The term of office for SRCTs will be two (2) years.
109. In the first two years of the sub-region's establishment, they should play a central role in guiding branches of the EFF to assimilate the culture and habit of constant meetings, implementation of programmes of action, and recording of all activities that the branch is engaged in.

G. BRANCHES

110. Branches must remain the basic unit of the organisation and must be responsible for EFF work at branch level.
111. Branches of the EFF must continue to have a minimum of one hundred (100) members and must be ward based or have a minimum of fifty (50) members and be VD based.
112. In the eventuality of the organisation settling for ward based or aligned branches;
- i. Branches will comply with Governance structures and delimitation on Ward basis.
 - ii. Will limit conflicts when selecting candidates for municipal councils.

- iii. Such branches will orientate EFF Ground Forces to lead, organise and mobilise a larger community.
- iv. Municipal ward-based branches can be constitutionally mandated to establish elected VD Co-ordinating Teams that will be responsible for EFF work at VD level.

113. In the case of voter district (VD) based branches,

- i. Branches will be closer to where the people are and if fully launched, will guarantee the EFF's presence in all VDs.
- ii. VD based branches can be constitutionally mandated to establish municipal ward Co-ordinating Teams.
- iii. For purposes of Sub-regional People's Assemblies, all VDs can send delegates and for the purposes of ward candidate selection, Provincial, Regional and National People's Assemblies, Ward General Assembly can be convened to elect candidates or delegates.

H. WORKPLACE BRANCHES

114. The EFF should consider the possibility of establishing Workplace Based Branches in all workplaces with more than one thousand (1000) workers. These branches must comprise of a hundred (100) members and should be responsible for EFF mobilisation in their workplaces. Workplace branches are vehicles of workers' mobilisation and will not enjoy the same constitutional rights as the ward or VD based branches.

21) CONCLUSION

115. The EFF is saddled with the obligation of positioning itself in a manner that will achieve its political and ideological commitments. The first few years of the EFF's existence have revealed that in areas of strength, such should be improved upon and in areas of weaknesses, such should be confronted with determination. The efforts to redesign the organisation must be a collective mandate and should be undertaken in consultation with the entire membership.

116. All the proposals and recommendations on the nature, form and content of the EFF constitutes a deliberate effort to build a responsive mass-based organisation that has the capacity to mobilise the people behind the war for economic freedom in our lifetime. The 2nd National People's Assembly should thoroughly deliberate on what form of organisation is needed to mobilise as many people as possible for socialism.

LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM



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LAND REFORM, AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE FOOD ECONOMY

"I want my voice to be harsh. I do not want it to be beautiful, I don't want it to be pure, I don't want it to have all dimensions. I want it to be torn through and through, I don't want it to be enticing, for I am speaking of man and his refusal, of the day to day rottenness of man, of his dreadful failure."(Frantz Fanon, in *Towards the African Revolution*)

1) INTRODUCTION

1. The resolution of the land question in South Africa is the most important resolution needed for the emancipation of all South Africans and the ushering in of economic freedom in this lifetime. The discourse on the expropriation of land without compensation must at all times be viewed from this perspective. From its inception, the Economic Freedom Fighters has defined its strategic mission as the "attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime", and identified seven cardinal pillars necessary for the attainment of this strategic mission.
2. The first of these cardinal pillars is the expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution and use. The focus of this discussion document is on the practical realisation of this cardinal pillar. The Founding Manifesto of the EFF also defines the movement as drawing inspiration from the:

"Broad Marxist-Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in our analyses of the state, imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keep the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation."¹

3. Furthermore, the Founding Manifesto says:

"Attainment of Economic Freedom entails that multinational and private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy will be discontinued, and all economic wealth directed to the ownership and benefit of all people. This will happen through various and combined forms of common and collective ownership, ranging from State ownership and control, co-operatives and workers' ownership and control of the key sectors of the economy. State ownership is within this context, an elementary component which will lead to more progressive forms of collective ownership, control and benefit, and therefore not narrow State-capitalism".²

¹ Economic Freedom Fighters (2013). Founding Manifesto

² Founding Manifesto

4. It is important that these are kept in mind when thinking about the EFF's approach to the land question in this country. The Founding Manifesto further clarifies its approach to land expropriation without compensation thus:

"The EFF's approach to land expropriation without occupation is that all land should be transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state in a similar way that all mineral and petroleum resources were transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state through the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) of 2002. The state should, through its legislative capacity transfer all land to the state, which will administer and use land for sustainable-development purposes. This transfer should happen without compensation, and should apply to all South Africans, black and white."³

5. This is consistent with the EFF's commitment to discontinue private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy. The Founding Manifesto goes further by saying:

"State custodianship of land will mean that those who currently occupy land should apply for licensing to continue using the land and should clearly state in the application what they want to use the land for over a period of time. Under this legislation, no one should be allowed to own land forever, because those who have money can, over time, buy huge plots of land and use them for counter-developmental private purposes, such as using land as game farms. A maximum of 30 years can then be placed on all land leases applied for by private corporations and individuals, with the state retaining the right to expropriate in instances where the land is not used for the purpose applied for."

6. These references to the Founding Manifesto are important in a sense that too often there have been deliberate misinterpretations of the land policy of the EFF. The most fundamental issue of the EFF land policy is that there must be a discontinuation of private ownership of the land, and the state must be the custodian of this land on behalf of the people. But most miss the most important aspect of the EFF's policy proposition: the characterisation of state custodianship of land as "an elementary component which will lead to more progressive forms of collective ownership, control and benefit, and therefore not narrow state-capitalism". This dispels the criticism of narrow statism in the EFF's conceptualisation of state custodianship of the land.
7. It is important to make these policy nuances clear, so that conference does not get confused when we talk about land expropriation. What is also important to note is that land expropriation is not land reform, it is merely a manner of land acquisition.
8. What is important is the redistributive thrust of our policy propositions and the ability to answer critical questions such as: why do we need land reform? Who must get what land, where? What must be nature of rights that people have over land? What production regimes must be encouraged? What level of support must the state give for comprehensive agrarian reforms? What must be the solutions to the problems of urban sprawl?

³ Founding Manifesto

9. Also important is to distinguish the peculiarities of the EFF policy propositions on land, because even though there may be parties who support the call for land expropriation without compensation, none of them do so from a considered ideological viewpoint as the EFF does.

2) A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND CURRENT REALITIES OF THE LAND QUESTION

10. South Africa's historical evolution, from colonial times up until the end of apartheid was characterised by one major factor: the subjugation of black people through coercive and other violent means. Central to the colonial and apartheid project of black subjugation was a concerted programme of land dispossession from black people. It is at the root of this dispossession that many of the country's current problems lie, and the resolution of the land question would therefore not just resolve the issue of inequitable access to land as narrowly understood by liberal thinkers, but also address the national question of livelihood and socio-economic development.
11. Attempts at resolving the land question through technocratic, neoliberal methods since 1994 have yielded negligible results. In 1994, black people held no more than 13% of the land as a result of a series of dispossessions dating back three centuries and formalised through the 1913 Natives Land Act, the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act and other vicious pieces of law passed by a white minority government. Aware of this historical injustice, a three-pronged land reform programme was designed in 1994 and promised to redistribute 30% of the land in the country back to black people by the end of 1999, a target set by the World Bank advisers to the new government.
12. The land reform programme is premised on three distinct but interrelated programmes; the first is the reform of land tenure to secure tenure rights of those whose rights to land is insecure, which includes farmworkers and those residing in the former Bantustans; the second is land redistribution, which aims to make land available to black people who want to have land for agricultural purposes; the third, and the most politically charged, is the land restitution programme, which directly links the narrative of loss through forceful dispossession to the narrative of restoration through restituting back to black people lost rights to land.
13. The government has to date managed to transfer only about 9% of the land back to black people from farms that were previously white-owned, costing the state billions of rands.
14. There seems to be consensus amongst South Africans that the land question has not been dealt with in a manner it should have been and further prevarications on tackling the resolution of the land question may have destabilising effects on the country. However, there is not much consensus on what form effective land reform would take.
15. The debate on South African land reform has for some time been dominated by two interrelated strands of discourse. The first is the slowness of the transfer of land to black people, and the second is the perceived failure of land reform projects to live up to neoliberal conceptions of viability. The two imperatives, of sound and fast restorative justice through land reform and land reform that is developmental, are crucial to the development of the countryside and for peace in this country.

16. Many attempts have been made to muddle the two, or to make land reform to be just about the reorganisation of the countryside for production and economic purposes, and little to do with land reform as essentially about justice for wrongs done over a period of time. It is important to make the distinction about the nature of South African land reform. Is it merely about distributive justice, a response to massive land inequality? Or is it about restorative justice, a response to unjust land annexation and theft?
17. The country's land reform experience since 1994 points to two fundamental categories of problems that the country has no legislative or political solutions for. These problems are both conceptual and structural and essentially about answering the question: what is and why do we need land reform in South Africa?
18. The first conceptual problem relates to how far the country should go in the quest to redress historical injustices. If land reform is intended to redress past land dispossessions, then a thorough understanding of land dispossession – what it entailed, the impacts it had in shaping our society at a social, cultural and economic level – is needed. An understanding of dispossession across time and space becomes an indispensable analytical lens.
19. Such an analysis would immediately expose, for instance, the limits of the current land restitution programme, which limits people to claim for land that they were dispossessed of only from 1913, thereby delegitimising pre-1913 land dispossessions of which there is a compelling amount of historical evidence.
20. In addition, analysis will also show that the land question is also a labour and gender question in this country. It will demonstrate that a solution that fails to connect the need for land redistribution to the need for wide-ranging transformation to groups of power in society would in the long term be inimical to both the need for historical redress as well as to the need for development today.
21. The second conceptual problem is that entrenched in Section 25 of the Constitution, which compels the state to pay current white land owners for land targeted for land reform purposes. Although this clause in the Constitution lists a number of factors that should be considered when compensating current land owners for either public interest and public purpose, among which is the consideration of the history of how land was acquired, the government has been very reluctant to expropriate land for land reform purposes and has been paying exorbitant prices to current land owners to buy land for land reform purposes.

1. WHY MUST PRIVATE TITLING OF LAND BE ABOLISHED?

22. One of the thorniest issues on the EFF land policy has been the issue of title deeds and state custodianship of land. Even fighters have been uneasy with the position on title deeds.
23. Committed fighters have been at pains to understand this aspect of the EFF policy, so it is prudent that we give substantive focus to this matter. Over and above the fact that the EFF is a socialist organisation and believes that it is only through socialisation of productive resources that the country would be able to eliminate inequalities, we must demonstrate to fighters and society why the current tenure regime does not work.

24. Firstly, it must be emphasised that the idea of freehold titling of land is an ideological one, not a constitutional principle. Tenure to land can be secured, and can even be transferable, through a proper system of recordable land use rights and registration. This does not have to be in the form of title deeds.
25. The idea that a freehold system of land tenure is a necessary requisite for development and investment, although wrong, is not new. In South Africa at least, it began with the proclamation by the then governor of the Cape, John Cradock in 1813, which discontinued the system of loan farms, in place since settlers started annexing land from Africans, and converted these into freehold titles. The belief at the time was that farmers did not invest as much as they could in the land because they did not own it. This idea has proved incredibly resilient over the years, and has been the holy grail of modern capitalist thinking and accumulation strategies.
26. Eighteen years ago, Peruvian economist, Hernando de Soto argued in his book, *The Mystery of Capital*, that capitalism can be made to work for everyone, particularly those at the margins of economic activity, by formalising their rights to land, housing and businesses through formal titling, which then can be used to leverage credit to catalyse further development. He called the undocumented resources that the poor held – be it in the form of land, houses or businesses – “dead capital” because these could not be used to leverage credit for development.
27. These ideas ignore what the late Kenyan scholar on land, Prof Okoth-Ogendo termed the necessity to understand “the structures and processes through which communities gain access to, exercise control over, and exploit particular resource, and how these change in the course of interaction with other social, economic, political and scientific processes over time”.
28. Freehold titling of land without understanding the “structures and processes”, which led people to where they are now, will be a futile exercise. Inequality in South Africa is the product of a systematic process of dispossession, of forced proletarianisation of black people, and the imprudent accumulation of property and power by the white minority. Freehold titling of land must be understood in this context.
29. Rosalie Kingwill, together with Ben Cousins and others in 2006, wrote about the practical impossibility of applying de Soto’s ideas in South Africa. They identified at least eight reasons why the idea of titling for capital generation is bad for South Africa. For the purposes of this document, we highlight just the first three. They argued that:
a) “Titling does not necessarily promote increased tenure security or certainty, and in many cases does the opposite;
30. Formalisation of property rights does not promote lending to the poor: banks do not lend to the poor because of the high risk of non-repayment, the low value of their assets, and relatively high transaction costs. Households earning less than around R3 500 per month are unlikely to get access to formal credit using land or housing as collateral, whether or not they hold title deeds to their homes and land; and Rather than turning their property into ‘capital’, formalisation could increase the rate of homelessness: if banks were persuaded to lend to the poor using their assets as collateral, foreclosure of loans would result in repossession. Poor households understand this.”

31. This is not rocket science, Okoth-Ogendo in 1989 had long warned about the alienating nature of private ownership of land. Citing studies done across the continent, Okoth-Ogendo suggests that: exposing agrarian communities to freehold tenure facilitates their disintegration by loosening the bonds that define collective rights and duties and which provide a matrix within which livelihood can be achieved by all. Land litigation will quickly emerge as an indication that the economy is disequilibrating social relations and that "traditional land rights are being redefined". The redefinition of rights will consolidate them in fewer and fewer members of society. This third premise suggests that freehold tenure not only welds together and consolidates a large variety of rights over land, it does so at the expense of an equally large number of active claimants.
32. It does not take much to make the link between an unbridled system of capital accumulation and the monopolisation of key resources in the hands of a few and the exclusion of many. Unrepentant privatisation of land in this country, at the base of which is racism, is the reason why we are the most unequal society in the world.
33. It makes perfect sense for an organisation seeking to transform power in a manner that transforms the meaning of power itself to reject notions that seek to consolidate power in the hands of only a few.

3) RATIONALE FOR STATE CUSTODIANSHIP OF LAND

34. The difficulty most liberal academics and policy makers have with the notion of the discontinuation of private ownership of land emanates from the deeply ingrained capitalist notion that views land as commodity that can be owned, bought and sold. The Marxist tradition from which the EFF draws its inspiration rejects this notion of private ownership of what is essentially a public resource. The very conception of private ownership of land is at the root of inequality, it facilitates the exploitation of one class by the other, and its continuation cements inequality. An entrenched system of private ownership of land allows for a few individuals to accumulate and consolidate more land over a period of time to the exclusion of a great majority of the people.
35. Nowhere is this more apparent in South Africa than in the consolidation of agricultural land over the past two decades. In 1993, South Africa had 58 000 commercial farming units. In 2002, this number had been reduced to 45 818. In 2007, the number was 39 965. And today, it is estimated the country has under 35 000 commercial farming units. ⁴
36. This is not as a result of a reduction in agricultural land, but a direct consequence of a capitalist system of accumulation and consolidation. A few farmers, trusts and corporations with more money have bought and consolidated more land into a few hands. With the volatility of trade and the continued reluctance of the South African state to protect and subsidise the agricultural sector, this number of farmers is certain to be reduced. The result is larger farms and fewer owners.

⁴ Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

37. At a conceptual level, the idea of private ownership of land has never been proven to work anywhere in Africa and is alien to African customary law. Contemporary notions of ownership are derived from western jurisprudence. This, Archie Mafeje argues, leads to a series of misconceptions, particularly over the notions of ownership of land and viewing land as property⁵. Mafeje further argues that the western conception of land as property refers to a delineated portion of the physical solum and confers jurisdictional as well as executive control on the holder.
38. Contrasting that with African land tenure systems, he argues that African jurisprudence recognised rights of possession determined by prior settlement and membership given to a social group, user rights contingent on social labour and rights of social exchange underscored by implicit reversionary rights. He further adds that land rights could be recognised in any of these forms, but not individual ownership of land. From both an African customary perspective and from a progressive, radical, Marxist perspective, the discontinuation of private ownership of land becomes a primary requisite for both the decolonisation of our neo-colonial socio-economic set-up, for redressing inequitable and racial distribution of land, and for ensuring sustained state-directed development for the benefit of the majority of South Africans.
39. A revolutionary state, therefore, must be the embodiment of our people's aspiration for freedom and liberty and, after capturing control of the land of the country, be strategically positioned to redistribute this equitably for use – be that residential, agricultural or for industrial purposes. Citing Engels, Lenin appositely captures the necessity for the state to take over land thus:
40. "The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole – the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society -- is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then
41. ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production."⁶
42. Lenin states that this is necessary for the elimination of domination of one class by the other and, in his definition of a revolutionary state, he states that unlike in a capitalist state, where the use of armed bodies of men and women is for the benefit of the capitalist class, a revolutionary state becomes a "special repressive force for the proletariat".
43. Therefore, taking over the means of production, and particularly the land, requires a state that is conscious of its revolutionary responsibility. Unfortunately, we have not had such advanced levels of consciousness amongst the liberation movements that took over power from colonisers and oppressors. The African National Congress, the party in government in South Africa, has fallen into the same trap other liberation movements have fallen into. Their failure to fully execute their revolutionary responsibility is described by Fanon as follows:

⁵ Archie Mafeje (2003). *The Agrarian Question, Access to Land, and Peasant responses in Sub-Saharan Africa*.

⁶ Vladimir Lenin (1917). *State and the Revolution*.

44. "The national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an under-developed middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate with the bourgeoisie of the mother country which it hopes to replace. In its wilful narcissism, the national middle class is easily convinced that it can advantageously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied appeals for help to the former mother country."⁷
45. The prevarication of the ruling elite in resolving the land question vindicates Fanon's description of the handicap of the class that takes over power from oppressors. He goes further:
46. "The national bourgeoisie of under-developed countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary type. Its innermost vocation seems to be to keep in the running and to be part of the racket".
47. The ruling party, albeit for completely different reasons, has also called for expropriation of land without compensation, and has sent out contradictory messages on how it views the whole purpose of expropriation. Fanon captures this confusion as well when he argues:
48. "Yet the national middle class constantly demands the nationalization of the economy and of the trading sectors. This is because, from their point of view, nationalization does not mean placing the whole economy at the service of the nation and deciding to satisfy the needs of the nation. For them, nationalization does not mean governing the state with regard to the new social relations whose growth it has been decided to encourage. To them, nationalization quite simply means the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period."
49. It is exactly for this reason that the EFF rejects the narrow notions of nationalism expressed by some fringe groups, calling for the return of land from whites to an undefined group of black people. This would not be transformative by any stretch of imagination as it would transfer large, sometimes unproductive estates, exactly because they are large, to an elite group of the black bourgeoisie. State custodianship of land must mean broad-based redistribution of land to people who can use it for its social and economic purposes; that is production, residential use, and industrial development. The redistribution is not that of land, but of land use rights in the form of leasehold and other forms of socially developed means of securing tenure.

⁷ Frantz Fanon. *The Wretched of the Earth*

4) FORMS OF REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND USE RIGHTS

50. When the state gets custodianship of land, it must build up its capacity to manage and redistribute this land in a manner that encourages social and economic development. The EFF Founding Manifesto speaks about two critical factors on this subject. The first is that the state must be the custodian of all land and that people and companies who need to use this land must apply to the state, state the purposes for which the land is needed, and then get 25- to 30-year leases to use the land for the purposes for which they have applied.
51. This, however, needs more nuance. The ideological position in this regard is that there is a separation between the soil and its possible manifestations such as crops and buildings on it. What becomes the property of an individual is not the soil, but rather what the soil can produce. The land itself becomes a permanent part of social existence and that it is, in principle, inalienable. It is fixed in space but transcends time. While the principle of having all land under state custodianship, the manner of administration and redistribution should be different. There must be a difference in the manner residential land, agricultural land, industrial land and land in the former homelands are administered.

i. RESIDENTIAL LAND

52. South African law is based on Roman-Dutch-English law. As far as property is concerned, there is a generally accepted Roman law principle of accession. This principle was clearly explained by Justinian, who codified Roman law and described it thus:
53. "The rule of law here is that the owner of the principal thing, by which the accessory has been absorbed, becomes the owner of the accessory. The former owner of the accessory is limited to a claim for compensation. The owner of the principal thing thus becomes the sole owner of the new thing."
54. This, in essence, becomes a rule when one immovable property is attached to another immovable property, as is the case when a house, which becomes immovable property, is built on another immovable property, the land. The house, which is a product of one's social labour, becomes attached to the land, which is common property, and then they become one. This gives security of tenure to one's house a degree of permanence, and it is not in any way different from African customary law.
55. In practice, and in as far as the policy of state custodianship is concerned; the land is all under state custodianship. The state designates land for various kinds of land uses. Where land has been designated for residential purposes, the state retains custodianship of all land, but homeowners retain title to their houses and, through applying the principle of accession, become owners of the erven on which their houses are built. At face value, this would seem to be less transformative, but what it means in essence is that it lowers the cost of building houses, and would essentially give effect to the EFF position that house bonds be reduced from 20 years to 10 years, to make it easy for people to buy and sell houses.

56. On residential property, what this means, therefore, is that current homeowners retain ownership of their houses, together with the erven that their houses are built on, but unutilised pieces of land around their houses and elsewhere belong to the people as a whole, with the state as a custodian. And the State can build low-cost housing in those open spaces for poor people if they so decide.
57. This will decisively address the problem of class and race exclusion in residential areas. Quality, low-cost houses can be built for the poor in the middle of Sandton, or in Bishopscourt, or in the city centre of Cape Town. The state retains the right to direct and strategically plan for development of residential areas, and for the decongestion and final elimination of townships as labour concentration camps, and for finally integrating the South African society without consideration of race or class.

ii. AGRICULTURAL LAND

58. The dynamic is quite different for agricultural land. The products of social labour are the crops, the animals, and sometimes plantations, which are not all permanently attached to the soil. It is these that can be rightly said to be personal properties of a private individual, not the soil.
59. The state must expropriate and be in custodianship of all agricultural land and, in a developmental manner, lead the process of reforming the entire agrarian economy – from the downstream economic activities relating to the production of agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and seeds to the point of production. It must properly address the inverse relationship between farm size and productivity and point of sales, which will involve opening up marketing opportunities for everyone, particularly small-scale farmers. Security of tenure on agricultural land must be provided in the form of medium- to long-term leases to producers at very low cost to the producers themselves.
60. A truly transformative intervention in the South African agrarian economy must of necessity entail the subdivision of large and unproductive farming estates, redistributing these to small scale farmers, farm workers and farm dwellers. Residing on farms must be given the air of permanence guaranteed to a resident in more urban centres.
61. The state must then develop other enabling mechanisms for the development and support of the agricultural sector through support with input resources, extension services and market access. The state must protect the industry from undue competition from cheap products from outside the country, mainly from countries that support and protect their own agriculture. The principle position is that the agricultural sector cannot properly develop without direct state intervention. This must entail the creation of an Agricultural Development Bank, the reconstitution of Agricultural Products Marketing Boards, and targeted support to small-scale farmers in general.

iii. INDUSTRIAL LAND

62. The policy thrust for industrial land is similar to the one on agricultural land. Industries, and people who want to utilise the land for industrial purposes, must apply to the state for land-use licenses. This must be given on the basis of clarity of what the land is going to be used for, the period required for the land to be used, and the kind of economic activities

to be performed. The industrial actors must then pay a nominal lease price for the use of public land to generate private gain.

63. When the lease period for the land comes to an end, the State must be in a position to evaluate the continued usefulness for a renewed lease agreement. This must be based on the social and economic value of the land.

iv. LAND IN THE FORMER HOMELANDS

64. This is made to be a trickier situation than it actually is. With the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, where there is a piece of legislation, the Ingonyama Trust Act, giving ownership powers of over two million hectares of land to the king of the Zulu people, the situation in rest of the country is different.
65. Land in the former reserves and, more specifically, in areas governed by traditional leaders is technically state-owned land. Traditional leaders are given land administration powers emanating from customs, and often customs perverted by colonialism and apartheid. There is not much legislative requirement needed for clarifying land ownership in these areas. What is needed rather is to clarify the land administration powers of traditional leadership and align these to democratic principles.
66. The EFF must develop a firm position on the institution of traditional leadership. Do we continue propping up a feudal system that acts as a repressive force for women, simply on the basis of upholding culture?
67. A view that must be firmly supported is that while traditional leaders are respected as custodians of African culture, they never had land ownership powers from the beginning. They held the land on behalf of the communities they led. A new system of democratic administration of the land in the former homelands must be developed where traditional leaders, communities and government will play clear roles with the sole purpose of ensuring transparency, fairness and lack of gender discrimination in the allocation of land.
68. This must entail the cessation of the feudal power relations given to traditional leaders and ensure a democratic dispensation for land administration.

v. INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS NEEDED

69. For state custodianship of land to be of transformative importance to the people, a capable state is needed. This state must be able to provide strategic direction, technical expertise and ensure transparency. The EFF's Cardinal Pillar 3 speaks about building state capacity to ensure the implementation of the movement's transformative agenda. More specifically, this cardinal pillar says:
70. "The public service should be strengthened for a sustainable transformation of the economy. The ethos of such a state should be developmental and very strong and, hence, consistent with anti-corruption measures. This is emphasised because the task of fundamental economic transformation requires a strong state with the ability to develop a clear strategic vision, and be able to implement and monitor the progress being made."

71. Furthermore, Cardinal Pillar 7 speaks of open accountable governance, and more specifically, it says:
72. "The current political system is designed to exclude the people from participating in decision making. South Africa's electoral systems are controlled by money, secrecy and power..... The EFF shall agitate for the transfer of power to the people and make democracy real for the majority."
73. This then requires a deliberate process to build institutions that would be able to manage and redistribute land on an equitable basis to all South Africans, particularly the dispossessed Africans.
74. This would then require a well capacitated National Land Management Agency (People's Land Council, as per the 2019 Elections Manifesto), equipped with the necessary technical, legal and social science skills to administer land on behalf of the people in both the rural and urban set ups.
75. This agency must be able to deal with all four dimensions of land tenure mentioned above. More critically, this agency must have a transformative mandate in order to change the very nature of power relations in South Africa. There must be sufficient checks and balances in law, to ensure that this agency becomes immune to corruption, and deal severely with officials who may want to corrupt the system for their own nefarious reasons.
76. Overall, state custodianship of land is the most decisive break from the corrosive and exploitative nature of capital in South Africa since the entrenchment of colonialism and western notions of ownership. It is the most transformative proposition on the resolution of the land question thus far.

5) PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS TO EFFECT LAND EXPROPRIATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION.

77. Over and above matters of institutional make-up and transformative conceptualisations of radical land reforms, we argue that at the root of the problem is the constitutional framework itself. At the moment, the Constitution provides for inherently contradicting imperatives. On the one hand, it provides for a three-tier land reform programme in Sections 25(5), 25(6) and 25(7) of the Constitution, but these sections are preceded by restrictive provisions in the Constitution.
78. Section 25 (1) guarantees the inviolability of private property rights, most of which are a direct product of colonial and apartheid dispossession. Section 25 (2) does provide for the state to expropriate land for land reform purposes, but unambiguously obliges the state to pay compensation. Section 25 (3) requires the compensation to be "just and fair". It must be calculated taking a number of factors into account; they include the current use of the property, history of acquisition, the market value of the property, extent of direct state investment and subsidy previously received.

79. Section 25 in its entirety is drafted thus:

1. No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property.
2. Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application
 - a) For a public purpose or in the public interest; and
 - b) Subject to compensation, the amount of which and the time and manner of payment of which have either been agreed to by those affected or decided or approved by a court.
3. The amount of the compensation and the time and manner of payment must be just and equitable, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected, having regard to all relevant circumstances, including
 - a) The current use of the property;
 - b) The history of the acquisition and use of the property;
 - c) The market value of the property;
 - d) The extent of direct state investment and subsidy in the acquisition and beneficial capital improvement of the property; and
 - e) The purpose of the expropriation.
4. For the purposes of this section
 - a) The public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources; and
 - b) Property is not limited to land.
5. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.
6. A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.
7. A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.
8. No provision of this section may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination, provided that any departure from the provisions of this section is in accordance with the provisions of section 36 (1).

9. Parliament must enact the legislation referred to in subsection (6).

80. Taking these into account, it is difficult for the state to effect meaningful land reform, because the state is constitutionally obliged to pay compensation for expropriated land.

81. The EFF has already tabled a motion for the amendment of the Constitution in Parliament, supported by other predominantly black parties. But there is a disjuncture in as far as the conceptualisation of land expropriation goes between these parties.

82. The EFF must therefore provide meaningful leadership. The proposed constitutional amendments must look as follows:

1. All land in private hands is from henceforth expropriated without compensation and placed in the hands of the people as a whole.
2. The state is the custodian of all land held on behalf of the people.
 - (a) An independent state agency shall develop policies, rules and regulations for purposes set out in this section subject to a law of general application.
 - (b) An independent Land Ombudsman shall be established through an Act of parliament to oversee and protect citizen's land rights.
3. For the purposes of this section property is not limited to land.
4. All citizens shall be entitled to security of tenure to property as set out in an Act of Parliament.
5. No one who has rights to land, including squatter rights, may be deprived of their rights to land except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of land rights.
6. Deprivation of rights to property may happen only in the public interest, or for a public purpose.
7. For purposes of this section –
 - (a) the public interest and objectives of this section include[s] the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources [; and
 - (b) property is not limited to land.]
8. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land for purposes of ensuring security of tenure for the periods and purposes set out in an Act of Parliament on an equitable basis.

9. A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.
10. A person or community dispossessed of property from 1652 through any form of conquest, illegal dispossession, colonial or apartheid laws is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property for the purposes of ensuring security of tenure for the periods and purposes set out in an Act of Parliament or to equitable redress.
11. [No provision of this section may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination, provided that any departure from the provisions of this section is in accordance with the provisions of section 36(1)].
12. Parliament must enact an overarching legislation to give effect to this section within 12 months of the amendment.

6) AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE FOOD ECONOMY

83. The South African agricultural sector is a constricted sector, controlled by monopolies across the entire value chain. The structure of any agricultural system is not determined by a neutral process, but rather reflects a dominant political, economic and social narrative. South Africa's has been shaped by colonisation, apartheid and democracy, it is influenced by globalisation and benefits a particular group of stakeholders.
84. South Africa is a semi-arid country, and of the total land surface in South Africa, only about 12% is arable, that is land suitable for crop production. About 70% of the land however is suitable for livestock farming, and is considered agricultural land.
85. There are about 35 000 to 37 000, almost all white, commercial farmers, and this number has been declining since trade liberalisation and the deregulation of the agricultural industry. This has seen massive accumulation of agricultural land by only a tiny minority, who have bought off struggling smaller farms, and consolidated these into bigger farms and, increasingly, these farms are owned by corporations.
86. It must be noted that the number of commercial farming enterprises is on a downward spiral, declining over the years because the liberalisation of trade has led to the consolidation of farming units by the more capitalised farmers, with wide networks in global agriculture.
87. In contrast, there are roughly 200 000 commercial-oriented smallholders in the country and about 2 million households practicing subsistence agriculture, often without suitable land.
88. Of the 35 000 commercial farmers, only 10% produce about 70% of the food, and 20% are considered profitable. The rest are struggling to make ends meet. The sector is characterised by the colonial- and apartheid-created dualities, which the post-1994 dispensation has been unable to resolve.

89. The 2016 Community Survey of Agricultural Households by Statistics South Africa indicated that in total, there are about 2.3 million agricultural households in South Africa, the bulk of them in KwaZulu-Natal, followed by the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. These are households that regularly practice agriculture, either as a main source of livelihood or as a complementary activity to other sources of income.
90. Blacks had the highest representation of these agricultural households at 15.5% of the total black population, followed by whites at 8.6%. But strangely, 85% of black agricultural households were using their backyards to plough and a mere 6% used farms. In contrast, 58% of whites used their relatively large backyards for agriculture and 38% have access to farmland.
91. The agricultural industry is further constricted across the entire value chain. The control of seeds is monopolised by Monsanto and Pannar. It should be of concern that two US-based companies own nearly the entire germplasm pool of South Africa's staple food supply.
92. The former co-ops Senwes, NWK and AFGRI (former co-operatives) control 74% of the maize handling and storage capacity in South Africa. Three companies, Tiger Brands, Premier Foods and Pioneer Foods, control the milling of white maize (about 60%) and wheat (about 90%), along with Foodcorp.
93. Stefanie Swanepol noted in 2014 that "White commercial farmers controlled 86% of the country's arable land while apartheid policies confine black farmers to 'bantustans' with limited access to markets, let alone arable land, and devastating the African farming base and stripped households from agricultural and rural capital. The sector reflects the fragmented allocation of benefits and burdens to different race groups, genders and geographical areas during apartheid, in particular access to arable, land, water, education, subsidies and credit."
94. These constrictions in the agricultural sector make it virtually impossible for emerging black farmers to compete.
95. In addition to the inward structural barriers to agricultural growth, there are also external, policy barriers to comprehensive development of the agricultural sector.
96. The most important of the barriers came with the liberalisation of agricultural trade introduced just before the dawn of democracy, which, amongst other things, removed targeted state support for agriculture in this country.
97. The International Labour Organisation characterises the dynamism that emerged since trade liberalisation as follows:
- a. Market deregulation and trade liberalisation have, on the one hand, seen the state withdrawing from the sector. Agricultural marketing boards and the single marketing system, which previously forced producers to negotiate en bloc with powerful international supermarkets, were phased out. Trade liberalisation saw the phasing out of tariff protections to South African farmers and further decreases in farm subsidisation. As a result of the latter, the Producer Support Estimate to South

African producers shrunk to about 3 per cent - well below the 20 per cent average of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The extent to which the previous tariff regime was reduced also went far beyond what was required in terms of the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture (URAA, cited in Griffiths, 2003).

- b. Trade liberalisation has also deepened South African producers' integration into global food value chains. It has done so at a point in time when international (and local) retail power has become increasingly consolidated and more powerful. The combined processes of market deregulation and supermarket consolidation have served to weaken producers' collective bargaining power in the market place. As a result, some of the agricultural value chains, which were previously controlled by South African producers, are now controlled by international retailers. In the process, most South African producers have become price takers.
- c. While the state on the one hand withdrew from the sector, on the other hand it has inserted itself purposefully into the agricultural sector by legislating the relationship between producers and labour. First, it extended labour legislation to farm workers, who were previously not protected by either the Basic Conditions of Employment Act or the Labour Relations Act. Second, in 2003, a Sectoral Determination for agricultural was promulgated which set a minimum wage for the sector. Third, the Extension of Security and Tenure Act, effected in 1997, aimed to provide more security of tenure to farm workers living on farms.

98. All these contradictions in the agricultural sector mean one thing: while the agricultural sector, the amount of food produced and the footprint South African agriculture has in the global markets can be said to be growing, this happens at the expense of household food security.

99. The country may be producing enough food for local consumption and global trade, but there is barely enough food to take care of the consumption needs of the most marginalised in South African society.

100. A comprehensive agrarian reform programme, which must automatically follow the land reform programme, must seek to address these contradictions in South African agriculture.

2. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

101. Land expropriation without compensation for equal redistribution and use remains the lodestar of all EFF policies on land.

102. The EFF must robustly pursue the amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution in Parliament, and must do so only on terms dictated to by the EFF Founding Manifesto. The EFF must not, under any circumstances, agree to cosmetic amendments of the constitution that would leave productive land in the hands of the minorities.

103. The EFF must fervently pursue the ideal of public ownership of all land in South Africa, with the state as a custodian of the land on behalf of the people as a whole. A constitutional amendment that does not include this salient principle must be rejected.
104. To guard against the abuse of power by those in government, included in the new property clause in the Constitution must be a provision for the establishment of a Land Ombudsman, which must be integrated in Chapter 9 of the Constitution. The land ombudsman must be empowered to defend the public against any abuses encountered by the public from any government official.
105. There must also be a People's Land Court, empowered to resolve any land-related disputes that the Land Ombudsman may not be able to deal with.
106. The EFF must agitate for the establishment of the People's Land Council/Land Management Agency, to manage all land on behalf of the people. This council/agency must be democratically elected, and be informed by the Constitution. Its decisions must be reviewable in court and if any of its officials are found to have contravened the law, punishment must be as harsh as possible to dissuade other officials from breaking the law.
107. There must be a Land Redistribution Act enacted, which must be an overarching legislation governing land redistribution and management in South Africa.
108. The EFF must emphasise the need for a broad, public ownership of land, in a manner that would discontinue private ownership of land in South Africa.
109. The EFF must, as a matter of principle and ideological commitment, seek to develop South African agriculture through the promotion of smallholder farming. The promotion of smallholder agriculture must essentially mean the subdivision of large, unworkable farming estates into smaller, feasible family farms.
110. The ultimate limits as to the size of farms each person must be allowed to have rights over must be determined by agro-ecological conditions.
111. The EFF must fight for the re-introduction of agricultural product market boards so as to standardise the marketing of agricultural products across the country. The purpose must always be to benefit the farmer rather than the retailer.
112. The EFF must fight for the use of tariff and non-tariff barriers to promote local production of food and discourage the importation of foodstuffs that can be produced internally.
113. The EFF must move for legislation that would outlaw the eviction of farmworkers and farm dwellers across the country.



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1. INTRODUCTION

1. The struggle for the emancipation of women and the gender non-conforming (GNC) is one that cannot be divorced from the struggle of Black people as the marginalized collective. Black people, for centuries, have been subjected to immense abuse and alienation from the dignity that is afforded to humankind that has manifested in many ways. Women in South Africa, particularly Black women, have suffered a great deal during apartheid. The distinction to separate the struggle of Black women from that of other women is intentional as by virtue of being Black, Black women are not only encountered by the struggle for liberation as women, but also as Black people.
2. Black women face a nuanced and multi sectional and intersectional struggle from that of sanitary towels, to that of safety, right up to that of being afforded a platform to be leaders of society and everything else in between. Not only did Black women have to deal with apartheid laws but patriarchy and misogyny at home and in the society. Despite the attainment of political power post 1994 elections, wherein gender equality policies and laws were partially established, the status quo remained and is the case to date.
3. In different parts of the world globally, Black women in particular find themselves being the premise of different kinds of oppressions waged against humanity socially, politically and economically. In 2014, South Africa dramatically dropped from 4th position out of 87 countries on their social institutions and gender index to 90th position out of 148 nations. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) largely attributed the decline to the failure of the justice system. Out of the 67000 sexual offences reported 2012 and 2013 only 6% of these cases led to conviction.
4. From a young age, Black women and girls are moulded to believe that they are the weaker gender that is vulnerable to violence and abuse. Black women and girls are taught to not only fear men but to also revere them as superior human beings. Furthermore, the systemic entrenchment working against the liberty of women ensures that there are various factors that trigger and sustain the positionality of Women and the GNC persons in society. These factors are entrenched through social systems like culture, politics, religion and general social norms. These factors also work to normalize and mainstream the domesticity of women, their objectification and the stripping away of agency and bodily autonomy from women in different and various ways. Engels (1884) asserts that gender oppression is closely related to class oppression and that the relationship between men and women in society is similar to the relations between proletariat and bourgeoisie.
5. He further emphasizes that women's subordination is a function of class oppression, maintained because it serves the interests of capital. "Gender oppression also divides men against women, privileges working class men relatively within the capitalist system in order to secure their support; and legitimates the capitalist class's refusal to pay for the domestic labour assigned, unpaid, to women. As a result, women have historically been marginalised and regarded as unequal to men in terms of social and power relations that has given rise to significant social, cultural and economic inequalities.

6. South Africa is ranked as the most unequal country in the world, when measured in terms of income and wealth. Inequality often overlaps with poverty, socio-economic disadvantage, and race and South Africa is a typical example of where poverty and socio-economic disadvantage intersect directly with race due to the legacy of apartheid, and this affected women disproportionately. A system that exploits and creates a conducive foundation for society to wage different kinds of violence against women and the GNC is thus misogynistic. A system or way of living that acknowledges men as default leaders and superior species over women and children, is patriarchy.

2. ON GENDER

7. Gender pertains to the performative aspect of being a man and or woman. Most genders are assigned to people at birth based on the biological sex of the baby at birth. A person born female will be assigned the gender of a girl and later on a woman and a person born as a male will be assigned the gender of a boy and later on a man. These assigned genders are performative even before the birth of the baby. Male children who are assigned the gender of a 'boy' are associated with the colour blue and cars whilst female children who are assigned the gender of a 'girl' are associated with the colour pink and dolls. In the assignment of gender under the current social norm, there is no in between or alternative gender than that of man and or woman. This is what we refer to as a gender binary. The woman is presumed to be feminine, and the man masculine.
8. Femininity is associated with gentleness, irrationality and weakness whilst masculinity is associated to strength, logic and intelligence. In some cultures, the logic behind the woman being a weaker gender is supported by the idea that the woman has a bleeding wound (vagina) from having 'castrated' of the phallus (penis). This binary becomes problematic as it is imposed and also excludes those born intersex. The socialization perpetuated by gendering assumes the performative nature one should possess and failure and decision to not follow suit results in various of violations towards human beings and is thus the foundation of misogyny, homophobia, transphobia and queerphobia. This way of imposing gendering norms also results in the perpetual continuation of patriarchy whereby those assumed the gender of man, have to overcompensate by exerting masculinity so that they can be deemed to be 'men' as fragility is associated with femininity.
9. Sexuality is a term broadly used to refer sexual orientation. There are over fifty terms in the discourse of sexuality. The most common being heterosexual and homosexual. This supposed binary does not cover the entire existence of sexuality which is always evolving as a discourse. LGBTQIAP+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual/Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, Pansexual and etc) refers to a collective outside of the heterosexual identity. It must however be noted that being transsexual, transgender and intersex are not a sexuality per se but an identity either assigned at birth, or transform into later on in one's life.

10. The struggle for gender equality is peculiar in regards to the different identities embodied and performed by women. Intersectionality pertains to recognizing the nuances and dynamics of being a woman who is Black, Coloured, identifying to the LGBTQIAP+ community, a woman living in the rural area and or township area, an immigrant woman, and or a woman living with a disability and having some of these different struggles coexist with each other. The point of contact of each of these struggles, where they intersect, is the premise of defining the duality as an intersectionality. In each of the noted identities women embody, there are different other intricacies that inform the different struggles inherent in the overall quest for gender equality. In simple terms, there is no umbrella approach in defining Women's struggle, uprooting misogyny and the normalization of patriarchy and there is no one way to go about realizing liberation for African women and the GNC in particular. Gender inequality extends beyond women and men. The lives of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Quuers (LGBTIQ) are under consistent threat in a misogynist, homophobic, classist and violent society like South Africa.

3. THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

1. Labour

11. The structural gender divisions of labour, both paid and unpaid, continue to lie at the heart of many cultural and social practices in South Africa. For women residing within rural areas of South Africa, poverty remains a persistent contributing factor to gender inequality. With transport in rural areas being a challenge, women often depend on lifts from strangers to get around. This puts them at huge risk: violence, human trafficking, rape and other forms of sexual assault. Women living in rural areas are automatically excluded from partaking or initiating an opportunity to compete with their male counterparts.

12. In terms of household income, men generally earn almost twice what women earn annually. In addition, trends indicate that white men dominate top across all sectors in the country. According to the 2016/17 Commission Employment Equity data, more than two-thirds male representation exists in the private sector. Although 29% of senior roles in South Africa are now filled by women, one in five local businesses still have no women in senior position. (Grant Thornton Business report, 2018).

13. The agricultural sector has an overwhelming number of white men at top management level. This means that transformation in terms of access to alternative streams of income is very slow.

14. Agricultural economist, Wandile Sihlobo confirms that women constitute between 60% and 80% of smallhold farmers but make up only 15%-20% of landholders in sub-Saharan Africa. However, there has not been a land audit or research that investigates land ownership by women as yet. Women's contribution in the agricultural labour market is hampered by legal and cultural constraints.

15. Capitalism has played a role in ensuring that women remain at the bottom of the food chain. Despite the fact that industries dominated by women are the most pivotal in the making, development and sustenance of societies (food production, textile and apparel industry, nursing and teaching to name a few). Capitalism has maintained that the labour provided by women remains unnoticeable and exploited in numerous ways. The economic positionality of women renders them dependent and easily exploited and much of the violence against women is encouraged by the fact that women do not have the means to care for themselves.
16. Like many other structural problems faced by women, the exclusion of women from the work space is linked to the belief that men are more valuable than women. For example, although women are recognized as cooks, the chef industry is dominated by men.
17. Furthermore, as perceived caregivers and nurturers women are subjected to often providing unpaid labour in the household. They are also paid less than men on the assumption that they are not the breadwinners in their family – this being reserved for men.
18. The general nature of Capitalism is the pursuit of labour for exploitation. The exploitative relationship between community healthcare workers and nurses, foreign nationals and citizens of a country, is no different to the indifference presented by the labour provided for by women over men. The reason is not quality of work, but conditions presented that are opportunistic and conducive for exploitation.

2. *Transgender*

19. Discrimination on the grounds of gender and gender identity is rife in our society. A case of a transgender learner before the Equality Court highlights how much must be done to address the concept of gender identity. While the case was won the complainant, it was striking that the court referred to the complainant as male despite her identifying as female. The inability to understand or reasonably accommodate non-binary gender identities, as displayed by both school authorities and the Equality Court itself, reflects indirect discrimination and systemic inequality in the form of a hierarchy of social norms that do not fully recognise those who do not conform to traditional gender identities. Even the institutions task with resolving issues are not equipped to deal with the less traditional forms of otherness.

3. *Discriminatory cultural practices*

20. Traditional culture and religious morals link female value to virginity, with the implication that a woman's is irrevocably diminished once she is sexually active. This is a clear indication of patriarchy. It also linked to the belief that pregnancy is the sole responsibility of a female, rather than a co-responsibility equally shared between women and men.

21. Linked to the above beliefs is the invasive and discriminatory practise of “inspections” (such as *ukuhlolwa*) where a young woman is required to “prove” her virginity. Men are not at any stage subjected to the practise.

4. *Ukuthwala*

22. *Ukuthwala* is a traditional form of marriage involving the abduction of young girls with the intention of marrying the girl. This practice involves the kidnapping, rape and forced marriage of minor girls as young as 12. Traditionally, the practice involves negotiations between the man and the girl’s family in the form of an arranged marriage. Communities that practise “*ukuthwala*” value the custom and believe that it prevents girls from having children out of wedlock. As long as the male has the means to pay *lobola*.

5. *Ukungena*:

23. This is mainly practised by the Amampondo tribe when a widow after losing her husband is obliged to marry the brother of the deceased. This process is referred to as a law of succession.

6. *Gender-based violence*

24. Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a persistent problem in South Africa. The high levels of GBV that women face also reflect violence against sexual and gender minorities and people with non-normative bodies. In particular, “corrective rape” results in significant harm to lesbian, gay and transgender people as it is not just a sex crime but a hate crime as well. It is estimated that 21% of women over the age of 18 years have experienced violence by a partner.

25. In the South African and African context, GBV is widely used to refer to the violence waged against women in particular because they are women. Culture and religion have for many decades been used to ensure the continuity of women being subordinates and “objects” of men. GBV manifests in different ways. The most common being women not being afforded agency and/or choice. Women in South Africa are harassed by men every single day. These violations range from verbal insults hurled at women in the streets, to actual physical assault, rape and the murder of women.

26. Gender struggles go beyond physical GBV. *Banyana Banyana* earning less than *Bafana Bafana* just because they are women, is a form of GBV. Capable women being sidelined from managerial and leadership positions are a form of GBV.

7. *Intimate Partner Violence*

27. Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) refers to the abuse happening in conventional relationships. IPV occurs in many ways; physical, verbal, emotional and psychological abuse of a romantic partner. It is similar to domestic violence, except that in with domestic violence, everyone in the home is affected by the abuse and the abuser (emotionally, physically, psychologically and verbally).

8. Education

28. It is the state's responsibility to provide access to quality education. The importance of access to quality education in order to unlock the potential of people and to provide economic opportunities cannot be over-emphasized. However, the education system in South Africa, is subject to significant challenges, including, but not limited to inadequate infrastructure (including water and sanitation). Access to education impacts young women and girls in a peculiar manner.
29. In rural and some township areas where the geographical distance is a barrier for pupils in accessing education, it is a distinct barrier for girls whose safety is more a risk than that of the boy child. There are reports of young girls being dragged into bushes and velds and being sexually assaulted on a daily basis. The anxiety paralyses many young girls who then drop out of school.
30. Young women and girls also face the challenge of not having sanitary towel resources that mitigate against them going to school on days when they are menstruating. Four days a month may seem like a small number of days every month but, when added, a young girl can lose close to 400 days of schooling because of a lack of sanitary towels. The undignified reality of having to use newspaper that also has health repercussions is an issue that has led many young girls to choosing not to live with the shame. If a pupil is to drop out, it shouldn't be because they do not have sanitary towels.

9. Legislation

31. The provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, explicitly provides for a democratic state based on, amongst others, the principle of "non-sexism". Section 9 of the Constitution guarantees the right to equality. It does so by providing for equality of all before the law, allowing for positive redress measures to advance previously disadvantaged persons, and by prohibiting unfair discrimination by the state and by individuals.
32. Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 4 of 2000 (PEPUDA) Section 8 of this Act stipulates that no person may unfairly discriminate against any person on the ground of gender and goes on to list the following prohibited forms of gender-based discrimination:

10. Gender-based violence

33. Any practice, including traditional, customary or religious practice, which impairs the dignity of women and undermines equality between women and men, including the undermining of the dignity and well-being of the girl child.
34. Any policy or conduct that unfairly limits access of women to land rights, finance and other resources.

- 35. Limiting women's access to social services or benefits, such as health, education and social security.
- 36. Systemic inequality of access to opportunities by women as a result of the sexual division.

11. Parental Injustice

- 37. Women are historically entrusted with being primary caregivers in the home. It is unjust to relegate primary caregiving to women and at the same time unpaid domestic labour. It is the role of women like Socialist Feminist Lily Braun that brought about some of the victories for women in the workspace like paid maternity leave and state subsidised early childhood development centres. This position is an important one as capitalism is the primary beneficiary of labour that is birthed, cared for and paid for by the free labour of primary caregiving by women. The state is also a beneficiary by default and thus should be obliged to contribute to the care for children and by so doing, grant women an opportunity to be active economic participants.
- 38. In South Africa there is a culture of women being abandoned and children being neglected by their fathers. This is a social issue that can't be resolved by being wished away. The government of the day must initiate tangible steps on protecting women and children by ensuring that the labour of raising children is not the responsibility of women. The government must ensure that women do not rely on the mercy of men for them to raise children they brought to this world.

12. Sexual Reproductive Health Rights

- 39. About 1 500 young women between the ages 14 and 25 are infected with HIV on a daily basis. Young women and girls face the challenge of clinics being short of contraceptive drugs. Young women also cannot negotiate the use of condoms considering that skewed power dynamics between men and women.
- 40. The vulnerability of young women in a world that has a weak sexual reproductive healthcare system leads young women to premature deaths seeking abortion facilities that aren't afforded to them. On paper, our government provides all kinds of sexual reproductive healthcare. The reality however of a young poor Black woman who does not want to be the 1 of 4 women who get stuck permanently in the cycle of poverty by keeping a child they cannot afford, will be forced to because sexual reproductive healthcare is a myth for the dejected in South Africa. There are various other dynamics at play that influence access and usage of sexual reproductive healthcare by young women and girls. These dynamics range from some of the contraceptive methods being a health hazard (depoprovera increases the chances of contracting HIV by 41% and is the most widely used contraceptive for teenage girls – who happen to be the most vulnerable in contracting HIV), shortage of contraceptives, stigma, and negative response of the different bodies to the hormonal disturbance.

13. Sex work

41. Sex work is currently a criminal offense in South Africa. Women sex workers face many dangers, including the risking their lives. Sex workers are subjected to immense abuse at the hands of men, their clients, societal stigma against sex work, and even state machinery that treats them as criminals. Sex work as an alternative way of making living in an economy that alienates women, yet they are abused for this.
42. No woman should be subjected to rape, exploitation, inaccessible healthcare, treacherous work conditions and the relinquishing their basic human rights just because they are sex workers. The price of sex work is the decay of dignity of women which is a basic right of every South African. The decriminalization of sex work is not only about dignity and the protection of sex workers, but also about restoring agency and bodily autonomy to a collective that has been robbed of the power to choose what to do with their bodies.

4. ORGANISATIONAL POSITION

43. The EFF is a non-sexist organization that acknowledges the ever-evolving discourse on women, gender and sexuality. The Fanonian lens on decolonisation and emancipation finds expression even in the gender and sexuality question: "The first shall become last and the last shall become first."
44. Feminism, in simple terms, refers to the quest for equality and equity for those who have been ostracized and marginalized because of their biological sex, gender and sexuality. Feminism's primary call is for social, political and economic equality for women, the LGBTQIAP+ and the GNC. Feminism recognizes that there is an intentional subjugation of women in particular, from political, social and economic opportunities and freedom.
45. The EFF represents the society's most vulnerable, who have been marginalised under the current system. The organisation also believes that an indignity to one person is an indignity to all. The EFF is against the oppression of anyone based on their gender expression or sexual orientation. It is against tribalism and religious and cultural intolerance. The organisation opposes any cultural or religious practices that promote the oppression of anyone especially groups that have been historically oppressed by such practices.
46. The EFF will strive to realise women's liberation, through a variety of interventions, from education against patriarchy and sexism, to legislation and close monitoring of the implementation of the same in order to realise women's empowerment in society, the family and the workplace. The EFF believes that gender-based violence and related antisocial activities are reinforced and even sustained by the deplorable conditions of our people, therefore a key to female emancipation is the emancipation of all. The EFF will emphasise transforming the lives of our people from generalised structural violence as a mechanism to end all violence including violence against women.

5. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

47. The EFF government will strive to realise women's liberation through a variety of interventions, starting with prioritising women when it comes to the benefits of economic emancipation. These interventions will include education against patriarchy and sexism, complemented by legislation to protect and promote women's liberation and the close monitoring of the implementation in order to realise real women empowerment in society, within the family and at the workplace.
48. The EFF believes that gender-based violence and related antisocial activities are reinforced and even sustained by the deplorable general conditions of our people; therefore, a key to female emancipation is the emancipation of all. The EFF will emphasise transforming the lives of our people in the ghettos from one of generalised structural violence as a mechanism to end all violence, including violence against women.
49. The EFF government will ensure that the following key interventions are made:
1. 50% women representation in all spheres representing economic benefit, political participation, a managerial and leadership responsibility;
 2. Compulsory gender education and training for all (e.g. at school, work, within the family, church, in the legislative, executive as well as civil society);
 3. Education of the police on gender justice and the establishment of specialised law enforcement units to deal with women-related crimes;
 4. Strengthening of education of men on patriarchy, sexism and misogyny;
 5. Engaging custodians of tradition, faith leaders and other cultural practitioners to collectively find means to combat the oppression of women.
 6. The EFF government will introduce a special inspectorate in the Department of Labour to monitor, report on and enforce gender parity and equality in the workplace. Such measures will range from name-and-shame, heavy penalties to the withdrawal of trading licences in the case of repeat offenders.
 7. The EFF government will introduce a whistle-blowing mechanism for reporting all instances of sexual harassment, jobs-for-sex and gender-based violence in the workplace.
 8. The EFF government will initiate a comprehensive research project aimed at the recognition of work performed by women in the household as formal labour which contributes to the national economy, GDP and the formal tax system.
 9. The EFF government will ensure that in high risk areas and in areas where school pupils and students have to walk through dangerous surroundings, there will be police presence 24/7 and on-site police to walk the pupils to school.
 10. 18. The EFF government will devise legislation that ensures that domestic abuse and gender-based violence cases are cases in which the state intervenes without formal cases being opened by victims.
 11. 20. The EFF government will build shelters for women and LGBTQIAP+ survivors and ensure that they are well resourced, that the staff is added onto

the government employees payroll and has a standardized payment method as the employees of government, and that shelters and places of safety are ran like other state institutions like clinics, police stations etc.

12. The EFF government will publicize the sex offenders list for the public to be able to access.
13. The EFF government will add domestic violence, gender-based violence and sexual crime cases to schedule five offenses that are most likely to not receive bail in court.
14. The EFF government will create an IPID division that solely focuses on complaints against police who do not allow victims to open cases pertaining to GBV and police who are complicit and or alleged to the perpetrators of crimes against women, children and gender-based violence crimes.
15. The EFF government will ensure that all cultural practices which promote and tolerate gender discrimination and gender-based violence and enforce gender inequality are abolished through institutions such as SAHRC, CGE, CRL.
16. The EFF government will ensure that part and parcel of the curriculum used for the training of police is on gender justice, the nuances of gender-based violence, and an evolving curriculum that is constantly updated to address the multi sectoral growth around gender justice. SAPS members should be trained on the Criminal Procedures Act 51 of 1977 and other legislations that deal with violence against women to well versed on ways to deal with offenders of cases of violence against women.
17. The EFF government will make accessible to the public a routinely updated database of police officials and police stations which have been found to have violated victims of gender-based violence and sexual crimes.
18. The EFF government will institute immediate suspensions of police officers and officials who are alleged to have committed crimes of violence against women and children pending the outcome of the cases in the court of law.
19. The provision of evidence kits will be regulated via a national system that is able to track down the supply, demand and provision to public via an electronic system.
20. The EFF government will ensure that all police stations and offices have at least one person available who is trained at and understand sign language to cater for people who have speech or language difficulties. That all police stations are easy to access for people living with all forms of disabilities, so as not to block their right to protection and security.
21. The EFF government will ensure that the courts and the SAPS and the NPA use community media, public meetings platforms for direct communication as a standard monthly procedure for all its GBV education and information sharing programmes, prioritising mother tongue instruction.

22. The EFF government will ensure that ALL judges, from the Magistrates Court, District Courts, Regional Courts, (Including Labour Court, Maintenance Courts, Sexual Offences Court, the Commercial Crimes Court), the Judicial Services Commission (JSC), the High Court, Supreme Court of Appeals including the Constitutional Court Justices as well retired judges and Justices to be trained and retrained through annual refresher courses, to equip them to deal effectively with gender sensitive cases that include cases related to sexual violence, sexual harassment, domestic violence, paedophilia, child rapes, rape in general, gender based and women targeted murders including all violence against people living with disabilities too. Further that the above training include training for legislatures, prosecutors, and general personnel working the environments of the targeted groups to be trained as an overall aim to address the social ills that fuel gender based violence and sexual crimes against women, children, LGBTQI communities and people living with disabilities - which are mainly misogyny and a patriarchal gaze towards the normalisation of violence against these vulnerable groupings
23. The EFF government will ensure that the courts and the SAPS and the NPA use the SABC, community media and public meetings platforms for direct communication with all vulnerable communities as a standard monthly procedure for all its GBV education and information sharing programmes, prioritising mother tongue instruction, to make sure access to the information is not subject to socio and economic discrimination and to bring the criminal justice system closer to the people.
24. The EFF government will aggressively engage in public awareness and communication strategies and training interventions all aimed at or directed towards positively changing social norms which declare LGBTQI sexual preferences as abnormal.
25. The EFF government will amend the Criminal Law Amendment Act and existing legislation to include harsher minimum sentences for 'corrective' rape specifically, or crimes committed with hatred as motivation in general.
26. The EFF government will also amend the Sex Description Act and related legislation to ensure the Home Affairs Department expedites ID alteration applications for transgender applicants.
27. The EFF government will invest in a public health care system that ensures easy access to gender-affirming treatment.
28. The EFF will establish gender Equality Desk that exists on national, provincial and regional levels to deal with implementing national standardized resolutions on addressing gender inequality, and also catering for the peculiar needs of specific areas in regards to the gender struggle. This desk will also carry the mandate to report on gender matters arising from the membership base and also serve as a school of thought on advancing and deepening the culture of gender mainstreaming in the organization. Gender equality desk to be led by both male and female commissars.

29. The EFF government will abolish forced marriages in totality and particular, those of minor girls as young as twelve. This is a violation of children's rights, human dignity; freedom and security of the person and should therefore be a punishable offence under kidnapping sexual assault and human trafficking.
30. The EFF government Ensure that there is Access to female specific healthcare and sexual reproductive healthcare in accordance to the standards of universal healthcare coverage.
31. The EFF government will ensure that the state provides free sanitary towels and alternative sanitary material for menstruation for women and girls.
32. The EFF government will develop a maintenance court and legislation around parental justice that is strengthened and acknowledges that parenthood is not just monetary but emotional and physical labor as well that both parents should contribute to equally. The maintenance court will be able to assist dysfunctional families with counselling and standardize a parenting facility that teaches healthy parenting skills for parents found to be neglecting their children.

MEDIA, COMMUNICATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS



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1. INTRODUCTION

1. South African society has been deeply shaped by colonial capitalism and as a result, access to information is structured by patterns of colonial capitalist ownership and privilege. Who knows what, who can know what, and for what purposes, continues to be largely determined by who owns what or how much access one has to power and resources? The means of communication are controlled and owned largely by the previously advantaged white minority.
2. The colonial capitalist state is ruled in the interests of white culture, white capital and white domination. It was designed to perpetuate the exploitation of the black majority, relegating them as much as possible to cheap and easily disposable labour.
3. Ideological apparatuses - the education system, the media, the restructured urban and rural family, as well as religious organisations of the colonial capitalist society situated black people as subjects of racial exploitation. Black people were socialised to hate themselves, not to believe in themselves, both as a group and as individuals. Worst of all, black people were socialised to accept their position as inferior and to "fear a world without whites" as Fanon rightly says.
4. However, through protracted struggle for close to a century, both domestically and internationally, a mass movement was built in which the basic propositions of colonial capitalist modernity were challenged. The movement in pursuit of African liberation, presented a counter ideological current to the ruling ideas.
5. The birth of the post-1994 state 25 years ago has failed to fundamentally change the colonial capitalist reality. The total liberation of black people has been trapped in the ideological inadequacies identified by Fanon in the *Wretched of the Earth*. In the main, the former liberation movement has demonstrated an inability and lack of appreciation of the economic critique of the colonial situation. They have since developed an intellectual dependency from without the movement, which at the moment finds expression in the neo-liberal mould of macro socio-economic planning.
6. Neo-liberal ideology actively seeks to keep the state out of economic control and power, in favour of the market. The market is controlled by those with economic power, mainly those who own the means of production and in South Africa these are definitively the white minority. Neo-liberal ideology, therefore, keeps white people in a privileged position and in power over the black majority.
7. Despite the fact that in 1994 the black majority attained state (political) power, by adopting neo-liberal ideology as the *modus operandi* for economic and social planning, the former liberation movement has collaborated with the white minority in keeping the black majority under white domination.

8. Hence, 1994 was not rendered as a break with colonial capitalist modernity. Instead, we now have a more sophisticated domination of black people by the white minority. This is because those with buying power have actual power. Without determinate buying power, land and other crucial resources cannot be transferred to the black majority.
9. Neo-liberal ideology has been adopted and faithfully implemented by the former liberation movement for 25 years and signifies a confirmation of their capitulation. The liberation movement no longer pursues decolonisation. Its stubborn compliance with neo-liberalism means it is decidedly part of the domination of black people in favour of white domination and capitalism in general.
10. For total decolonisation and liberation to happen an alternative revolutionary movement must provide a revolutionary ideological and programmatic alternative that is rooted in the socio-economic critique of the colonial situation and its offspring: the post-colonial state. The EFF is, therefore, this alternative, seeking to unite all black people and the working class towards the realisation of total decolonisation and socialism.
11. This struggle necessitates a continued and new battle of ideas which must essentially perceive the former liberation movement as part and parcel of the oppressor. From the family, to religious formations, to the education system and to the traditional media, revolutionary ideology must penetrate and counteract the prevailing ruling ideas by mobilising society on a revolutionary programme.
12. This is, therefore, a discussion document about how the EFF can penetrate, capture and service ideological apparatuses with revolutionary ideology and mobilise for the revolutionary programme of economic freedom in our lifetime as expressed in our Founding Manifesto.
13. South Africa faces the culminating point of colonial capitalism expressed in its intended duality: a white supremacist capitalist extraction and exploitation on the one hand. As well as a black comprador beneficence with its dilution of the African revolution on the other. Colonial capitalist extraction and exploitation has finally succeeded in gaining an organised black elite to secure, manage and provide legitimacy for its affairs.
14. The battle of the African revolutionary is much more difficult as battle lines are not clear cut. Nonetheless, the struggle must continue, even more robustly than before. The ideas of the revolutionary movement must ultimately gain hegemony against the ruling ideas for real transformation of society to take place. The oppressed must speak and must be heard – this is the task at hand. How do we as the EFF spread the ideas of economic freedom, which must lead to the oppressed telling their stories, confronting their fears, overturning their oppression and building a world that is more human, equal and just – free from colonial capitalist modernity.

- 15.** This battle of ideas necessitates an analysis of the media as the means of ideological production in terms of public discourse. To be more specific, we shall analyse and critique media, information and communications technologies and their trajectory in light of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, with the aim of guiding the movement and its ideas to gain hegemony in society.
- 16.** By definition, media means the communication tools and technologies used to deliver, process and store information, also called data. In the traditional sense, media surpasses the mere journalism industry of news production and its platforms. It includes the entire area of communications: from telecommunications, to cinema, to broadcasting, to online and outdoor media tools.
- 17.** For ease of reference media can be categorised into four broad categories; broadcast media, which includes television, radio and cinema; print media, which includes newspapers, magazines and knock-and-drops; outdoor media, which describes mainly billboards, posters and branding; and digital media, which refers to communication in the online space.
- 18.** This dossier is divided into seven sections:
- (1) ICT and Fourth Industrial Revolution
 - (2) Media and ICT legal frameworks
 - (3) The broadcasting sector
 - (3) Print media
 - (4) Digital media
 - (5) The propaganda war against the EFF
 - (6) Advertising and out-of-home media
 - (7) EFF media

7) ICT AND FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

- 19.** Human history was radically transformed with the rise of industrialisation, mainly in Europe and America in the mid 1700s. Large-scale technological changes brought benefits that transformed the very social fabric of human societies. Modernity – a combination of enlightenment, industrialisation and capitalism – had massive implications for how societies were organised politically, economically and socially.
- 20.** Since this birth of modernity, there have been four significant, impactful and massive industrial revolutions. The first related to mechanisation, largely signified by steam and water power, canals, railroads and large-scale textile manufacturing. The Second Industrial Revolution was characterised by production lines, electric power, telegraphs, automobiles and telephones, dating from late 1800s to the beginning of World War I.

- 21.** The Third Industrial Revolution was essentially a communications revolution as it mainly had to do with the transformation of the means of communications from mechanical and analogue electronics to digital electronics, essentially computation. We have large-scale manufacturing and the use of digital logic, MOSFETs (MOS transistors), integrated circuit (IC) chips, (including computers, microprocessors, digital cellular phones) and most importantly the internet. This is the information age, the age of cybernetics and the digitisation of our world. It includes the birth of the robot and automation.
- 22.** Over the past decade or more, there is consensus that massive disruptions of a revolutionary scale are on the rise due to innovations related to cyber physical systems like smart grids, autonomous automobile systems, medical monitoring, process control systems, robotics systems, and automatic pilot avionics. This is the Fourth Industrial Revolution. It includes the widespread use of three dimension (3D) printing on a massive scale, for example, four-bedroom houses built using 3D-automated printing machines in 24 hours without any human input in the building process; and nanotechnology which is technology dealing with dimensions and tolerances of less than 100 nanometres, especially the manipulation of individual atoms and molecules. There are developments that will lead to the manufacture of clothing to accurately and digitally provide health information like blood pressure, temperature and so on as well as non-invasive medical eye surgery, and other medical monitoring.
- 23.** Alongside these four revolutions, we can also track the evolution in communication channels. Communication between people (two or en-mass) and storage of information can be traced as early as Egyptian civilisation. The invention of writing material (stone tablets, paper, ink, pen, chalk, paint), message delivery from owls and doves to the postman. Over the centuries, this has been followed by public address systems in auditoriums and public squares; recording of entertainment products such as music or sound, theatre productions and key events like weddings.
- 24.** Although the rise of the Euro-American newspaper business coincides with the First Industrial Revolution and its mechanization capability, it is preceded, in Europe, by the printing press that inaugurated a printing revolution dating well before the First Industrial Revolution in the 1500s. The printing press was a revolution on its own as it was essentially a communications revolution. Large-scale printing is at the centre of at least two sweeping social movements in Europe and America; the scientific revolution and the Reformation. East-Asia, however, had been exposed to a printing industry long before, with woodblock printing (on cloth and later paper) that dates as far back as the second century BC.
- 25.** The developments under the Second Industrial Revolution introduced the photographic camera and ultimately, the movie camera for motion pictures. The photostat, which

emerged in early 1900, was a convergence of camera and printing which allowed for the massive reproduction of photographs and written material on paper.

- 26.** The camera is central to the rise of cinematography which was used extensively in the late 19th century. The facsimile and wireless transmission texts using electromagnetic radio waves set the stage for the television which only came into successful use in the 1920s. Radiotelegraphy was the first means of radio communication; the first practical radio transmitters and receivers invented in 1894 used radiotelegraphy. It continued to be the only type of radio transmission during the first three decades of radio, called the “wireless telegraphy era” up until World War I, when the development of amplitude modulation (AM) radiotelephony allowed sound (audio) to be transmitted by radio.
- 27.** These developments were radically transformed during the Third Industrial Revolution, which was essentially a digital revolution, giving rise to the widespread use of computers, cellphones and tablets. Radio, television, photography, videography, voice and video calls, text messaging, books, letters, and gaming converged into a single handset mobile device called a cellphone, tablet or laptop.
- 28.** The Digital Revolution, with the internet at its centre, allowed for the convergence of two centuries of communication technologies onto a single platform, on a single device.
- 29.** It is against this background that our world is now entering the fourth, and much more aggressive, industrial revolution whose capability of conversion is even more radical in speed and volume. Telecommunications devices of the future are thinner, foldable like a page, have long battery life and rechargeable using natural sunlight. Nanotechnology creates batteries that only need sunlight to recharge and last much longer than current technology.
- 30.** Fifth generation (5G) technology mobile devices will enable cheaper and widespread live television broadcasting on the internet directly to mobile devices, making wise spectrum allocation critical. Telecommunications has become the centre of human development. In a digitized world, access to healthcare, education, security and justice, which are basic human rights, will be impossible without telecommunications.
- 31.** In 2018, the telecommunications industry in South Africa generated R187.5 billion in revenue.

a) Revenue breakdown by sub-sector

Sub-sector	Revenue 2018 (2017)
Mobile services	R99.5 billion (R90.7 billion)
Other	R57 billion (R39.4 billion)
Fixed internet and data	R19 billion (R20.4 billion)
Fixed line	R11.9 billion (R13.4 billion)
Total	R187.5 billion (R163.9 billion)

b) Employment

In 2018, 37 063 individuals were directly employed in the telecommunications industry.

c) Investment

Year	Rand value of investment
2015	R23.6 billion
2016	R28 billion
2017	R47.6 billion
2018	R46.9 billion
Total	R146.1 billion

d) Access to internet: South Africa

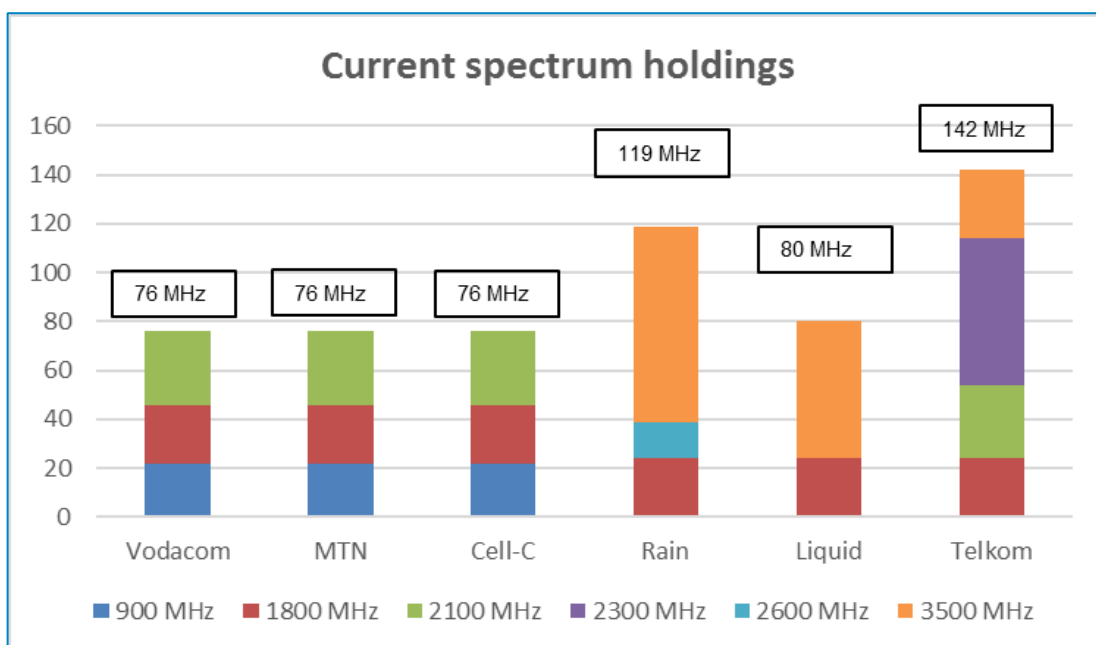
Province	Percent with access to internet at home	Percent with access to internet everywhere
Eastern Cape	4.1%	55.3%
Free State	7.6%	65.8%
Gauteng	16.7%	74.6%
KZN	5.6%	59.4%
Limpopo	1.7%	46.2%
Mpumalanga	4.4%	70.2%
North West	3%	58.9%
Northern Cape	4.6%	55.4%
Western Cape	25.8%	72.4%
South Africa	10.4%	64.7%

e) Access to telecommunications devices: South Africa

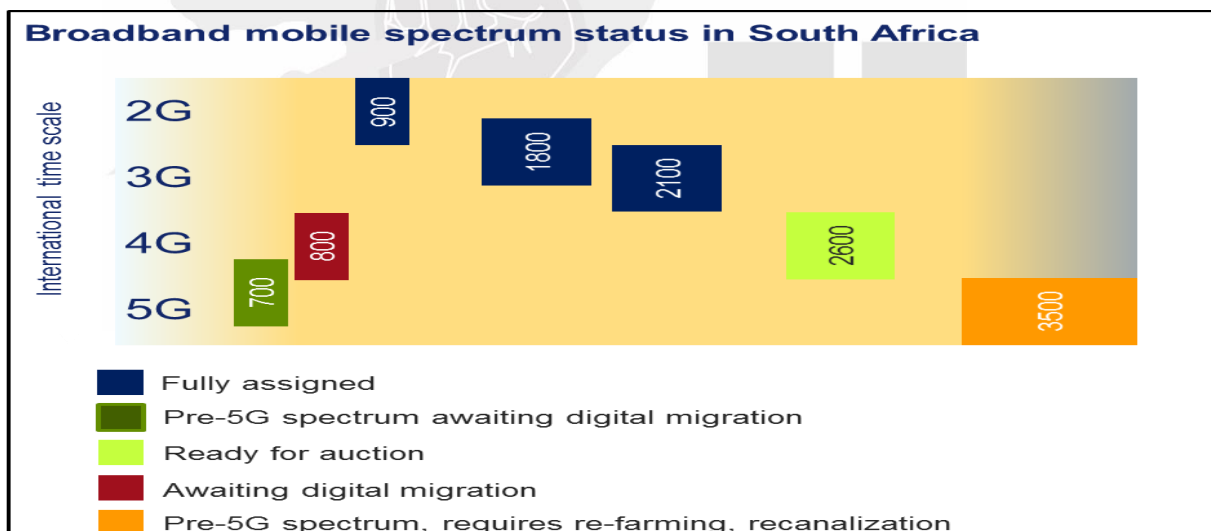
Type of access	Percentage of households 2018	Percentage of households 2017
Functional cell and landline	7.1%	8.2%
Only functional cell phone	89.5%	88.2%
Only functional landline	0.1%	0.1%
None	3.4%	3.5%

- 32.** This means South Africa has a 90% national territory covered by Global System for Mobile (GSM) Communication – protocols for second-generation (2G) digital cellular networks used by mobile devices.
- 33.** The sector is dominated by a duopoly of MTN and Vodacom who control 71% of the market. CellC (16.8%), Telkom (9.5%) and MVNW (1.7%) lag behind. Vodacom is 60% owned by the UK-based Vodafone.
- 34.** Part of the reasons for the exorbitant cost of communications is precisely this lack of competition in the industry. This is still despite efforts by the national regulator (ICASA) obliging network operators to; allow the rollover of user's unused data, if requested, beyond the validity period; allow the transfer of data between users if they send it to contacts on the same network; from mid-April (2019) allow users to opt out of out-of-bundle data charges; notify users of the depletion of their data bundles at 50%, 80% and 100% intervals. The cost of data remains high compared to other African countries.
- 35.** South Africa ranks 35th in Africa, out of 50 ranked countries, with an average 1GB prepaid mobile data charge of over R100. Egypt is the cheapest with just over R14 charge for the same package. The purchase of 1GB costs \$1.19 in Namibia; \$2.02 in Mozambique; \$2.49 in Kenya; \$2.62 in Ghana; \$2.68 in Uganda; \$2.79 in Nigeria; \$3.55 in Zambia and \$5.07 in Lesotho.
- 36.** Many believe that spectrum allocation is set to open up competition and help with the reduction of data costs. Availability of high-level spectrum is made possible by migration of television or broadcasting services in general from analog to digital signals.

- 37.** At present, spectrum holding has only three sub 1 GHz bands, namely 700 MHz, 800 MHz and 900 MHz; the 700 MHz/800 MHz is not available due to delays in analogue TV migration. The 900 MHz is fully assigned to Vodacom, MTN and Cell-C. Current spectrum holdings.
- 38.** A New mobile generation ("G") has been launched at 10-year intervals: 1990: 2G – 900 MHz and 1800 MHz; 2000: 3G – 2100 MHz; 2010: 4G – 2600 MHz and 800 MHz; 2020: 5G – 700 MHz and 3500 MHz (and above 24 GHz after WRC-19).
- 39.** Vodacom and MTN benefitted from first-mover advantage, favorable termination rates, base station locations and scale. Unsurprisingly, their duopoly accounts for 78% of the revenue and 73% of subscribers. This made it difficult for later entrants, like CellC and Telkom, to build market share, despite large investments and offering lower prices.
- 40.** Of course, the benefits of fourth generation mobile technology are still to be fully exhausted, but parts of the developed world are already moving towards or rolling out 5G technology. In South Africa, 5G infrastructure will not be affordable for any new entrants; it may also be heavy on existing operators and drive costs back to their exorbitant levels. This means we may have brief relief on costs until the roll out of 5G in the next 5 or 7 years.
- 41.** In the immediate future, South Africa faces two choices; to auction the available spectrum to existing network providers. In other words, offer to the highest bidder. This auction option, however, will not change the duopoly of Vodacom and MTN, it may keep them empowered and dominant.



- 42.** There is really no way auction can, without conditions attached, break the duopoly and create competition in the market. This means that the idea that data prices will fall may be a fallacy.
- 43.** The other fallacy, from a policy perspective, is to think there might be a new entrant anytime soon. The South African economy, in all its sectors, is dominated by oligopolies and duopolies. It is difficult to see how a new entrant will marshal the massive infrastructure needed to compete with Vodacom and MTN.
- 44.** In addition, as things stand, it may very well be that Vodacom and MTN (both foreign-owned) will possibly have deals with Rain and Liquid for more spectrum, in particular for 5G. If this is the case, spectrum licensing will have to purposefully target the other players to create competition; that is Telkom, in which the state holds 40%, and CellC, which is also locally owned. Auction may lead to the strengthening of a duopoly, which may even lead to CellC and Telkom shutting down or shedding more of their market share and thus retrenching workers.



- 45.** This leads to the second option; the state licenses spectrum to Cell C and Telkom to boost their competitiveness against the duopoly. If this is the case, it will depend on the regulator convening all four operators and making exchanges on the basis of their needs. Then license spectrum, at a cost, will result in the state raising money from the initiative.
- 46.** The Wireless Open Access Network (WOAN) model can be reserved for the whole 5G spectrum roll out. Here companies must be obliged to start sharing infrastructure with the view to move into being more service-based. There must be a single network owner and operator, and multiple retail service providers that deliver services over the network. As things stand; the South African telecommunications industry is not sharing infrastructure. Philosophically, the network infrastructure must be for common good and the WOAN is the only route to that end.

8) MEDIA AND ICT LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

47. South African law guarantees media freedom, freedom of speech (communication) and access of information as key constitutional prerogatives. To speak is to exist and communication is at the centre of being human, therefore there is a direct and indispensable relationship between existing and speaking that makes us human. This is what the Bill of Rights in Sections 16 and 19 of the Constitution seeks to guarantee.
48. The legislative framework has been put in place by the post-apartheid state to enact this prerogative.
49. ICASA was established to regulate broadcasting, telecommunication and postal services in the public interest. ICASA then acts within the limits of policy and law, prescribes regulations, enacts measurable license terms and conditions, monitors compliance to the license conditions and manages frequency spectrum.
50. Over the years, ICASA has done very little to stop the powerful from preying on the weak. In broadcasting, they have allowed the rising power and monopoly of MultiChoice at the expense of the SABC. They have allowed the suffocation of small mobile network operators like Telkom and CellC and avoided heavy regulation to force the costs of communication (data) down.
51. South African law allows print media self-regulation through the Press Ombudsman. Print media sets up the Press Council, Ombudsman and Appeals Panel to handle disputes between the public and the print media (newspapers and magazines).
52. The Media, Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) emerged from the need to transform the media following post-apartheid transition to enable media development and its diversification. The MDDA, in partnership with the major print and broadcast media industry, is supposed to help create an enabling environment for media development and diversity that is conducive to public discourse and reflects the needs and aspirations of South Africans.
53. The diversification of media ownership in our country in the broadcasting sector, in particular, has been a dramatic failure. MultiChoice is essentially a monopoly in Pay-TV. The idea of paying a TV licence as a model for raising money for the SABC has over the years collapsed because, unlike MultiChoice which switched your set-top-box off if you do not pay, SABC cannot do so. As a result, they have no other mechanism to enforce payment, yet they have been restricted in offering advanced programmes and channels to a higher market in direct competition with MultiChoice.

- 54.** There is nothing that should have stopped the SABC from providing or entering the Pay-TV space if it availed one of its three channels for free. In addition, some of the regulations have restricted it from making money from its content offering to other broadcasters.
- 55.** Guided by the principle of editorial independence, media in South Africa enjoys relative freedom. However, this does not make the newsrooms immune to control, directly or indirectly, by those in power, both state and private capital. Current legislation promotes diversity in media management management, ownership, and information sources, to make room for diverse views.
- 56.** English remains the dominant language of discourse particularly in print and television. Radio, which has the largest reach of all traditional mediums in South Africa and in many ways precisely because of that, is the most diverse in terms of language reach as it caters for all official languages.

9) THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY

- 57.** Outside the public broadcaster, there is really one player in the pay-television market and that is MultiChoice, owned by Naspers. Open View, owned by e.tv group is playing in this space, but at an almost insignificant level since its own free-to-air channel, e.tv and its 24-hour news channels are on the MultiChoice platform.
- 58.** According to the Broadcast Research Council of South African (BRC) radio for June 2019 currently reaches 91% of the adult population (aged 15+). Weekly listening to commercial radio and public broadcast stations stands at 91%, with 36.4 million listeners. We have 70% of these people listening to radio on radio sets (as opposed to 34% on their cellphones); 86% in the house, (as opposed to 30% in the car), with 83% and 80% listening to music and news respectively.
- 59.** According to the South African Audience Research Foundation, community radio is still at 25.8% of the adult population (15+) over the course of the average week, with listeners pegged at 9.016 million.
- 60.** The BRC Television Audience Measurement Survey shows that television stood at a weekly viewership of 46 444 215 South Africans each week, with adults at 35 830 376. Viewing of community TV reaches 8.6% of the adult population (2 990 000 viewers) each week.
- 61.** Pay TV is showing significant growth; as of December 2018, DStv claimed 20 803 373 viewers compared to 25 640 842 on free-to-air. In 2018, DStv viewers grew by almost a million, with free-to-air viewers decreasing by almost an equal number. The satellite platform has also seen growth across both urban and rural areas.

- 62.** Cinema audiences in 2018 were recorded at 1.6 million people, according to The Establishment Survey released in September 2019. The same report records newspaper readers at 15 million. This is a sharp decrease over the years considering that in 2012 the South African Audience Research Foundation reported print media as reaching 65.6% of the adult population, with an average issue readership of 22 925 000.
- 63.** Well over 80% still buy print newspapers, with only 15% reading news on cellphones. As for magazines, BRC's The Establishment Survey shows that its readership has also declined to 7 million. In 2014, SAARF reported an average issue readership for magazines at 48.8%, down from 50.5% with a total readership 17 031 000. BRC's research in 2019 puts this figure at 34%.
- 64.** The SABC is dominant in ownership and control of the radio industry, accounting for 41.6% of the total radio audience in the country. SABC boasts 18 public radio stations, divided into 15 public broadcasting service (PBS) stations and 3 public commercial services (PCS) stations, covering all official languages.
- 65.** There are an additional 13 private commercial radio stations which are regional or provincial. They have 16.5% of the total radio adult audience. There is also World Space, a subscription satellite radio service, offering a limited number of encrypted channels as well as 87 functional community radio stations.
- 66.** SABC also dominates television. The SABC has 3 public terrestrial television channels (SABC 1, 2 and 3) with total viewership accounting for 69.3% of the total television audience. SABC 1: 79.8% (27 867 000 adult viewers, aged 15+). SABC 2: 71.6%, with 25 007 000 adult viewers. SABC 3: 58.4% (20 389 000 viewers). e.tv has grown its reach from 67.4% previously to 68.6% currently (23 981 000 viewers). M-Net main channel: 6.8% (2 384 000). Viewing of DStv is 27.5% (9 598 000).
- 67.** Private commercial television station's HDI ownership sits on an average of 64.4% per television station. The positive changes in ownership stakes in the broadcasting industry may be due to the work of the then Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) (established in terms of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act of 1993) and ICASA's regulatory and licensing interventions. One of the criteria for licensing enshrined in the IBA Act and now Electronic Communications Act is ownership by HDIs, limitations on foreign ownership to 20% and that broadcasting is effectively controlled by South Africans.
- 68.** The SABC is by law meant to broadcast in the interests of the public, and not government or ruling parties. It must exercise editorial independence of both the production of news and other content and has an independent board accountable to Parliament. However, the SABC has been compromised under the current government as it lacks a stable board and credible management.

- 69.** The majority of the woes at the SABC happen at middle-management level where an old guard is resisting change from both below and above. In recent history, they have suppressed adverts that are critical of the government during elections, and refuse to offer fair live coverage of opposition parties' events.
- 70.** The SABC is further used to mobilise artists and other entertainers during elections to support and publicly promote the ruling party with the threat that their platforms or access on SABC may be withdrawn/limited.
- 71.** The SABC is therefore shutting down meaningful democratic contestation and participation.
- 72.** Government also uses its advertising muscle to censor the media, both print and broadcast, particularly community radio, television and print.
- 73.** Financial problems at the SABC are due to poor and corrupt leadership and management. Over the past ten years, there has been a high turnover of ministers responsible for the SABC, as well as a high turnover of executives and board members. There is no certainty and stability to see long term decisions stand the test of time.
- 74.** Three critical processes have crippled the SABC financially. One is the Must Carry regulations that have given MultiChoice advantage over the SABC.
- 75.** The Must Carry regulations are prescribed in terms of section 60(3) of the Electronic Communications Act (ECA), 2005 which states: "The Authority must prescribe regulations regarding the extent to which subscription broadcast services must carry, subject to commercially negotiable terms, the television programmes provided by a public broadcast service licensee."
- 76.** However, in October 2008, Must Carry regulations were passed by ICASA and required the SABC to offer its three channels to all subscription broadcasters at no cost, notwithstanding the legislation which explicitly provides that a Must Carry agreement between broadcasters should be "subject to commercially negotiable terms". Compelling the SABC to provide its expensively assembled channels for free meant that no commercial negotiation was possible as envisaged by legislation.
- 77.** There is no doubt that ICASA bowed to the powerful lobby of the monopoly white-owned MultiChoice to agree in 2008 that SABC must be compelled to provide its programmes for free. The same applies to the SABC management and/or board members at the time who did not decide to take those regulations on review. In the last decade Multichoice has further entrenched its free SABC channels through contracts with the SABC, first signed in 2011, and then inexplicably renewed by Hlaudi Motsoeneng in 2015 for a period until 2021. Thus, Multichoice, the most powerful

media company in Africa, has effectively been allowed to expropriate SABC's content without compensation, and is protected by legislation, regulations and contracts.

- 78.** SABC programmes and channels are the most watched on the DStv platform to this day. Multichoice not only gets billions in subscription revenues (unavailable to SABC) but also dominates the TV advertising revenue market without paying a cent for SABC channels. It is estimated that DStv now has 7.4 million households out of a total 14 million television households. When Must Carry regulations were gazetted in 2008, DStv was only at 2.4 million households, focusing on the top end of the television audience market.
- 79.** This extraordinary increase in over five million TV households over the last decade has been at the expense of the SABC. What is even more reactionary, is because the strongest player (from a revenue and profitability point of view) has been favoured, protected and given free SABC channels by the regulator.
- 80.** The EFF has to call for the immediate removal of section 60(3) Must Carry requirement altogether from the Electronic Communications Act. As it stands, trying to get MultiChoice to pay for SABC channels might see a two-year process at ICASA, which MultiChoice is likely to challenge. Amendment of the Electronic Communications Act to allow the SABC to freely negotiate retransmission consent agreements on commercial terms with other players in South Africa and internationally is the only viable option. This will get the SABC revenue with immediate effect. The Must Carry regulations have not only distorted competition in the television market but have prevented the SABC from receiving hundreds of millions of rands.
- 81.** The second political challenge which has crippled the SABC is the issue of sporting rights. Again, ICASA has been at the centre of undermining the SABC in favour of MultiChoice. ICASA Sports Broadcasting Regulations seek to ensure that free-to-air broadcasters carry listed national sporting events. However, they have done very little, if nothing at all, to regulate pricing and competition when it comes to sporting rights which have become very expensive. The SABC continues to bear the brunt of uncompetitive sub-licensing conditions.
- 82.** MultiChoice, as the primary rights holder of most premium sport content, sub-licenses these rights to SABC at a high cost with stringent terms and conditions that do not guarantee return on investment. Therefore, there must be a development of regulations on pricing of secondary rights.

- 83.** Sports rights bodies should not be allowed to sell all rights for all platforms to a single player, as this creates a monopoly and abuse. Subscription broadcasters should not be able to set unfair commercial terms for subsidiary rights when these are sub-licensed to free-to-air broadcasters.
- 84.** The bidding process for subsidiary rights should be open and transparent and should specify that the process of determining the subsidiary rights must be fair. This must include criteria on which fairness will be judged. Regulations should cater for instances when Pay-TV does not intend to broadcast the event, or be part of it, then it should be required to offer the rights to the public broadcaster at no cost.
- 85.** Subscription broadcasters, in this case, MultiChoice, with market power should not be allowed to “lock-up” rights for years because this arrangement substantially lessens competition in the broadcasting television market as other broadcasters are unable to access desirable content which could potentially make their programming more attractive to audiences.
- 86.** The final problem that ICASA and government have created relates to Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) migration. There are still 3.9 million analogue-only households that have yet to migrate to DTT, if we accept that DStv, Starcom, OpenView users have already migrated and that there are 500 000 active DTT households.
- 87.** There are still several obstacles to the SABC expediting Analogue Switch Off (ASO) and these include: amending policy and digital migration regulations; finalising a government subsidy to move the remaining 3.9 million households from analogue-only sets to DTT sets; and ensuring that the broadcasters and Sentech play a more central role in driving the process.
- 88.** This does not promise any resolution in the next four years. Delays are due to legal and political battles over encryption in which MultiChoice opposed set-top-boxes that are not encrypted. The NPA may have to take the position that the DTT route has failed, and look towards a new digital future.
- 89.** As things stand the SABC is also compelled by ICASA digital migration regulations to use Sentech’s DTT platform for 86% of its coverage and only use (satellite) DTH for 14% of its coverage. Yet, it is common knowledge that Sentech’s DTT platform is not the leading-edge technology it was 10 years ago and that Sentech’s current DTT costs are unsustainable for the SABC.

- 90.** Worldwide, broadcasters are migrating to online streaming and DTH and there is an international trend to move away from DTT in some territories. However, South Africa's policy and DTT regulations limit the SABC's ability to migrate more fully to DTH, in part as a protectionist strategy for Sentech and at the SABC's expense. Delays in the digital migration process has also hurt SABC financially, as some of the audiences are migrating to other platforms including MultiChoice, OpenView and Netflix.
- 91.** In addition, DTT coverage areas between the two free-to-air broadcasters are currently misaligned. There are large parts of the country where audiences with DTT boxes receive only SABC channels and not e.Media channels. A high number of viewers return the subsidised set-top-boxes to the Post Office in exchange for the direct-to-home box as it allows them to receive both SABC and e.Media channels.
- 92.** There is no doubt that DTH has benefits like 100% signal coverage of South Africa; no digital migration and therefore a quicker release of dividend spectrum to fast track leveraging of mobile technologies for economic growth; satellite is a more cost-effective signal distribution platform than DTT; DTH delivers more channels than DTT and scales up at a fraction of the cost; and DTH is preferred by consumers because of the higher number of channels and is seen as a status symbol.
- 93.** ICASA must therefore exempt the SABC and/or amend the DTT regulations to remove the stipulation that compels SABC's to use Sentech's DTT platform for 86% of its digital broadcasting coverage. Sentech must be given exactly a year to improve its technology, or allow the SABC, which is bigger and much more crucial to the country's communications, to move on.
- 94.** There is no clarity on ICASA's status as a Chapter 9 institution with the mandate to guard democracy. Although Chapter 9 of the Constitution calls for an independent authority to regulate broadcasting, it does not mandate ICASA and interpretations vary.
- 95.** Finally, the ICASA regulation provision which states that the SABC must go through a bureaucratic licensing process before launching new digital broadcasting channels (for e.g. sports, education, health etc.) must be removed. This is because the SABC's competitors like e.Media (with free-to-air license) and MultiChoice have no such requirement.
- 96.** The EFF, through its parliamentary caucus, must push hard for these regulation and legislative amendments to save the SABC and break the white monopoly owned Pay-TV MultiChoice platform.

- 97.** It is worth mentioning that following the closure of the Gupta-owned, ANN7 in particular, there are new entrants in the news broadcasting business owned by young black people: Newzroom Afrika. It is too early to tell what direction this platform will take, in particular if it can indeed present a new narrative framework from the existing eNCA and SABC.
- 98.** It is unclear what role of the white-owned Red Pepper plays at Newzroom Afrika. Newzroom Afrika's studios are housed at the Red Pepper Studio building. Studios are a big feature of broadcasting: whoever rents them can command a degree of power and control.

10) PRINT MEDIA

- 99.** The South African law legislated for independent and "self-regulation" on the part of the media. This is indeed a key development, particularly in the interest of a rising threat against press freedom and independence. Sections of the ruling party have come up with proposals to end "self-regulation" on the part of print media arguing that mechanisms currently in place are inadequate to hold media accountable and provide for ethically qualitative and professional journalism.
- 100.** Ownership of print media is trapped in an oligarchy. A few companies dominate - Media24 (21 newspapers and 8 magazines), Caxton (1 newspaper and 13 magazines), Sekunjalo (20 newspapers and 2 magazines) and now Lebashe, which takes over from Tiso Blackstar (8 newspapers and 11 magazines).
- 101.** Key developments in media ownership in 2019 have seen black companies buying Tiso Blackstar and Sunday World. This means Independent Media, Tiso Blackstar publications, and Sunday World are now owned by black people. This is an important development which must not only be welcomed, but openly supported. Of course, black ownership does not translate into control and change in the direction of the narrative.
- 102.** In the magazine world, the fall of Ndalo Media, which was owned by a black woman, is the saddest of development in the past five years.
- 103.** Nevertheless, print and broadcasting still needs to open itself to a critical conversation about representation of black lives in the media. This remains a fundamental disappointment of the past 25 years. Media power has often served to disempower black people, particularly those who challenge the system.
- 104.** The Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa has released newspaper circulation statistics for the period January – March 2019 (ABC Q1 2019). Total newspaper circulation declined by 1.4% the previous quarter of 2019, and by 5.0% on the previous year. Daily newspapers declined by 2.6% on the previous quarter, and by

10.5% on the previous year. Weekly newspapers declined by 0.5% on the previous quarter, and by 7.9% on the previous year. Weekend newspapers declined by 1.6% on the previous quarter, and by 10.4% on the previous year. Local newspapers increased by 0.2% on the previous quarter, but declined by 8.1% on the previous year.

105. Leading declines — weekend and weekly papers year-on-year are Sunday Sun -28%; City Press -21%; The Citizen -19%; Isolezwe ngeSonto -16%; Sunday World -16%; Die Burger -15%; Weekend Post -14%; The Saturday Star -13%; Isolezwe ngoMgqibelo -12%; Mail & Guardian -12%; Soccer Laduma -11%.

106. In Q1 2019, the leading papers in terms of circulation were Sunday Times: 260 132; Soccer Laduma: 252 041; Daily Sun: 141 187; Rapport: 113 636; Isolezwe: 86 342; The Star: 75 836; Sowetan: 70 120; Isolezwe ngeSonto: 65 489; Isolezwe ngoMgqibelo: 64 676; Son: 62 842.

107. The Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa has released consumer magazine circulation statistics for the period January – March 2019 (ABC Q1 2019). Total magazine circulation declined by 3.0% on the previous quarter, and by 13.1% year-on-year. Consumer magazines declined by 0.1% on the previous quarter, and by 11.0% on the previous year. B2B magazines declined by 0.3% on the previous quarter, and increased by 5.5% on the previous year. Custom magazines declined by 5.9% on the previous quarter, and by 18.6% on the previous year. Free magazines declined by 3.1% on the previous quarter, and by 7.9% year-on-year. Free newspapers declined by 1.4% on the previous quarter, and by 3.0% on the previous year.

108. These figures tell a story of general decline of print circulation, which is an international trend due to digital media. More people prefer to read content online. The story of the social power of print media however does not end with print. This has remained and survived as many of these publications have succeeded in translating their hold on society on digital and online platforms.

109. The Fourth Industrial Revolution will see very little printed news and magazines. Print can be said to have survived the information age which gave birth to the digital revolution; but whether it will survive the 5G technology of mobile phones, with high speed internet and smart gadgets, remains to be seen.

11)DIGITAL MEDIA

110. There is no doubt that the key element in the diversification, and at times, democratisation of media is the invention of the mobile phone and tablet and how they facilitate access to the internet. Cellphones break communication barriers in many different ways; they give people access to radio and internet, key to this is social media. As indicated earlier, the mobile gadgets are the single greatest conversion point of print

and broadcast (voice and video) communication and have penetrated all business, education, health, security and entertainment worlds.

- 111.** To see the power of the digital penetration in South African society, one needs to look at retail activity online. World Wide Worx reported that South African local online retail is becoming more mainstream and passed the R14 billion mark in 2018, totalling 1.4% of total retail.
- 112.** E-commerce is becoming more central due to Uber, Bolt, eBay, Gumtree, etc. Most, if not all, local banks encourage online banking as a safer and faster model. This has possibly led to more job losses in the banking industry.
- 113.** According to eShopWorld, an eCommerce company that provides a technology platform to brands and retailers wishing to sell online to global markets; in 2017 there were “18.43 million ecommerce users in South Africa, with an additional 6.36 million users expected to be shopping online by 2021. Four years from now, these 24.79 million e-commerce users will spend an average of 189.47 USD online”, that’s about R2 600.
- 114.** In the same year, eShopWorld indicated that electronics and Mmedia was the leading product category in South Africa, accounting for 964.2 million USD market share (that is over R13 billion), followed by furniture and appliances, which generates 553.7 million USD in sales.
- 115.** The South African Media Landscape Report for 2019, released on 15 October by Ornico and World Wide Worx, shows Facebook at 21 million users, YouTube with 9 million, Twitter at 8.3 million, LinkedIn with 6.8 million, and Instagram recording the highest growth of all social networks at 6.6. million users, up by 73% from the previous year. In total, social media penetration stands at 40% of the population (23 million people).
- 116.** In terms of messaging apps, WhatsApp leads with 38 million users (49%), followed by Facebook messenger (32%), Skype (19%), Snapchat (11%), and WeChat (9%). WhatsApp and Facebook have become popular across race, age and geography.
- 117.** Internet penetration has come at a great cost to consumers who pay some of the highest data costs on the globe. South Africa ranks 35th on the continent out of 50 countries with an average of 1GB prepaid data charged at \$7.84 (thats over R100).
- 118.** Data costs remain high despite interventions by ICASA which regulated mobile operators to 1) allow the transfer of data between users if they send it to contacts on the same network; 2) allow users to opt out of out-of-bundle data charges; and 3) notify users of the depletion of their data bundles at 50%, 80% and 100% intervals.
- 119.** Be that as it may, we have fully entered the digital age and the internet is the future of communications. This makes data costs, communications electronics, and electricity or

energy important requirements for a society to take advantage of these advancements. The local development of online mobile applications will see a great improvement on this end.

- 120.** Effective Measure, the research partner of Interactive Advertising Bureau South Africa reported that by March 2018, South Africa boasted over 47 million unique browsers, 71% of these use mobile phones, and spend an average of 4 minutes on a site. Over one billion pages are viewed in a single month, with over 4 million daily unique browsers. Of these, 49% are female, 17% between the ages of 35 and 44, 48% have a personal computer/laptop at home, and 45% had three or more cellphones at home.
- 121.** Although social media manages to diversify social discourse, the reality is that traditional media brands still dominate online platforms, in terms of traffic, followers, reach and capacity to drive discourse. According to Narrative, an audience measurement, modelling and verification company, in July this year alone, nine out of ten most browsed websites are news sites, namely; News24, TimesLive, Thesouthafrican, IOL, Citizen, Sowetan, EWN, BBC, BusinessTechSA.
- 122.** These platforms command massive audiences online. An example is this report showing that News24 had 73 303 377 page views and 6 735 311 unique browsers; TimesLive had 25 885 666 page views and 5 756 660 unique browsers.
- 123.** On social media, news sites also command great influence. The top 25 most followed accounts on Twitter list 3 news sites; News24, eNCA and SABC. On Facebook, these accounts also command over a million followers each, with News24 at 6.9 million likes. On YouTube subscriptions: SABC leads with 677K; eNCA with 440K; and News24 with 249K.
- 124.** Newspapers, which print daily and weekly publications, also command millions in followers and likes on their social media platforms. Examples: TimesLive (Facebook - 1.3m; Twitter - 1.2m), City Press (Facebook - 301K; Twitter - 1.1m), Mail & Guardian (Twitter - 1m; Facebook - 487K).
- 125.** The media occupies a powerful space as a social media influencer and driver of social discourse. The South African media has succeeded in translating its traffic from print to online and it is growing. Although individuals on social media wield more influence, they remain individuals. Media's power is institutional and supported and must be viewed together with its entire employee base; journalists, pundits and columnists who work for these publications support their strength and power around their social media and online platforms in general.
- 126.** A key lesson in the power of social media and how it can be used, abused and misused to influence behaviour is related to elections. We must ask critical questions regarding the growing power of social media and the fact that influencing behaviour, even as

developments in the Fourth Industrial Revolution like artificial intelligence are being used in telecommunications.

127. We must look at how Cambridge Analytica managed to sway voters in favour of Donald Trump during the 2016 USA Presidential Election. The company was paid \$1 million a day by Trump to use social media to target voters in his favour.
128. They managed to harvest information from over 80 million Facebook users. This information was detailed enough for the company to create psychographic profiles of individual subjects. It included locations, lifestyles, gender, race, age and was used in targeted campaigning. They identified neutral or undecided voters and targeted them individually by sending information based on their profiles that would make them turn to Trump.
129. The campaign was such a success that it caused huge investigations by both the governments of USA and UK that led to the shutdown of the company. The same campaigns were used during the Brexit votes. Even more crucially, Cambridge Analytica ran campaigns in many countries like Kenya, India and Trinidad.
130. The same approach can still be used by many advertising companies who source or harvest information from daily publications of users to target them for commercial products. At the centre of political campaigns were fake-news, fake websites, at times face social protest campaigns which can be linked to foreign intelligence agencies seeking to destabilise hostile societies. Thus, cyber security, data rights and general credibility of news on social media becomes central to the entire digital space, even for the sovereignty of countries.

12) PROPAGANDA WAR AGAINST THE EFF: STRATCOM

"The ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling classes" – Marx 1845, German Ideology

131. Even after the greatest electoral battle this country has ever seen, the EFF, ended 2018 locked in battle with the bourgeois mainstream media. Over the last 12 months, there has been a sustained campaign to discredit the ideas of the EFF, its programmes and leadership. There is now an open and unashamed war declared against the EFF by reputable media publications and journalists. The propaganda war is much more sophisticated, systematic and centrally coordinated.
132. All electoral research points to an ANC in constant decline. The white racist establishment is therefore aware that a weak ANC will inevitably be drawn to the left as opposed to the right of the neoliberal political formations that are represented by official opposition interests in parliament.
133. Over the past 5 years, the growth of the EFF has come to signify a serious threat to the establishment. This is demonstrated not only by its electoral growth, but the success in

removing Zuma before his presidential term ended. The propaganda war was fully unleashed.

- 134.** No political party in the history of South Africa's democracy has managed to have this impact on the South African liberation movement. The fact that the EFF doubled its votes in 2019, is the first time an opposition party achieved such a milestone without any merger. In addition, it is the first time since negotiations in the early 1990s that radical left ideas have a public profile, dominate public discourse and do so from a legislative point of view.
- 135.** In the past, the EFF managed to captivate public imagination and even score important victories with the post-apartheid government policy. Key examples of these are the theatres of service delivery protest, the Anti-Privatisation Forum, the landless movements like Abahlali Basemjondolo, and successive Fees Must Fall student protests. The other important left voices have indeed been the organised trade union movement, COSATU as well as the South African Communist Party both of which have satisfied and limited themselves with influencing policy shifts from within the Tripartite Alliance.
- 136.** The liberation movement linked left voices have, however, always suffered internal defeats with the rise of each elite they have helped to take over the ANC. The key example of this was the rise of Zuma, who after ascending to the presidency of the ANC with the help of the left, continued with neoliberal business as usual. This very story is repeating itself today with the Ramaphosa administration.
- 137.** What is historic and peculiar about the EFF is that a left voice managed to capture a few, but significant seats in legislative structures in parliament and provincial legislatures. This gave voice to radical left ideas which ultimately saw the ANC, after dramatic losses in local government elections, back each and every motion of the EFF in parliament out of pure fear of losing political ground with the popular classes.
- 138.** Before the EFF, the ANC could go into its elective conferences, adopt largely left resolutions, but turn their back on them as soon as the conference concluded. After the EFF, ANC's commitment to progressive resolutions can be tested through actual parliamentary motions and be translated into law.
- 139.** Despite this, there is no denying that the ideas of land expropriation, nationalisation of mines and banks, the minimum and living wage, free education, free healthcare, to name a few, have all been resurrected and now occupy a comfortable place in South African political imagination. As a result, the racist white monopoly establishment has launched a propaganda war which will characterise EFF media and public relations for many years to come.
- 140.** All this happens within a larger crisis of global capitalism signified by the West's changed attitudes to free trade, budget austerity measures, transformations of private

banking crisis into sovereign debt crises. This has led to capital withdrawals from emerging markets, and the strengthening value of the dollar. Followed by growing inequality and unemployment in the Euro-American world.

- 141.** The crisis of global capitalism arises in a situation where the international socialist alternative is absent, if not dead. As a result, right wing and racist formation or ideas now find expression and popularity, particularly signified by their reactionary anti-immigration policies.
- 142.** Euro-American war actions in the Middle-East beginning with the illegal invasion of Iraq, coupled with the popular protests known as the Arab Spring, up to the brutal murder of Muammar Gaddafi and the destruction of Libya, resulted in massive migration from the Middle East to Europe. This was met with barbed wire, detention and at times, death.
- 143.** In our own country, which has also experienced sustained underemployment, high unemployment, a lack of growth and general de-industrialisation, the crisis of global capitalism has found a lively left and radical black movement. The significance of this is precisely that the socialist forces stand to gain from the crisis of capitalism and this is the fundamental fear of local racist white monopoly establishments.
- 144.** With this background, we have to make sense of the new wave of bourgeois propaganda war against the EFF vis-a-vis genuine media freedom to hold all and any political actors accountable. What are the historic lessons on how the media, in particular independent media, have been used to undermine the emergence of anti-capitalist ideas? What is the historical background to the propaganda war, in general, against the Economic Emancipation Movement?
- 145.** Historically, it was really after the apartheid establishment had lost ground against the liberation movement in the late 1980s that it created a coordinated propaganda programme within its intelligence service to combat the liberation movement's successes and dilute the inevitable fall of apartheid.
- 146.** After the ideas of democracy and freedom had won on the streets of South Africa in the 1980s, the apartheid regime took a decision to form Strategic Communication (StratCom) to explicitly influence public opinion on the liberation movement and its leaders.
- 147.** The objectives of StratCom were to discredit the leadership of the movement in a broader psychological warfare. Indirectly, this was an admission that they had lost the ground in terms of actual violence and control of everyday social order.
- 148.** In the 1980s in urban and semi-urban black areas, the liberation movement succeeded in substituting the local apartheid state with organs of people's power. Here, people were no longer going to state institutions to find solutions to their problems. The political leadership and UDF structures attained the moral high ground over apartheid.

149. Once government lost control in this way, it then turned to a psychological warfare through a well-crafted disinformation campaign that would seek to undo the credibility and moral power of the liberation movement and its leadership.
150. It is important to recall that the independent media and newsrooms of the 1980s and early 1990s were largely occupied by the generations of white people who were socialised in progressive student politics, like National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), of the late 1960s and 1970s, up to early 1980s.
151. Thus, independent white journalists were also working hard to undermine apartheid by highlighting its oppressive and violent nature. These white journalists however, lacked the necessary political conviction beyond the need for democracy, freedom and basic human rights.
152. As a result, they were susceptible to manipulation through well-orchestrated networks to join, directly or indirectly, in the psychological war against the liberation movement. Most importantly, StratCom plugged into their already existent hatred for black radical politics.
153. The rise of the Black Consciousness Movement had a great effect on white students. Many of them were bruised by BC activists who told them in unequivocal terms that blacks can speak for themselves and did not need white approval or leadership in their ranks.
154. One of the key consequences of this breakup between black students and white liberals was the establishment of workers' wage committees by white liberal students that saw the rise of the trade union movement which ultimately became COSATU.
155. Characters like Mama Winnie Mandela were generally feared by both white liberals and the apartheid leadership. White liberals particularly feared her because, as they could not control or influence BC activists, they could not control or influence her in the same way they could influence the direction of the independent, largely black Trade Union Movement and its leaders.
156. The apartheid system exploited this deep skepticism that white liberals had about black radicals. One of the most important aspects of StratCom was not so much its control of pay roll agents, but its ability to use journalists, and do so by feeding them information knowing that they will use it since they feared radical black politics.
157. The apartheid government itself needed allies within the liberation movement who were moderate and willing to work with them to facilitate a transition that would not give way to radical black ideas and activists.

158. Thus, apartheid, and white liberals in general, ideologically divided the liberation movement between radicals and moderates with a view to isolate the radicals and give advantage to the moderates. This, wittingly or unwittingly, coincided with the interests of liberal white journalists.
159. StratCom worked to place people around Mama Winnie Mandela. Not white people, but black comrades whose duty was simply to give information about Mama's daily life. They were no longer looking for the location of hidden ANC weapons. They were no longer looking for the targets of next bombings, or even exile routes, all of which Mama Winnie Mandela knew very well.
160. They were looking for information that had never been used: information about the social life and habits of the leadership - expensive tastes, abuse of alcohol, sexual networks, and personal money movements.
161. Stories about Mama Winnie Mandela's house, her expensive taste, drinking habits and romantic life were written to discredit her person and standing in society.
162. It is really Mama's social standing as a "Mother of the Nation" that was a target of StratCom's propaganda war. By definition, a mother puts her children first, she sacrifices her own life to put food on the table. A mother is also a faithful wife who puts her husband first and takes care of him.
163. To dismantle Mama Winnie Mandela's reputation of a mother, which was bestowed by the people on the ground, by portraying her as loving luxury, owning a big house, an alcoholic who was involved in romantic relationships with young boys was the aim.
164. When they were done with all this, they needed her to be a killer. What is worse than a mother who kills her children? Very few of us can recover from a mother who kills her own children.
165. The death of Stompie was therefore the cherry on the top of a much bigger cake of discrediting Mama Winnie Mandela so as to remove her from the central table of deciding the future of her people. In fact, it is on this basis that her own comrades in the UDF publicly distanced themselves from her.
166. So, if Mama Winnie Mandela would publicly approve of necklacing and still be popular, then you need to link her to the killing of a young and helpless person - a child. Apartheid understood the impact of killing children well as it too had lost international credibility not so much when it killed people in Sharpeville, but when it killed children in school uniform in Soweto. After the Soweto June 16 massacre, apartheid's reputation never truly recovered.

- 167.** Therefore, the point was to paint Mama Winnie Mandela with the same brush; which black person would ever trust her again or call her a mother when she had killed children? The image of Mama in the media therefore shifted from her “shielding” children from the hands of police and military vans, to the one of her killing children.
- 168.** In addition, one needs only to imagine the combination of Winnie and Nelson Mandela running South Africa as a couple and as leaders of the ANC. That was too much power, even rare in many countries cross the world. Above all, Mama Winnie Mandela was possibly one of the six most popular personalities of the ANC, making many of the leaders who actually held higher positions than her completely insignificant when it came to popularity and mass power.
- 169.** Over the years, before Nelson Mandela was released from prison, the direct perspective about the world and the liberation struggle he had was through Mama Winnie Mandela. This was made possible because as his wife, she visited him in prison. After 27 years in jail, it is not unusual that Nelson Mandela relied on her to understand the people on the ground and how they felt and saw the world.
- 170.** This influence she had on Nelson Mandela's view of the world and the struggle was critical as it gave advantage to the political perspective that the bourgeois white establishment wanted to suppress. Thus, it had to be obliterated if a moderate solution was to be found, one that did not dismantle white privilege.
- 171.** After successfully destroying Mama Winnie Mandela's reputation, the ANC leadership set Nelson Mandela down and asked him to divorce her if he was to lead South Africa. He divorced Mama Winnie Mandela and this ended Mama's influence on him forever.
- 172.** Whilst the apartheid regime killed other radical black activists, others were buried through disinformation campaigns led by StratCom. If the disinformation campaigns were unsuccessful, rest assured death would follow. The golden price here is, once one is totally discredited in the eyes of her own people, her removal or marginalisation in different roles in society would not result in any popular protests. In fact, even killing her would not led to any revolts.
- 173.** There is no better example of media manipulation for counter revolutionary objectives internationally than in the 2003 United States of America (USA) / United Kingdom (UK) war and invasion of Iraq. In the history of modern wars, nowhere did independent media play such a central role in war crimes than in Iraq.

- 174.** Despite many world governments protesting against the invasion, including the largest anti-war protest by close to 3 million people in Rome, and over 30 million people across the world in almost 3000 demonstrations, the USA and UK invaded and sustained a war in Iraq⁸.
- 175.** The volumes of protests indicate that war did not enjoy popular international support. However, following the events of 9/11 the USA population favoured a military invasion. Despite this reality, a CBS poll showed that in as much as 64% of US citizens wanted military action against Iraq, an equal number wanted Bush to find a diplomatic solution⁹.
- 176.** It is now gospel truth that the USA and UK acted on false intelligence, possibly generated by their own governments. Despite the counter intelligence reports by international bodies and other countries, including our own, the USA and UK proceeded with military action against Iraq.
- 177.** USA independent media was particularly driven in a pro-war bias. Many studies show that this was deliberate; a 2003 study by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting found that news networks disproportionately used pro-war sources, leaving out anti-war sources.
- 178.** The study demonstrates that 64% of the total number of sources used were pro-war, whilst only 10% were anti-war. Of significance, the study demonstrated that “viewers were more than six times as likely to see a pro-war” source than they would an anti-war source. It states that “with US guests alone, the ration increases to 25 to 1”.¹⁰
- 179.** To paint a one-sided perspective to the war, the USA military, the Pentagon, gave over 600 journalists access to USA military units and their missions in Iraq. These journalists would report from the perspective of the USA soldiers and their experiences without any source from opposing insurgents. This phenomenon came to be known as embedded journalism.
- 180.** In fact, some senior reporters were fired or taken through disciplinary processes for giving voice to the other side of the story. Peter Arnett, an NBC and National Geographic correspondent was fired for giving an interview with an Iraq official who questioned the US’s role.

⁸ In fact this protest made it into Guinness World Records as the largest Anti-War protest in history. See https://web.archive.org/web/20040904214302/http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/content_pages/record.asp?recordid=54365

⁹ See report on the poll here <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/poll-talk-first-fight-later/>

¹⁰ Steve Rendall & Tara Broughel, Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent
<http://media.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp016f64.html>

181. Beyond journalists, it was discovered that the Pentagon also established an analysts' group which they fed special information in exchange for speaking favourably about the war. Many analysts who write columns and comment on news networks met with top Pentagon officials who gave them special information about military plans and movements¹¹.
182. These analysts would then be reliable sources, gain popularity and dominate the general public narrative. It is also critical to indicate how this also gave them lucrative jobs and deals in the media.
183. As a result of all this disinformation, research shows that 57% of mainstream media viewers believed that Iraq supported Al-Qaeda and was involved in the September 11 attacks and 69% believed that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the 9/11 attacks. This is despite the fact that all this was completely false¹².
184. In fact, in 2008, a poll by FactCheck.org showed that 48% of US citizens believed that Saddam Hussein played a role in the 9/11 attacks. The same study would conclude that, once people were deceived by the media, they tended to maintain their perspective even when all facts and evidence was presented to the contrary¹³.
185. Overall, a propaganda war uses the media through planting information, embedding journalists, planting journalists, dominating information sources, and winning the proportionality score. As much as possible, their side of the story must be dominant, appear proportionally more often than the opposite side of the story. This led to news reports and discourse, in general, being one-sided, biased and unfair.
186. One way the proportionality score was demonstrated is that USA media spent time on USA military casualties to create an impression that they were many and bigger or even more important. For instance, one could hardly come across a report that Iraqi casualties were between 100 000 and 650 000, most of which were including civilians. This is compared to only 4 424 total deaths and 31 952 injured USA soldiers or military personnel.
187. The point is that one of the stated objectives of the USA invasion was saving Iraqis from Hussein's oppression. Thus, how could you justify giving Iraqis freedom when you are killing so many of them at the same time?

¹¹ David Barstow, April, 2008, *Behind TV Analysts, Pentagon's Hidden Hand*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/20/us/20generals.html>

¹² Steven Kull, 2003, *Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War*, https://web.archive.org/web/20070403153921/http://65.109.167.118/pipa/pdf/oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf

¹³ Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Brooks Jackson, 2008, *Our Disinformed Electorate*, <https://www.factcheck.org/2008/12/our-disinformed-electorate/>

- 188.** The story of media's role in the USA regarding the war in Iraq is that the truth always falls first, it is neutralised, marginalised, distorted and silenced through propaganda/psychological warfare, making violence and death seem justifiable. This helps ordinary people accept massive deaths of other innocent human beings in their name.
- 189.** In a similar fashion, the EFF is facing a bourgeois media propaganda attack, a psychological warfare with the aim to discredit the ideas of economic emancipation. A similar disinformation campaign is waged on our movement and as with Mama Winnie Mandela or Iraq, the media is right at the centre of it.
- 190.** The leadership of our movement is therefore a target, not because of any of its inherent special features, but in the hope that by discrediting them, like they did with Winnie Mandela, this will lead to the dismantling of the movement itself. So, they began first by trying to use information about their social habits and linking them to criminals and/or criminality through family, relatives or friends. The objective is to create doubt. Again, the stories are supposed to be as credible as possible, although largely based on lies. If 70% of the story is true, 30% are lies which are emphasised and exaggerated.
- 191.** The modern-day version of the apartheid principle of 70% truth, 30% lies was presented by Pravin Gordhan when telling the media to simply "join the dots". Meaning, facts no longer matter, one needs only join to the dots without accounting for the spaces in between. South African journalism now operates with this philosophy of "joining the dots".
- 192.** In addition, the second principle is known as "follow the money". Essentially, once one can see money going from account X to account Y, it means it was always intended to go to Y, without providing any evidence to support the claims. If it can be shown that a student was funded by Anglo-American, it is evidence enough that they are captured by Anglo-American. It does not matter whether they have proven the "capture" or not, because the first dot - Anglo-American is next to the second dot, Student X. This is a story and proof of "capture".
- 193.** This what we call post-fact journalism. This is the form of journalism which is susceptible to the manipulation of politicians, governments and big business in their battle against the vulnerable. Essentially, no journalist questions the intentions and agenda of information planters so as to determine if, in reporting about these, they do not further the interests of others against others and destabilise society or the opposition.
- 194.** Also, post-fact journalism participates in general repetition to produce a disproportional account of a specific news report in order to create specific impressions, narratives and imaginations that will lead people to believe and embrace a certain agenda.

- 195.** There are many examples. At the centre is the Venda Building Society (VBS) Mutual Bank story. Research shows that between 10 October, when Adv. Mutau's VBS Mutual Bank report was published, to the 12 December 2018, the EFF occupied second position at 44% of the total online headlines regarding the news reporting on the story. The ANC had the majority share-of-voice on this issue with 56%, compared to the EFF with 43% and SACP with 1%.
- 196.** The top five trending themes across headline and body content included Bank (1300); VBS Mutual Bank (1100); Shivambu (1075); Report (1000) and Party (877) – with Shivambu strongly associated with the VBS scandal. Research further indicated that the EFF scored R135.94 million in advertising value equivalency across both headline and body content on the online media titles in a month. If we were to create a counter narrative to each of these stories with the same magnitude, we would have to spend R135.94 million, that is 16 million multiplied by eight (16x8).
- 197.** This is despite the fact that only 0.8% of the total R2 billion is supposedly linked to the EFF or its leaders. South African media, taking online publications only, spent an advertisement value equivalent of R135,94 million to account for R16 million of the R2 billion that was supposedly stolen from VBS Mutual Bank. In fact, this is R16 million supposedly stolen by individuals and a party whose leaders did not occupy any government positions or play any role that could influence the decisions of VBS Mutual Bank.
- 198.** Only the ANC and SACP, could have had the power to decide and control the looting of VBS since it is their municipalities that deposited municipal funds with the bank. Yet, reporting on ANC, if we take online publications in terms of share of voice, accounted for 51%, with EFF at 44% and SACP at 5%.
- 199.** The disproportionate reporting is a critical sign of bias by important sections of independent media. However, above all, the name of Shivambu was associated with the VBS scandal more than that of the ANC or any of its leaders. The point therefore, with all the repetition, "follow the money", "join the dots", was to discredit the EFF leadership.
- 200.** Looking at how revolutionary political formations, similar to the EFF, managed to rise, using democratic elections to destabilise the former liberation movement on the African continent, the same lessons can be identified. We noted earlier that the crisis of global capitalism found a robust left formation in our country, which is not the case in many parts of the world. Be that as it may, the question remains, what examples of political funding exist for left formations on the continent?

- 201.** The reality is that there is no single left organisation that has risen to prominence on the continent. All opposition political parties that managed to dismantle the hegemony of former liberation movements have largely been liberals or right wing. The example in Zimbabwe; Morgan Tshwangarai and the MDC were proper liberals who ideologically identified with the liberals of the USA and UK. In fact, Chamisa in the recent elections made no secret of this fact. This is the same in Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Arab Africa or post-Sahara Africa. The very Arab Spring was not a socialist movement, it was a movement about democracy and the fall of dictators.
- 202.** In some instances, the West multinational companies or their imperialist extensions on the continent, funded these political formations to make way for neo-liberal and western imperialist domination. When liberation movements lost hegemony and relevance on the ground, they all risked going back to the radical Pan African politics that informed them, such as socialism and land expropriation as it occurred in Zimbabwe.
- 203.** Many of them turned to China as an ally and partner which decreased the influence of the West in their policy, domestic and international political outlook. But the rise of opposition parties, through coalitions or directly, was a sponsor of ideological support for the West.
- 204.** We in South Africa, are in a different and unique situation: our main concern is not democracy like the Arab Spring and many opposition parties on the rest of the continent. Our main concern is not even dictators or long presidential terms of office.
- 205.** Had Zuma won the ANC through Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, it may have been the case. We would have faced a similar usage of left political ideas for parasitic, nepotistic and corrupt ends. This would have inaugurated the age of politics used deliberately and openly as a means for unmitigated self-enrichment that comes with the total collapse of state institutions. The rise of the EFF is ideologically hostile to the West and its entire value system. The propaganda war is a means to isolate the EFF from funders, from voters and ultimately limit or obliterate it into insignificance.

13)ADVERTISING AND OUT-OF-HOME MEDIA (OOH)

- 206.** The final aspect of communications is advertising and out-of-home media. The movements spend exorbitant amounts of money for advertising, particularly during elections. When projections for the 2019 General Election was made on what an ideal campaign would need, communications alone stood at over R360 million.
- 207.** This related to costs for production of radio and television adverts, placing them on these platforms, t-shirts, posters, billboards or (OOH advertising). The costs are extremely high and make elections a lucrative affair.

- 208.** To advertise on the SABC's most popular shows like Uzalo, with reach of over 9 million viewers, an advert for a 30second advertisement cost R250 000 for one broadcast. If you had to advertise daily for a month, only on Uzalo, it would cost over R5 million.
- 209.** Both newspapers and broadcasters must be challenged to support democracy by transforming their pricing for political campaigns. The SABC, during elections, already offers free slots, although limited, but they go a long way. Other broadcasters can emulate the SABC by allocating a limited amount of airtime or advertising space in support of democracy.
- 210.** The other advertising space we have to move into for both transformation and campaign purposes is OOH advertising which is completely dominated by foreign white-owned companies.
- 211.** The top five OOH media players in South Africa are JC Decaux (Continental); Primedia Outdoor; Outdoor Network Provantage; and Ad Outpost. These occupy 80% of the marker share in an industry worth over R2 billion.
- 212.** Billboards exist on land, mostly municipal owned and pay rent or some rates to municipalities, especially in big metropolitan cities like Johannesburg. In addition, our airports, taxi ranks, train stations and bus ranks are controlled by the state in one way or the other. These companies have therefore historically managed to monopolise this space with government complicity, even in the post-apartheid era.
- 213.** Research shows that of the top twenty-five main OOH advertisers, National Government and Gauteng government appear, together with SAA. Between July 2014 and July 2019, National Government spent over R73 million on OOH, and Gauteng government spent over R57 million. There is no doubt that this money, in the main, has been spent with the big 5.
- 214.** Telecommunications companies, banks and alcohol brands are also majority spenders on this platform with a great showing in the top 25. The NPA must resolve to initiate an open campaign for transformation in this space, which is directly linked to the land. Government must be closely monitored to demonstrate that it is spending on black-owned OOH suppliers.
- 215.** Big business, like telecommunications companies, must be mobilised to spend more of their budgets on black-owned billboards as a deliberate move. The EFF can do this by initiating an annual black-owned OOH Convention in which big business is invited to meet and dedicate their OOH budget to black owners.

14)EFF COMMUNICATIONS

- 216.** The organisation has demonstrated its ability to be a social and online media influencer with its leadership and organisational accounts commanding some of the biggest numbers. By 2018 February, the EFF's Twitter account became the biggest of all political parties and now boasts over 800 000 followers. The Facebook base is just under half a million. The EFF also has the largest YouTube subscribers (over 40 000) of all political parties. On Instagram, we stand at close to 100 000 followers.
- 217.** Social media is the base that has allowed the EFF to survive despite the open propaganda war and sometimes shutdown amongst the traditional media base. Yet interesting improvements still require attention; chief amongst these is followership among females. On both Instagram and Facebook, the EFF records 75% of its followers as male. Females, who actively like the EFF Facebook page or follow the Instagram page, account for less than 30%.
- 218.** The story of our female support base is also attested by many independent research studies around elections which always score the EFF low amongst women. The NPA has to actively find resolutions on how this reality can and must change.
- 219.** Ward structures of the EFF must target all mediums of publications to gain the ear of the ordinary and win them over to the revolution in religious, art, entertainment and other circles. Each ward command team must develop a programme of battle of ideas on how to target local radio, print and other platforms to popularise the ideas of economic freedom. There must be no day that passes without EFF, at all levels, expressing itself on issues, providing critique, direction or guidance to society.
- 220.** Traditional means must be used to spread ideas: newsletter, sms, even taking platforms on street corners and market areas to give short open addresses on the ideas of the EFF or challenges facing the community.
- 221.** There must be multimedia capacity that uses photographic, video and voice recording facilities to generate publications and the spread of EFF ideas. The internet which provides news media platforms must be aggressively used to generate autonomous alternative EFF platforms outside the mainstream; online radio, YouTube and live-streaming capacity.
- 222.** There must be the establishment of a weekly publication with an immediate goal to provide commentary on current affairs and give guidance and ideological tools to engage development. There must be a quarterly journal aimed at substantial publications on the development of policy and ideological tools of analysis.

- 223.** EFF media must generate feeds from grassroots to give voice to struggles on the ground, not just in written form, but other recordings; photography, video and voice files. The people on the ground must be able to find a platform by the EFF to tell their stories, struggles and generate more circulation of the revolutionary ideas of economic freedom, with a focus on internet sources.



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1. INTRODUCTION

1. Quality of life in any country is one of the foremost indicators of development and acts as a metric for the state to meet social welfare requirements. It impacts life expectancy, mortality, the prevalence of disease and cannot be separated from the ills of poverty. The healthcare department in South Africa has a high budget allocation, yet we do not see this transforming the state of the sector and the quality of services provided to members of society. This is telling and should guide the EFF in understanding that throwing money at structural problems in South African society is not the solution for sustainable and effective change.
2. The current government has been incapable of changing public healthcare infrastructure to accommodate the growing demand brought on by a democratic dispensation and higher levels of access. The post-1994 government did not repurpose public healthcare to include millions of black people who were previously excluded from a healthcare system that served only a few minorities. We still exist in an infrastructural framework that is designed to cater for the healthcare demands of a few, which is why hospitals and clinics are understaffed, under-resourced and overcrowded.
3. Public healthcare in South Africa is in crisis. Denial of this has led to the death of many citizens, deaths which could have been avoided.
4. The provision of medication in rural and township clinics and hospitals is poor, and this is due to the state's dangerous dependency on private pharmaceutical companies, which function on a profit basis, and do not consider the needs of South Africans.
5. The poor state of research and development in healthcare results in high mortality rates for diseases that prevail due to inequality and poverty.
6. The Life Esidimeni tragedy represents the failure of state officials to understand complex medical phenomena and how to handle it, the cruelty that comes with entrusting South African lives into hands of the private sector, and how outsourcing continues to fail in all respects.
7. Our developmental outputs with regard to health are low, with public healthcare professionals being overworked, incapacitated and ill-equipped. This results in the simplest procedures causing long-lasting harm to public healthcare sector patients.
8. Public healthcare is also facing high levels of corruption at health department level, while public health institutions have no basic facilities, buildings are collapsing, machines are broken and there is a shortage of doctors and nurses.

9. Healthcare in the private sector does not encounter the same infrastructural and demand problems faced by the public healthcare sector. The separate development of the private healthcare sector, however, perpetuates a structural problem.
10. Corruption in private healthcare is rife, with recent evidence of price fixing in the private healthcare sector, corruption and the deliberate institutionalising of patients to serve the profit-making aspirations of healthcare institutes and medical aid providers.
11. The quality of private healthcare is equally not consistent with what consumers pay.
12. How we view the provision of healthcare and the conceptualisation of the National Health Insurance Bill has to be revised.
13. Our healthcare sector is plagued and shaped by socio-political problems that we must come to grips with – from those who provide healthcare to those who receive it. We must address the stigma and approach to certain illnesses, such as mental health, reproductive health and sexual health.
14. South Africa needs a healthcare sector that caters for emerging realities and undoes apartheid-era spatial and infrastructural arrangements. This means rethinking how healthcare services are provided in townships and rural areas.
15. It means having an approach to healthcare that is preventative to ensure the prevalence of diseases and illness is dealt with at the root. Healthcare must apply in everyday life – with concepts such as hygiene, sexual education and sanitation.
16. It means modernising healthcare and making it more mobile and accessible.
17. It means focusing on a large-scale programme of vocational training for nurses and doctors.
18. This discussion paper will begin with an overview of the EFF's position on public healthcare stemming from the Founding Manifesto.
19. It will proceed to a diagnosis of the South African healthcare system and its limits and inadequacies at the level of infrastructure i.e. buildings, ambulances, equipment, human resources and medical supplies.
20. It will then define healthcare, making a distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary healthcare, making reference to case studies of successful healthcare systems that are not premised on the rolling out of funding but effective non-capitalist mechanisms of healthcare provision – mechanisms which are social in form and are centred on pharmaceutical independence.

21. The discussion paper will analyse the National Insurance Health Bill and how it ought to be restructured.
22. Finally, the paper will give a comprehensive guideline on what is to be done to improve the quality of healthcare in South Africa.

2. EFF POSITION ON PUBLIC HEALTHCARE

23. The Founding Manifesto, adopted at the National Assembly in July 2013, identifies seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime, one of them being: “[f]ree quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation”. The Founding Manifesto goes on to say: “The state should build massive capacity in healthcare, and remunerate medical practitioners in a way that attracts the best medical practitioners to the public healthcare sector”.
24. The Founding Manifesto was correct to put the spotlight on the need for the state to regulate the cost of medicine and healthcare provision in order to prevent private hospitals from overpricing medical care, which is a basic human right.
25. The investigation by the Competition Commission into the health market in 2019 found that the South African private healthcare market is characterised by concentration of funders and facilities markets, and uniformed consumers which has led to high costs of healthcare and medical scheme cover not associated with improvements in health outcomes.
26. The Founding Manifesto also tabled as an urgent matter the need to set up a state pharmaceutical company to intervene decisively in the production and distribution of medicines. In 2018, according to a National Treasury budget document, public healthcare was allocated R213.3 billion, and R148 billion of the budget was transferred to provincial departments of health. Of that R120 billion (62.6% of total expenditure on health) was spent on salaries for healthcare workers. In the same year, government spent R20 billion on medical supplies and medicine. The main suppliers of medical supplies and medicines are companies such as Adcock Ingram, Aspen and Cipla Medrop, and others who produce the majority of their medical supplies and medicine in India, France, Germany, Mexico and Brazil.
27. Since the adoption of the Founding Manifesto, the EFF has since tabled motions in Parliament, campaigned and advocated for the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company. In our 2019 Election Manifesto, we made a commitment to establish a state-owned pharmaceutical company to ensure the availability of adequate medicine at all healthcare facilities by 2021. We also committed to establishing a pharmaceutical industrial zone for investors with protection for investment and security of tenure on state land on the condition that they work with the state-owned pharmaceutical

company, supply medicine and equipment to public clinics, hospitals and community healthcare facilities.

28. The post-1994 government's commitment to establishing a state-owned pharmaceutical company has amounted to nought. In 2016, former president Jacob Zuma announced, during his 2016 State of The Nation address, the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company, Ketlaphela. Ketlaphela was meant to supply the anti-retroviral drugs to the National Department of Health from 2017. Former minister of Science and Technology, Dr Naledi Pandor, in her budget speech in the same year, said that from 2017- 2019 the department would be allocated R5.2 million.
29. Ketlaphela has failed to manufacture ARVs yet, and has postponed its launch date from 2017 to 2022. In addition, Ketlaphela has advertised a tender for a partner to manufacture the medicine. This means the entity will not be entirely state-owned.
30. The Founding Manifesto committed to urgently engaging with doctors, nurses and general staff unions in the health sector to exert working class power and control over the health system, with a view to improving the quality and health services. The Founding Manifesto went on to raise the issue of remuneration and career paths, skills development and training. Our nurses, doctors and general workers work in poor conditions and are paid low wages. For example, National Hospital in Bloemfontein, Free State, does not have clean running water and workers have to carry drinking water.
31. In 2018, EFF structures all over the country marched to clinics and hospitals to demand better public healthcare for the poor and working class. The organisation declared 2018 the year of public health to ensure that clinics and hospitals have facilities, skilled staff, medicine and a caring environment.
32. In the 5th Parliament, the EFF Caucus introduced a National Health Amendment Bill to amend the National Health Act, 2003, to provide for clinics to operate and provide 24-hour healthcare services. The Bill will be re-introduced in the 6th Parliament and will be referred to the Portfolio Committee on Health.
33. EFF councillors in municipalities have sponsored motions for 24-hour clinics. The City of Johannesburg is planning to provide 24-hour clinics to increase access to healthcare and the City of Tshwane Council adopted a motion sponsored by the EFF in March 2018 to have clinics open for 24 hours.

3. DIAGNOSIS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PUBLIC HEALTHCARE

34. According to the former Minister of Health Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, in a reply to a question submitted by the EFF in Parliament, there is a total of 5 505 public health facilities (See Table 1: Details of public healthcare facilities per province below).

Province	Total number of public health facilities
Eastern Cape	1083
Free State	401
Gauteng	588
KwaZulu-Natal	1003
Limpopo	700
Mpumalanga	422
Northern Cape	305
North West	427
Western Cape	577
TOTAL	5506

Table 1: Details of public healthcare facilities per province

35. The majority of public healthcare facilities are clinics. Out of the 5 506 public healthcare facilities, clinics account for 3 152 (57%) of the total public healthcare facilities. See Table 2: List of public clinics per province).

Province	Clinic	%
Eastern Cape	739	21%
Free State	213	6%
Gauteng	334	10%
KwaZulu-Natal	617	18%
Limpopo	454	13%
Mpumalanga	245	7%
Northern Cape	161	5%
North West	297	9%
Western Cape	270	8%
Total	3479	100%

Table 2: List of public clinics per province

36. Clinics were assessed by the National Department of Health (NDoH) using the Ideal Clinic Realisation and Maintenance Tool, which assesses clinics against set standards of what an ideal clinic is. According to the assessment conducted in 2018, only 1 507 out of 3 152 clinics are ideal, and the remaining 1 645 clinics do not have the necessary infrastructure, human resources, clinical services management and support services to operate optimally to deliver services to people. A total of 20 clinics and community healthcare centres were closed and the NDoH ascribed these closures to renovations, safety of staff and some being burnt down.

37. There is a total of 392 public hospitals. (See Table 3: List of hospitals)

Province	District hospital	National central hospital	Provincial tertiary hospital	Regional hospital	Specialised chronic hospital	Specialised hospital	Specialised TB hospital
Eastern Cape	65	1	3	5	1	5	10
Free State	25	1	1	4		1	2
Gauteng	12	4	3	9		6	1
KwaZulu-Natal	39	2	3	13	2	7	8
Limpopo	30	-	2	5		3	1
Mpumalanga	23	-	2	3			5
Northern Cape	11	-	1	1		1	1
North West	13	-	2	3		2	
Western Cape	33	2	1	5		4	6
Total	251	10	18	48	3	29	33

Table 3: List of public hospitals

38. South Africa's public hospitals have collapsed and face serious challenges. According to the 2017 report of the Office of Health Standards Compliance (OHSC), an organisation established to protect and promote the health and safety of patients in South Africa, only five of the 696 hospitals and clinics inspected in 2017 complied with the NDoH norms and standards.

39. A Statistics South Africa report, titled "Mid-year population estimates", released in July 2019 noted the following: 1) the infant mortality rate for 2019 is estimated at 22,1 per 1 000 live births and 2) the life expectancy at birth for 2019 is estimated at 61,5 years for males and 67,7 years for females. According to Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME), an independent population health research centre at UW Medicine in the United States that measures the world's health problems, the top ten causes of death in South Africa is: 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) Ischemic heart disease, 3) Lower respiratory infection, 4) Stroke, 5) Diabetes, 6) Tuberculosis, 7) Interpersonal violence, 8) Road injuries, 9) Diarrheal diseases, and 10) Lung-related diseases.

40. The South African Medical Research Council's National Disease Burden shows that "non-communicable diseases have now become the leading group of causes resulting in death in South Africa, accounting for almost 40% of total deaths and one in three deaths before the age of 60 years".
41. South Africa's public healthcare system cannot deal with major causes of death.
42. The major issues facing public health facilities include a lack of medicines and supplies, hygiene and patient safety; inadequate infection prevention and control; a long waiting time; and broken infrastructure. For example:
- a. Most of the buildings are old and not maintained. There is a total of 657 public health facilities with asbestos ceilings, 571 with asbestos roofs, 116 internal asbestos walls and 75 with external asbestos walls. Seating and space for patients is not adequate, there is poor ventilation and lighting, windows and doors are broken, bathrooms and toilets don't work, and hospital and clinic grounds are not maintained.
 - b. Kitchen equipment, trollies to deliver food to wards, and meals do not meet the required hygiene and environmental standards, and the majority of service providers in hospitals and clinics that outsource food services are of an extremely poor standard.
 - c. Hospitals and clinics are not kept clean, including critical public and patient care areas. The majority of hospitals do not have daily inspections for cleanliness or monthly pest control, and cleaning machines are broken. Hospitals and clinics do not have policies to handle patient and bed linen. As a result, linen rooms are not kept clean and are used as storage areas and are not locked.
43. The people who suffer the most from a collapsed public healthcare system are the poor and workers who cannot afford medical aid and cannot access private healthcare. According to a presentation by a High-Level Panel on Health to the Portfolio Committee on Health in November 2018, only 16% of the South African population have medical aid and the rest either pay cash or use the collapsed public healthcare facilities.
44. The investigation by the Competition Commission into the health market found that South Africa's healthcare system is characterised by many challenges, particularly the uneven distribution of coverage and of access to funding, poor infrastructure and human resource constraints. The Terms of Reference (ToR) of the Competition Commission indicated that in 2012, 42.5 million South Africans were dependent on the public sector for the provision of healthcare services, while 8.7 million were serviced by the private sector.

45. Clint Cronning's paper in the 2013 South African Medical Journal titled, "Will the Department of Health and the Minister make the same mistake twice?" shows that in the early 1990s a decision was made by the South African Nursing Council (SANC), and supported by the Department of Health, to close down all adult-education vocational-training nursing colleges in favour of higher education training. This decision has led to a massive shortage of trained nurses, a crisis that is threatening public healthcare institutions.
46. In response to an EFF Caucus question in Parliament in 2018 about the number of vacancies at hospitals, clinics and departmental offices, the Minister of Health reported that there were 41 300 vacancies in the public healthcare facilities.
47. Following calls, the NDoH is working on re-opening nursing colleges. However, there is bias towards private sector nursing colleges whose resources meet Council for Higher Education (CHE) requirements. Public nursing colleges in the pipeline are under-resourced. This will lead to an uneven and unequal allocation of resources and the majority of trained nurses will end up in private hospitals.
48. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), health is defined as a "state of complete, physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or sickness".
49. Therefore, healthcare facilities, have the responsibility to ensure delivery and maintenance of a holistic system of medical care.
50. Maintaining optimal health requires the organised provision of medical care and social services. According to the Constitution, everyone has the right to healthcare services, including reproductive healthcare, sufficient food and water, and social security, and the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available means, to provide this.

4. HEALTH CARE SERVICES

51. Healthcare services in South Africa are divided thus:

- a. Primary healthcare –deals with a broad range of psychological, physical and social problems as a first line of healthcare that a patient receives. This includes treatment for disease through regular visits and prevention education. Primary healthcare focuses on prevention and accessibility. The WHO says primary healthcare, "is about caring for people, rather than simply treating specific diseases or conditions".
- b. Secondary healthcare – provides specialists such as cardiologists, dermatologists, urologists and others. Patients access secondary healthcare providers through referrals by the primary healthcare professionals.

- c. Tertiary healthcare –specialised, consultative healthcare usually for inpatients and on referral from primary and secondary healthcare professionals for advanced medical investigation and treatment. Services include plastic surgery, burn treatment, cardiac surgery, cancer management, neurosurgery, complex medical and surgical interventions etc.

52. In 1997, the NDoH published a white paper on the transformation of the health system in South Africa, guided by the belief that there is a comprehensive primary healthcare system in place. The white paper aimed to reduce inequalities in health service delivery and increase access to improved and integrated services, based on primary healthcare principles.

53. South Africa has failed to build a functional primary healthcare, and a paper by Priya Maillacheruvu and Elaine McDuff published in the Journal of Global Health titled “South Africa’s Return to Primary Care: The struggles and strides of the Primary Healthcare System”, shows that primary healthcare is failing because of inequalities between private and public healthcare, and an increase in long term diseases such as HIV/AIDS, TB, and non-communicable diseases such as hypertension and diabetes.

54. In South Africa the healthcare sector spends more resources treating patients with serious conditions. These long-term diseases are not treatable at a primary healthcare level through healthy lifestyle and prevention education and the provision of basic social services infrastructure. These long-term diseases are, however, treatable. South Africa spends more than R22 billion on HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) treatment, compared to R221 million on primary healthcare functions i.e. environmental and port health services, district health services, and emergency medical services and trauma.

55. The prioritisation of patients with serious conditions has led to training healthcare workers specialising in diseases and training in primary healthcare. Countries like Cuba, that have preventative medical training, do better at this level. Cuba’s infant mortality rate is 4.3 per 1 000 births. A WHO report shows that Cuba’s life expectancy is 79 for males and 80 for females.

56. Cuba has 13 medical schools, which are evenly spread across its 15 provinces, and produce 7 000 doctors annually. As part of their curriculum, Cuba Medical Trainees are obliged to provide family medical care for a minimum of three years before they can specialise and are sent on medical missions, underpinned by principles of primary healthcare, in any part of the country or abroad. When Cuban-trained doctors come to South Africa, they are well prepared and able to work in rural hospitals on preventative programmes, including educating communities about the impact of hygiene practices.

57. The global norm on healthcare focuses primarily on diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. While Cuba excels on this front, it deliberately and emphatically focuses on the pillars of prevention, promotion of and education on healthcare. Cuban doctors and other health practitioners go to communities to consistently and reliably test people and prevent diseases before they escalate.
58. Cuba's focus on primary healthcare is what brings stability and excellence to its healthcare system. The essence of Cuba's healthcare system is its emphasis on the prevention of diseases, promotion and education on healthcare. Cuba's medical practitioners' philosophical approach to healthcare is humanist, and not obsessed with profit maximisation as is the case with South Africa's practitioners.
59. Besides its massive achievements in primary healthcare, Cuba has developed excellent pharmaceutical capacity through the State-Owned Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology - Centro de Ingeniería Genética y Biotecnología (CIGB) - which a South African parliamentary delegation visited and engaged with in Havana.
60. The CIGB works on more than 20 projects aimed at obtaining and developing biomedical products for the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases, cardiovascular, neurodegenerative, cancer, inflammation, autoimmunity, healing and cytoprotection.
61. It comprises of the departments of vaccines, pharmaceuticals, immuno-diagnosis and genomics, chemical physics and system biology, and control of scientific-technical activity and administration. It has 200 workers: 41% holding the degree of Doctor in Sciences and 37% with a Masters in Sciences.
- 62.62. As part of its programmes and promotion of South-South relations, CIGB has built and co-developed state-of-the-art pharmaceutical factories? in many parts of the world, including South Africa. The CIGB is part of an umbrella body called BioCubaFarma, which has 38 enterprises and more than 22 000 qualified workers. BioCubaFarma manufactures generic drugs, therapeutic and prophylactic vaccines, biomedicines, diagnostic systems, and high-tech medical equipment. It also does research in neuroscience and neuro-technology. BioCubaFarma domestically manufactures 583 of the 881 generic drugs used in Cuba.
63. Cuba has also established an industrial development zone, which permits investors to play a role, with security of tenure and protection of investments in the pharmaceutical space. Furthermore, Cuba is willing to transfer skills and technology to developing countries as evidenced by the partnership with Biovac Institute South Africa. Biovac Institute manufactures different vaccines and some of the vaccines being manufactured are awaiting approval after clinical tests.
64. Access to healthcare in Cuba is free, and this right is enshrined in the Constitution.

65. Cuba has illustrated without doubt that a quality healthcare system that cares for children and the elderly can be built even without huge economic resources and certainly without capitalism.

5. THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE BILL

66. National Health Insurance (NHI) is flawed when one considers the successful healthcare project being undertaken in Cuba. The underlying principle of the NHI, which is the provision of universal healthcare is commendable and ought to be supported. We must also support efforts of central funding of healthcare for all. However, for it to be effective in tackling the challenges of South Africa it ought to be remodelled and its focus shifted to primary healthcare provision and human social realities. This is because the NHI assumes that access to medical aid schemes automatically guarantees quality healthcare and access to the best facilities. This is simply not the case and does not address the definite structural problems of healthcare in the country. It is true that separate sectors in the healthcare system perpetuate inequality, but to collapse those without creating capacity at the level of primary healthcare will result in a broadening of the infrastructural problems under a single medical aid scheme.

67. Furthermore, there is no evidence that supports the assumption that healthcare in the private sector is of better quality. Rather, it suffers less strain due to the economic barriers of access, resulting in practitioners being more effective. Thus, the difference in healthcare provision is as a result of economic, social, infrastructural and political imbalances between the two sectors

68. There must be equality in provision of healthcare for all South Africans. This requires more than giving the majority of South Africans access to supposedly better-quality healthcare by creating a medical aid scheme that must adjust itself to the inflated costs of a private healthcare sector.

69. Financing healthcare is important, but social lenses are required for us to understand where funding should be channelled and how. This aspect recognises that health outcomes are directly linked to social conditions and political and legislative outlooks. Healthcare must capacitate itself to understand complexities of inequality, and the health needs of minorities such as the LGBTQI community. The health requirements in Africa need an approach that is cognisant of local and traditional realities that impact interaction and mortality rates.

70. Healthcare cover must take into account local phenomena – customs such as initiation rituals, the high levels of domestic abuse and sexual violence, and mental illness and its causes. These are social phenomena that require the intervention of a capacitated and well-resourced healthcare sector.

71. The bill must also have comprehensive input on how it plans to overcome the spatial idiosyncracies of the country. Healthcare is difficult to access for people in isolated rural areas, and ambulances have difficulty in navigating townships that are crowded with shacks and untarred roads. Modernised healthcare must adapt and respond to this to reduce the mortality rate and levels of illness where our people are the most vulnerable.
72. Healthcare in South Africa must respond to social needs as much as access to it must be made equal. Therefore, the EFF must look at the NHI warily and provide complementary solutions where it is found to be lacking. Equal healthcare will not exist in isolation of social development and must go hand-in-hand with development in other sectors of government.
73. It is for this reason that the Finance and Fiscal Commission has warned that the deadline to roll out the NHI by 2026 is not in sync with reality. Primary healthcare intervention must be the direction in which South Africa goes in order to tackle our problems as a country, and this requires innovative solutions that are in line with a broad developmental programme.

6. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

74. South Africa should direct its focus on primary healthcare and building a caring system that provides comprehensive, educational, accessible, and community-based care that meets the health needs of individuals throughout their life. Primary public healthcare should be underpinned by a strong immunisation and vaccination programme.
75. A process to repurpose healthcare should start by documentation of the status of each public healthcare facility. The NDoH should develop a 12-month infrastructure refurbishment and maintenance plan, which details monthly targets, allocation of resources and timeframes. Maintenance and refurbishment of public healthcare facilities should be underpinned by building internal capacity based on artisans, engineers, architects and general workers.
76. The NDoH should set a target on doctor to patient ratios and roll out a plan for training doctors. Furthermore, medical training institutions should be empowered to produce as many health practitioners as possible and the entire healthcare system should shift into prioritising primary healthcare.
77. The immediate focus should be on the establishment of one clinic or polyclinic per ward, and the focus will vary according to population size in each ward. All clinics should have permanent doctors and health practitioners, who will not just wait for patients to come to the clinic but should consistently visit households and individuals in their workplaces to develop a ward-based healthcare profile. In this way, the healthcare system will be able

to detect the common diseases in wards and develop mechanisms to prevent their spread before they reach crisis levels. The 6th Parliament should finalise the National Health Amendment Bill to ensure clinics are open 24 hours.

78. The overall target in South Africa should be that no citizen should go three months without a medical check-up. Regular check-ups should be linked to other social services such as the collection of social grants.
79. Furthermore, health education and promotion should be encouraged through campaigns on mass media platforms. Citizens should be aware of basic healthcare practices and needs so that they get assistance when they detect early instances of diseases.
80. There are calls for the complete de-commodification of healthcare, and for it to be Constitutionally declared an essential human right.
81. South Africa should escalate its relationship with Cuba and repurpose the existing state-owned pharmaceutical company because in its current conceptualisation, it is flawed and will serve as a buyer instead of manufacturer.
82. An EFF government must establish a pharmaceutical industrial zone for investors with protection of investment and security of tenure on state land on condition that they work with the state-owned pharmaceutical company and supply medicine and equipment to clinics, hospitals and community healthcare facilities.
83. Due to massive South African intra-migration for economic and educational purposes, an electronic healthcare data system should be established to store the health history of each citizen. Once checked or diagnosed in one health facility, there should not be a need to repeat the same exercise if a patient migrates from one province/region to another. Of course, this should be subject to the standing quality controls and doctor/patient laws that govern healthcare in South Africa.
84. It is a reality that South Africa does not optimally utilise the training spaces provided at Cuba's civilian and military medical training institutions while there are massive shortages of doctors in our rural communities. The government must ensure all these spaces are filled. The government should also consider opening Cuban medical school campuses in South Africa - similar to the Escuela Latinoamericana de Medicina (ELAM), the Latin American School of Medicine. ELAM trains doctors from more than 100 countries and is considered one of the best medical schools in the world.
85. South Africa's medical schools largely produce doctors who are ready for commercial healthcare. Furthermore, medical schools fees and admission criteria are prohibitive to black entrants, and those who are admitted struggle in completing their medical degrees. South Africa needs to move to a new trajectory in terms of medical practice, training and healthcare in general.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Today, national independence and the growth of national feeling in underdeveloped regions take on totally new aspects. In these regions, with the exception of certain spectacular advances, the different countries show the same absence of infrastructure. The mass of the people struggles against the same poverty, flounder about making the same gestures and with their shrunken bellies outline what has been called the geography of hunger. It is an underdeveloped world, a world inhuman in its poverty; but also, it is a world without doctors, without engineers, and without administrators – Frantz Fanon

1. INTRODUCTION

1. Majority of South Africans continue to live in absolute mass poverty, landless, jobless and homeless. For majority of children born in these families, there is no productive future for them, or opportunity to participate in any meaningful way in the economy to share in the wealth of the country.
2. The ruling party has failed to use the political power to lift millions out of poverty. The Founding Manifesto, adopted at the National Assembly on What is to be Done on the 26th and 27th of July 2013 correctly characterise the failures of South Africa's policies regarding poverty. The Founding Manifesto states that " Concerning real economic transformation, the post-1994 democratic state has not achieved anything substantial owing to the fact that the economic-policy direction taken in the democratic-dawn years was not about fundamental transformation, but empowerment/enrichment meant to empower what could inherently be a few black aspirant capitalists, without the real transfer of wealth to the people as a whole. Empowerment legislation, particularly Black Economic Empowerment policies and various sector- transformation charters adopted by the democratic government dismally failed to substantially and sustainably empower the majority of the population, mainly targeted groups. It is important to note that even if all the objectives of empowerment charters were reached, South Africa would still be characterised by high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, therefore rendering the approach taken a wild goose chase."
3. The reality is that poverty is worsening under the post-1994 government, and this is because in addition to empowerment of few blacks aspirant capitalist, government actively go out of its way to protect the interests of white monopoly capital. For millions, the situation is getting desperate as they sink deeper into poverty with no hope in sight.
4. This is happening despite the fact that government expenditure on social services, social grant in particular, has increased substantially. This is therefore a discussion document about how the EFF can intervene to bring to an end the epidemic of poverty with practical and believable solutions. If the crisis of poverty is not solved, all other social ills associated with poverty such as violence in particular gender-based violence, substance abuse, unemployment, homelessness and others will continue.

5. The discussion document on social development is divided into two sections i.e. diagnoses and what is to be done with key focus on poverty, substance abuse associated with poverty and poverty affecting people living with disability. While issues concerning social development cut across all other sectors of society i.e. economy, job creation, communication and access to information, health, education. and land reform to comprehensively deal with crisis of poverty, there are immediate intervention that are needed and the discussion document focus on that.

2. DIAGNOSES

a. Poverty and inequality

6. As a society, we are used to discussing poverty in the context of a society that is highly financialized, we tend to talk about human and lived experienced through numbers as if there are no human beings behind these figures. Even when leaders in society say they speak for the poor, there is an immediate jump to statistics about how many people are living in poverty, and different ways in which we measure poverty.
7. It is important to reflect on the actual meaning of poverty so as to centre the discussion around what matters, people living condition. Colin Bundy wrote in his short book, titled 'poverty in South Africa: Past and Present' published in 2016, he begins by reminding us what is poverty. He writes;

 'Poverty is material want, shabbiness, and squalors. Clothes patched beyond repair; shoes literally down-at heel; bedding stained and worn thin, furniture and fittings that sigh exhaustion. Poverty is housing without the basic amenities, comforts or security that home life is supposed to afford. Urban poverty is space so cramped that privacy is impossible: shacks that leak when it rains, swelter in summer, and freeze in winter; candles and paraffin heaters and the fire hazards these present. Poverty is the infection caused when the hookworm parasite burrows into the intestine of a child. Or any one of the other diseases transmitted by contaminated water or by contact with human faces; gastroenteritis, dysentery typhoid, cholera. Poverty is malnutrition; not just the pangs of hunger when food is short in the home – although poverty is hunger too – but the long-term, endemic condition caused by poor or inadequate diet.
8. This is not an exaggeration of conditions in which people living in poverty find themselves. It is the daily lived experienced of millions of people in South Africa. We should always remember and bear in mind that there are human beings behind these conditions that affect our people on a daily basis. As Frantz Fanon puts it, 'a socialist regime, a regime which is completely orientated towards the people as a whole and based on the principle that man is the most precious of all possessions, will allow us [society] to go forward more quickly and more harmoniously, and thus make impossible that [distortion] of society where all economic and political power is held in the hands of a few who regard the nation as a whole with scorn and contempt', as it is the case today in South Africa.
9. In March 2018, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) published a report, 'Men, Women and Children: Findings of the Living Conditions Survey, which showed revealed the following:

- i. In 2015, more than a quarter of South Africa's population was living below the food poverty line.
 - ii. 55,5% of the population cannot afford the minimum lifestyle desired by most South Africans.
 - iii. Limpopo (67,5%), Eastern Cape (67,3%) Kwazulu-Natal (60,7%) and North West (59,6) province are provinces with the highest number of people living in poverty.
 - iv. Household headed by women are more likely to fall into poverty and the degree of poverty tend to be more intense, and many of these households cannot afford basic food.
 - v. Children living in poor conditions do not have safe area to play, and this is fundamental to children growth and development.
 - vi. Poor household headed by women tend not to have water, sanitation and refuse services from municipality.
10. Majority of people living in poverty are mainly black Africans. More than 77.7% of people living in poverty in South Africa are black people. The ruling party has failed to intervene with practical and workable solutions to deal with poverty and inequality, and multiple factors behind it, as a result it persists 25 years into democracy. Instead, the number of people living in poverty continue to increase. According to Oxfam, the number of people living in extreme poverty has increased from 11 million in 2011 to 13.8 million in 2015, which represent 25.2% of the population.
11. Sampie Terreblance, in his book titled 'A history of Inequality in South Africa: 1652 – 2002' published in , made reference to poverty traps set up by apartheid that remains an important explanation for the persistence and worsening of poverty in South Africa as identified by Julian May. The following traps were identified:
 - i. The first poverty trap: high and rising levels of unemployment in a sluggish economy
 - ii. The second poverty trap: deeply institutionalized inequalities in the distribution of socio-economic power, property, and opportunities, and the persistence of racist prejudices.
 - iii. The third poverty trap: disrupted social structures and the syndrome of chronic community poverty
 - iv. The fourth poverty trap: the mutually reinforcing dynamics between violence, criminality and ill health on the one hand, and pauperisation of the other.
12. All these traps are deeply entrenched, and the ruling party post 1994 has used the state in collusion with the parasitic apartheid capital to reinforce them. Almost 10 million people are unemployed, and the unemployment rate stands at 29.1%. Of the unemployed people, more than 2.8 million are discourage work seekers and have given up on finding a job. More companies including profitable companies are threatening to retrench workers as the economic growth is revised to less than 1%.
13. In his recent work titled, Capital in the 21st Century, Thomas Piketty shows that those that are rich and have wealth have managed to grow their wealth tremendously while majority of people who are poor are getting poorer. This has resulted in a significant increase in the income gap between the rich and poor.
14. Oxfam, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) published a report in January 2018, titled 'Reward Work, Not Wealth', shows that South Africa is one of the most unequal

societies in the world in terms of wealth and income distribution. The top 10% of South Africans income earners receives half of all wage income, and the bottom half South Africa's work force receives just 12% of all wages.

15. While the joint report by the World Bank, Planning Monitoring and Evaluation, and Stats SA, titled 'Overcoming poverty and inequality in South Africa: An assessment of drivers, constraints and opportunities' published in March 2018 suggest that some 2.3 million South Africans escaped poverty. The reality is that, poverty has worsened in South Africa and because as a country we were coming from a low baseline, mere freedom, mobility, access to information and access to education however dysfunctional, will lead to improved standard of living despite government failures. There is no comprehensive coordinated program by the state working with private sector to eradicate poverty.

b. Social grant

16. According to a report published by a Portfolio Committee on Social Development, titled 'Report of the Portfolio Committee on Social Development on the Budget Vote 17, the Annual Performance Plans of the Department of Social Development and its entities for 2019/20', published on the 10th of July 2019, South Africa's government social assistance programme include 17.6 million. 12.5 million beneficiaries are poor children, 3.5 million beneficiaries are older pensions, and about 1 million are people living with disability.

17. In the year 2018/2019, government paid R162.8 billion, and it has increased to R175.1 billion in the current financial year.

18. There are eight (8) categories of social grants;

- i. Old age
- ii. War Veterans
- iii. Disability
- iv. Foster Care
- v. Care Dependency
- vi. Child Support
- vii. Grant-in-Aid
- viii. Social Relief of Distress

19. For most vulnerable people living in poverty, the money that they receive in a form of social grant is the difference between hunger, starvation and homelessness. In a way, it is a form of income and should they not receive it, it is as if a household breadwinner did not get paid at the end of the months.

20. However, the challenge is that the cost of living has increased. The price of most staple food has surpassed the annual increase of social grants. The situation is made worse by poor service delivery, unreliable water and electricity supply for most poor households, and is made worse by Treasury's austerity measures. In 2019/20 and 2020/2020 financial year, government has approved a reduction in social grants.

21. In addition to challenges of increasing cost of living, poor service delivery and austerity measures, the formulation of payment of social grants is Eurocentric and fails to take into

account South Africa's historical injustices. Social grants are highly individualized and are structured in such a way that a recipient is assumed to be an individual.

22. Many of the old age recipient of social grant have a higher number of dependences. Some dependences also earn social grant. But social grants are not structured within the context of female headed household, who have a high number of dependencies and the social grant covers the needs of the whole family.]
23. Brazil use to be one of the countries with the highest levels of poverty and inequality until the former President Lula Da Silva implemented an initiative Bolsa Família based on cash transfer to families for keeping their children in school and attending preventive health care visits. Bolsa Família was a resounding success as Brazil went on to halve its extreme poverty from 9.7% to 4.3%, and decrease income inequality by 15%. At the core of the program, people were not treated as individuals but as a family unit. According to World Bank report, titled 'Bolsa Família: Brazil's Quiet Revolution', published in 2013, the program now reaches more than 14 million households – 50 million people or around ¼ of the population.

c. Substance abuse

24. South Africa is facing serious crisis of substance abuse, in particular drugs and alcohol. Societal problems as a results of substance abuse cause unimaginable pain to many families, particularly black families in townships and rural areas. In September 2007, South Africa woke up to a story of a mother, Ellen Pakkies, who killed her son strangling him with a rope. She was later convicted of murder. But the Wynberg Regional Court considered substantial compelling circumstances, the abuse and torment she suffered to bring herself as a mother to kill her own drugs addicted son. Instead of a minimum 15 years imprisonment, she was sentenced to three years, all suspended and did not spend a night in jail.
25. While the case of the mother who killed her drug. addicted son come across as an extreme case of social ills. Unfortunately, it is a common occurrence in South Africa. In many communities, young people start using drugs as young as nine years old and by the time they reach the age of youth, a stage where they are supposed to transition into young adults contributing and participating meaningfully to societal life and economy, they are drug addicts. Instead, majority of youth struggling with drug abuse suffer from physical and mental health, risky behaviour including risky sexual behaviour, violence and crime.
26. According to 2017/2018 Crime Report published by South African Police Services (SAPS), drugs related crimes have increased by 10.5% compared to the previous years. The reality on the ground is far much different compared to what is reported officially because many of drugs related crimes do not end with a case or arrest. A research paper by Tshitangano and Tosin published in African Journal of Primary Health Care and Family in 2016, titled 'substance use amongst secondary school students in a rural setting in South Africa: Prevalence and possible contributing factors', cited a police report which state that drugs abuse accounts for 60% of all crime in the country.

27. There are new emerging drugs that cheap and becoming more accessible to the youth, unlike the traditional old drugs that is often available customers who have income. One of the most devastating drug to communities, especially townships and rural areas, is nyaope. A study by Mahlangu and Geyer, titled 'The aftercare needs of Nyaope users: implications for aftercare and reintegration services' published in 2018, shows that Nyaope is one of the cheapest drugs widely available and easily accessible to the youth.
28. Drug abuse cannot be looked at independent from all other poverty traps discussed above. Because of these poverty traps, especially in township and rural areas, it is easy for young people to get involved in drugs. There is also a string link between drug abuse, gangsterism and criminality in areas such as Cape Town, Hilbrow in Johannesburg and Sunnyside in Tshwane.
29. In addition to drugs abuse, there is also alcohol abuse. Unlike drugs which is criminalized, alcohol is not criminalized. A research paper by BMC Medicine Journal published in 2018, where researchers sought to find a link between alcohol abuse and mortality rates across different socio-economic levels in South Africa, found that one in 10 deaths in South Africa can be attributed to alcohol.
30. Alcohol abuse in South Africa cost the state billions of rands ever year. People drink and drive, which lead to accidents, damage of municipal infrastructure and mortality. According to Stats SA, Alcohol abuse is responsible for at least 65% of incidents in 2016/17 financial year.
31. The problem of alcohol abuse is made worse by easy access and advertising of alcohol to the youth as a glamorous thing. The people who are in alcohol advertisement portray a picture of success, stability and positive contribution to society because of alcohol, when alcohol has the opposite effects.

d. People living with disabilities

32. People living with disability are mostly ignored by society, live in isolation and are vulnerable to poverty. Some of the challenges facing people living with disability include access to transport, access to healthcare, access to buildings, and their rights are undermined. In some instances, people living with disability suffer discrimination and negative attitude from people.

3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

33. South Africa needs a coordinated and scaled up approach to deal with poverty in such a way that all initiatives that are currently scattered all over government departments across spheres of government can be coordinated from a central point. The president must take full responsibility and all programmes related to poverty alleviation must be coordinated directly from the Presidency.

34. The Department of Social Development (DSD) serve very little purpose beside facilitating payments of grants. If grants are paid through a state-owned bank through a network coordinate health, education and social grants, DSD as a department should cease to exist and all its functions must either move to the Department of Health or in Presidency. Poverty alleviation coordinated programmes must integrate other social services as building blocks. Families living in poverty must be encouraged through incentives to keep their children at schools.
35. Prevention is an important part of integrating health services into poverty alleviation programmes and strategies. In most cases, families living in poverty do not have access to public health care. There must be an integration of health care visits linked with social grants payment points. In addition, social grants files must be linked with medical and educational information. Other services include efficient adoption, foster care, co-parenting and guardianship services.
36. South Africa social grant system needs a serious reform to shift from individualistic focus to be family orientated. Government must develop a comprehensive database of all indigent people including people living with disability, and clearly allocate social assistance benefits in a manner that is family orientated. Social grants for old age pensioners must increase to be in line with the national minimum wage, and old age pensioners must receive double grant in December.
37. The EFF must continue with the Liquor Amendment Bill to seek a blanket ban on alcohol advertisement, and introduce new warning labels which will make the consequences of alcohol clear. The prevalence of alcohol-induced dangers to society has reached crisis point and if there is no drastic intervention, many households will continue to suffer unimaginable pain. South African Police Services (SAPS) has failed to deal with drugs especially in gang ridden places. The scourge of drugs persist because there are many police officers involved in gangsterism. A special task team must be deployed to deal with gangsterism and drugs in places such as the Cape Flats in Cape Town.
38. Government intervention is important for drugs recovering patients, and it is the role of government to build a wider network of rehabilitation facilities, treatment and post treatment care for people suffering from drugs abuse and violence. These services must not only be available in the affluent side of the city but must be available in all areas.
39. Government must impose measurable goals and targets for the recruitment, employment and retention of people living with disabilities. This must be on the basis of organised and well mobilised sector, for people living with disability to have their voice heard so that nothing happens without people living with disability.



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ON EDUCATION

“When the child has learnt its social creed and catechism, and can read, write, reckon, and use its hands: in short, when it is qualified to make its way about in modern cities and do ordinary useful work, it had better be left to find out for itself what is good for it in the direction of higher cultivation. If it is a Newton or a Shakespeare it will learn the calculus or the art of the theatre without having them shoved down its throat: all that is necessary is that it should have access to books, teachers, and theatres”, Bernard Shaw, 1928.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. South Africa education system is characterised with poor performance of school children. The education system is also characterised with inequalities and discriminate children from poor families and communities. Post 1994 government has failed to repurpose education from the dual-apartheid education system that prioritise minority whites while subjecting majority of black children into an inclusive education system for all. Instead, South Africa has continued with dual education that discriminates against the poor.
2. Mjiba Frehiwot, a research fellow at the University of Ghana who writes on decolonization of knowledge production made a well-expressed point in her paper titled *“Pan-African Education: A Case Study of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute”*, Print Media and The Ghana Young Pioneer Movement, published as part of the book, *“Africa’s Many Divides and Africa’s Future: Pursuing Nkrumah’s Vision of Pan-Africanism in an Era of Globalization”* in 2015, that education carries society’s history, culture, values and principles. Education also shapes the country’s direction, leadership and societal institutions.
3. This perspective is a contribution to the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) 2nd National People’s Assembly, and aims to set a foundation for proper diagnoses of South Africa’s education system given its centrality towards economic emancipation of our people, and will provide solutions ideologically informed by what the Founding Manifesto adopted at the 1st National People’s Assembly (NPA) on What is to be done on the 26th and 27th of July 2013.
4. The Founding Manifesto emphasises as part of the 7 non-negotiable pillars the need to achieve free quality education, wherein all pupils and students are provided with adequate learning and teacher-support material. The Founding Manifesto recognize that for successful and sustainable economic development and growth, South Africa requires a focussed and deliberate education system that will prioritise skills, education and expertise in various fields. Especially skills and expertise to build industrial economy that create jobs and redistribute wealth to majority instead of just few minorities in a globalized economy.
5. The diagnoses section reflects on the inequalities in South Africa’s education system, collapsed infrastructure and waste of resources, dysfunctional early childhood development, Eurocentric capitalist bias knowledge production and teaching, and poor funding for higher education.

2. DIAGNOSIS

a) Dysfunctional early childhood development and inequalities in South Africa's education system

6. South Africa's education and what is taught in classrooms is as a result of colonial past, and was meant to deepen colonization in a way that schooling produce lowly skilled workers required by the oppressive racist economy.
7. In the last 25 years, the ruling party has not been able to repurpose education, in particular basic education, in a manner that it values and build on indigenous knowledge and languages. As a result, the education system has purposefully undermined local history, culture, languages, and systems of knowledge.
8. Historically white only schools in South Africa produce educational outcome and achievements closer to the standards attained in development countries. These schools are accessed by minority of South African children. A vast majority of children in South Africa access historically disadvantaged education system which is burdened with educational unfavourable factors associated with poverty. These factors include limited resources, lack of learner and teacher support material, poor security, teacher absenteeism, and crowded classroom amongst others.
9. On average, children in these previously disadvantaged schools cannot read, write or understand and work with numbers. According to the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), an international comparative reading assessment, 78% of Grade 4 learners in South Africa cannot read for meaning in English and it is worse in African languages.
10. Early childhood is important and correct time to develop basic skills of reading for children. When children gain the basic skill of reading earlier in their education, they are able to attain education successfully and increases their chances to participate in the economy meaningfully later in adulthood. At the moment, at least at a policy level adopted in 2017, two years of ECD for all children before Grade 1 is compulsory.
11. However, in South Africa, there is no dedicated training programmes for early childhood development (ECD) practitioners and foundation phase teachers. The Member of the Executive Council (MEC) in Gauteng Province, in a reply to a written question in the legislation, revealed that more than 1 600 ECD practitioners don't have a single qualification.
12. ECD has only been incorporated into the Department of Basic Education recently, and there is no funding dedicated to ECD. The only finding that is available is for basic Grade R. In 2019, government does not know what career options are available for ECD practitioners, how much they should get paid, and what qualification framework should exists, meaning that ECD has existed in ad hoc basis for the last 20 years. According to the South African Childhood Review of 2019, a report which measure progress in ECD, has found that more than one million children between the age of 3 and 5 are excluded from ECD programmes across the country.

13. Countries like Cuba that has adopted a holistic approach to ECD accessible to all children, with specific attention to vulnerable children, has adult literacy rate of almost 100%, with majority if not all of adults above the age of 15 years and older are literate. Cuba has prioritised ECD for the past 50 years. According to United Children's Fund (UNICEF) report published in 2016, titled 'Early Childhood Development in Cuba', 99,5% children under the age of six years of age attend an early childhood education programme or institution.
14. These inequalities are obvious in the higher levels of education, employment outcomes and in the income patterns of inequalities. Consequently, the education system has not been able to challenge hegemonic social structures and transform or enhances people's lives. The education system has done very little to change the lives of majority of people particularly the health and wellbeing of black people in rural areas. Instead, the education system in South Africa continues to reproduce and reinforce apartheid patterns of poverty and privilege, a racial based divide between the poor and rich. This is even worse for children living with disability. The education system is also dominated by hegemonic colonial education in its curriculum while rendering indigenous knowledges as backward, primitive and barbaric as part of a colonial legacy.
15. According to a report published the Department of Basic Education in March 2019, in 2018, there were 12.8 million learners in the schooling system, of which 12.2 million learners were in public schools and 589 348 were in independent schools, also known as private schools. In a reply to a parliamentary question published in March 2018, the Minister of Basic Education said that the learner educator ratio for government primary schools was one teacher to every 35.2 students. This means that an educator is responsible for a class with at least 35 students. Small classes are beneficial as teachers because they allow teachers to give each learner individual attention and accommodate various needs which allow a learner to learn and excel. In a class of few learners, teachers are able to experiment with different teaching methods, employ technology and do not waste much needed time to teach with administrative duties such as reporting.
16. The patterns of spending in education showcase that expenditure on South Africa's education grew from R30 billion in 1994/5 to R101 billion in 2007/8 thus showing an upward trend in total education expenditure in these twelve years with a decline in real expenditure between 1996/7 and 2003/4 (Department of Education 2007). The EC particularly showed a steady 46.8% to 49.0% (in the years 2002/3- 2008/9) thus demonstrating (from an aggregate national picture) that education funding remained relatively static for a decade.
17. During this period, public ordinary schooling relative proportion budget increased by only 2% from 1997/7 to 2006/7 (Department of Education 2007) while it increased by 23% in real terms. Majority of this funding has gone to improving infrastructure, salaries for more teachers amongst other things. In the period between 2009/10 to 2013/14, spending increased from 60 billion to 79 billion (+7.3% per annum) for primary education while secondary education spending rose from 50 billion to 71 billion (+9.1% per annum) (Statistics SA, 2015). This means that major spending goes to pre and primary education amounting to R79 billion (32%) of the total general government expenditure in 2013/14, followed by secondary and post-secondary at 71 billion (29%). Tertiary education (24%) and unclassified education (15%) then follow.

18. But how do we account for these expenditure patterns when little has changed in poor schools in SA since 2006? Despite so much spending on education, this education system has done little to change the lives of a majority people particularly the health and well-being of indigenous rural people. It has also done little to prepare students for post schooling activities that could enhance their livelihoods both locally and globally.

b) Collapse of education infrastructure

19. Majority of public schools in South Africa lack basic infrastructure necessary to create a conducive and proper environment for learning. Government has failed to build proper classrooms, sanitation facilities and recreational infrastructure for schools. Some schools have buildings without doors and windows, no toilets, electricity or water, and basic security.
20. In November 2013, the Department of Basic Education published legally binding Norms and Standards for School Infrastructure which made it a law for public schools to have water, electricity, internet, working toilets, security and in future will include libraries, laboratories and sports facilities. Norms and standards remain an ideal in paper which the Minister of Basic Education has claimed that is not affordable. Despite the norms and standards which have a clear reporting framework, provincial and national government's data on school infrastructure is inconsistent, and this has led contradicting information.
21. We still have schools that are built with material that are health hazardous. In 2017, in a reply to a question by the EFF in Parliament, the Minister of Basic Education said that of the 24 885 primary and secondary schools, 3 062 or 12% of these are schools roofed with asbestos sheets. There is overwhelming evidence to show that exposure to asbestos causes fibrotic lung diseases and changes in the lining of the chest cavity. Learners spend majority of the time in schools and are exposed to asbestos material.
22. In other instance, the EFF in Parliament asks the Minister of Basic Education how many schools do not have water and electricity. The Minister responded that according to the National Education Infrastructure Management System (NEIMS), all ordinary schools have been provided with water and electricity. But the 2019 NEIMS paint a depressing picture. The reports detail the following;
- a. Out of 28 874 schools, only 11 686 schools have flush toilets, the rest use pit, mobile and chemical toilets.
 - b. Out of 23 258 schools inspected, 10 956 schools have water supplied by municipality in school year and 7 520 depend on borehole well on site, the rest depend on unreliable mobile tanks, municipal water outside school yard, and rainwater harvesting.
 - c. There are more than 2 000 without reliable electricity.
 - d. Only 2 066 schools have access control, and 982 have alarm system. Other schools have some form of security but it is insufficient.
 - e. More than 10 000 schools do not have sports facilities.
 - f. There are more schools without libraries than schools with libraries. More than 75% of schools do not have libraries.

23. In a 2018 written response to Parliament asked by the EFF, the Minister of Basic Education said that 471 schools in the Eastern Cape were built with inappropriate materials. In the same province, there is widespread corruption in school infrastructure projects.
24. According to the Public Protector report number 29 of 2017/18, titled "Mandela Funeral", which investigated the allegations of misappropriation by the Eastern Cape Provincial Government and other organs of state in connection with the expenditure incurred in Preparation for the Funeral of the late former President Nelson Mandela, an amount of R22 million was paid for the procurement of goods and services for the funeral from a R300 million infrastructure grant. The report went further to say, the funds were meant for the provision of running water, electricity, sanitation, ablution facilities, replacement of mud-schools and refurbishing of hospitals. This kind of corruption does not only occur in the Eastern Cape. It is common throughout the country wherein money meant for school infrastructure gets stolen.
25. One of the reasons why government is unable to build schools efficiently is because of lack of capacity. Like it is the case with all other services, provincial education departments across the country depend on private companies to build school infrastructure. The process of tendering to procure infrastructure projects of school infrastructure leads to inflation of prices, tender rigging, and appointment of incompetent and unqualified contractors. Money allocated for purposes of accelerating school infrastructure delivery is used improperly.

c) Crisis of Higher education

26. Higher Education, Science and Technology are important aspects of development for any society. It is through skilled and educated citizenry that a nation, particularly one scarred by colonialism and Apartheid, that structural changes can be made to the knowledge systems, research outputs and developmental imbalances that exist in the country.
27. In South Africa unfortunately the higher education sector is in disarray and one that remains only accessible to the wealthy few. Access is one of the largest barriers in higher education, but even when access is granted, the backgrounds of majority black South Africans hinders their ability to function productively, to grasp scientific and technological concepts and adapt to an academic space that was not designed to cater for them. Black South Africans enter the space on the back foot and plagued by their realities.
28. There are a number of institutions of higher learning in South Africa, namely there are two sectors in higher education. Which is the University sector and the TVET sector. The distinctions are made in terms of the level of basic education acquired and the academic performance within the basic education sector.
29. An honest assessment, one that is considerate of the character of separate development that characterises South Africa would suggest that access to institutions of higher learning is determined by the class background of an individual, the infrastructural differences within the basic education sector which favour the rich and hinder the poor, and that academic efficiency is dependent is influenced greatly by ones social reality.

30. The unequal levels of development between the university sector and TVET sector also results in stigmas that mean there is a concentration of students who do not want to pursue TVET sector education as a career option. The Department of Higher Education and Training reported on the negative effects of unequal budget allocation between universities and TVETs in a briefing with the portfolio committee on higher education in training in September 2019 stating that they,

“...had been advising the Committee on the question of funding, that 82% of its total budget goes to universities. R78 billion goes to universities and R12 billion remains available for TVET colleges. There were 26 universities and 50 TVET colleges in the country with a rural footprint. There was no adequate funding to carry all the responsibilities for the TVET colleges.”

31. Many students thus find themselves in the TVET sector due to circumstance and, their poor their performance in the basic education sector, and the hierarchies of quality created between the two sectors. Many then end up not even pursuing a qualification in the TVET sector due to how it is poorly managed, infrastructure challenges, stigma's and lack of awareness.

32. The challenges and stigma's are valid, and the South African Further Education and Training Association (SAFETA) made shocking submissions on the conditions in the sector to the portfolio committee on higher education and training, such as,

- “If the profile of the principals was checked, the Committee would notice that it was people who came from secondary schools with a significant lack of experience and expertise in the TVET sector. In the previous presentation, it had been indicated that the lack of leadership from some of the principals was evident, and the way they ran the colleges in some instances was suppressive in nature.
- SAFETSA proposed that there should be a term of office for principals; the post must not be permanent. For instance, Vice Chancellors at universities had terms of office.
- Some of the council members over-stepped their authority, but there were also instances where principals undermined the authority of the council members.
- SAFETSA proposed that there should be additional expertise in the councils, such as people with research capacity to assist them to respond to the needs of the regions where Colleges were based.
- SRC constitutions were changed year in and year out without the consultation of the SRC body, and were aimed to suppress the SRCs from discharging their duties effectively. In some colleges, students were not allowed to wear their political regalia. In a democratic country, this was fundamentally wrong. In addition, there were colleges that did not allow the SRC elections to be conducted in a democratic manner. Some of these students were just hand-picked for compliance with the Department.

33. Furthermore, it was found that “infrastructure was outdated on college campuses. Most computer laboratories were either without computers or internet connections. Some libraries did not even have books, and some of the buildings did not have access for students living with disabilities. There was a significant lack of infrastructure management, and the budgets were much less compared to operational budgets. Only about 4% of the 10% of the budget allocation was used for infrastructure, and the remaining 6% would be utilised for operational pressures. Regarding the curricula in the TVET Sector, the students graduate with inadequate experience. The textbooks used do not resonate with recent labour market conditions.”
34. South Africa is therefore faced with a dilemma of a small educated populous that is more theoretically skilled, than vocationally skilled due to the structural and governance problems facing the TVET sector. This has an impact on developmental and employment levels. It is therefore important for the EFF to make its assessments and diagnosis of the higher education sector with the social realities that define access, infrastructure and academic performance in mind.
35. It is therefore important for the EFF to make its assessments and diagnosis of the higher education sector with the social realities that define access, infrastructure and academic performance in mind. There are **26 Universities** in South Africa:
- a) University of Cape Town (28 600 registered students)
 - b) Cape Peninsula University of Technology (34 400 registered students)
 - c) Stellenbosch University (31 765 registered students)
 - d) University of the Western Cape (22 000 registered students)
 - e) University of Witwatersrand (39 593 registered students)
 - f) University of Johannesburg (51 000 registered students)
 - g) Sefako Makgatho University (6300 registered students)
 - h) University of Pretoria (50 000 registered students)
 - i) Tshwane University of Technology (60 000 registered students)
 - j) Nelson Mandela University (27 000 registered students)
 - k) Rhodes University (8200 registered students)
 - l) Walter Sisulu University (30 000 registered students)
 - m) Fort Hare University (13 000 registered students)
 - n) University of Limpopo (19 000 registered students)
 - o) University of Venda (10 000 registered students)
 - p) University of South Africa (400 000 registered students)
 - q) Durban University of Technology (30 000 registered students)
 - r) University of Zulu Land (7 000 registered students)
 - s) University of Kwazulu-Natal (45 000 registered students)
 - t) Mangosuthu University of Technology (11 000 registered students)
 - u) North West University (70 000 registered students)
 - v) Vaal University of Technology (22 000 registered students)
 - w) Sol Plaatjie University (1 560 registered students)
 - x) University of Free State (37 000 registered students)
 - y) Central University of Technology (15 000 registered students)
 - z) University of Mpumalanga (900 registered students)

36. These institutions are categorised into three:

- a) namely comprehensive universities (research intensive institutions), (6)
- b) conventional universities (14)
- c) and universities of technology (6)

37. Universities accept students based on certain pass levels acquired at a matric level. These are:

- Higher certificate
- Diploma
- Bachelors pass (previously known as an exemption).

38. They then subsequently assess the marks of students at the matric level and whether they are in accordance with their own metrics for their programs on offer. This is commonly done through a system known as **Admission Point Score** system. A majority of institutions are organized around 8 core faculties, which consist of various departments and disciplines that contribute towards a degree or diploma qualification.

39. Namely these are:

- Commerce
- Engineering
- Humanities
- Health Sciences
- Law
- Science
- Education
- Business and Management

40. There are 50 **Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVETs)** with more than 264 campuses in South Africa. These are:

- a. Buffalo City FET College (C)
- b. East Cape Midlands FET College (B)
- c. Ikhalala FET College (G)
- d. Ingwe FET College (F)
- e. King Hintsa FET College (H)
- f. King Sabata Dalindyebo FET College (E)
- g. Lovedale FET College (D)
- h. Port Elizabeth FET College (A)
- i. Flavius Mareka (D)
- j. Goldfields FET College (A)
- k. Maluti FET College (C)
- l. Motheo FET College (B)
- m. Central JHB (F)
- n. Ekurhuleni East FET College (D)
- o. Ekurhuleni West College (C)

- p. Sedibeng FET College (H)
- q. South West FET College (E)
- r. Tshwane North FET College (B)
- s. Tshwane South FET College (A)
- t. Western College FET (G)
- u. Coastal FET College (Mobeneni) (F)
- v. Elangeni FET College (E)
- w. Esayidi FET College (I)
- x. Majuba FET College (C)
- y. Mnambithi FET College (D)
- z. Mthashana FET College (A)
- aa. Thekwini FET College (G)
- bb. Umfolozi FET College (B)
- cc. Umgungu-Ndlovu FET College (H)
- dd. Capricorn FET College (B)
- ee. Lephalale FET College (A)
- ff. Letaba FET College (F)
- gg. Mopani South East FET College (E)
- hh. Sekhu-khune FET College (G)
- ii. Vhembe FET College (D)
- jj. Waterberg FET College (C)
- kk. Ehlanzeni FET College (A)
- ll. Gert Sibande FET College (C)
- mm. Nkangala FET College (B)
- nn. Northern Cape Rural FET College (B)
- oo. Northern Cape Urban FET College (A)
- pp. ORBIT TVET College (C)
- qq. Taletso FET College (A)
- rr. Vuselela FET College (B)
- ss. Boland FET College (B)
- tt. College of Cape Town FET College (E)
- uu. False Bay FET College (F)
- vv. Northlink FET College (D)
- ww. South Cape FET College (C)
- xx. West Coast FET College (A)



41. TVET Colleges accept students who've completed Grade 9, 10, 11 or 12 at high school level offering diplomas and certificates in various vocational skills. A briefing by the Department of Higher Education (DHET) in September 2019 on *Overview of the TVET sector with respect to governance, management, teaching, learning & new campuses* confirmed that,

“... currently two qualifications formed the core offerings at TVET colleges. These were the Report 191 programmes, commonly referred to as the National Technical Education (NATED) programmes, and the National Certificates (Vocational), commonly referred to as the NC(V).

The Report 191 programmes had a long history of delivery in the TVET college system in the form of the N1-N3 and the N4-N6 programmes in engineering, business and services-related studies. The N4-N6 programmes culminate in a National N Diploma at National Qualifications Framework (NQF) level 6, following 18 and 24 months of internship for engineering and business/services studies respectively. The NC(V) was introduced in 2007, and caters for young people who wish to pursue a vocational career pathway after grade 9, and want to still achieve the equivalent of matric, at NQF level 4.

42. University post-graduates can also enrol for courses at TVET Colleges for more practical exposure. TVET colleges have a high focus on the employability of students and are most effective at preparing students for employment in a very wide range of fields. The TVET sector ought to play a critical role in South Africa's developmental aspirations, particularly in terms of industrialisation and to tackle unemployment.
43. Various courses are on offer in the sector that relate to our immediate developmental needs, especially considering the emerging era of the 4th industrial revolution. These include:
- engineering (construction, electrical and mechanical),
 - information communication technology (ICT), and
 - Computer networking.
 - hospitality,
 - food service
 - tourism industries,
 - haircare,
 - early childhood development,
 - Management (financial, human resource, marketing, administration)
44. Unfortunately, as is the reality with all departments in South Africa the higher education sector is in a state of collapse, lack of transformation, inadequate funding and incapacity. Both the TVET and University sector are riddled with corruption. As of August 2019, Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDI) such as Fort Hare, Vaal University of Technology, have been placed under administration due to:
- The inability of councils, and in some cases the Chairperson, to provide strategic leadership and direction.
 - Role confusion between governance and management.
 - Tense council / vice-chancellor relationships, structure and composition, and size.
 - Failure by members to distinguish between the interests of the institution and the interests of the constituencies which elected or nominated.

- Non-adherence to governance procedures.
 - Corruption.
45. Institutions such as the University of Cape Town, University of Witwatersrand have been under scrutiny for low levels of transformation. The University of Cape Town most recently finding its Law Accreditation being under review due to the not meeting transformation criteria in terms of program formulation, make up of lecturers and admission requirements.
46. In the TVET sector there is a crisis of courses not being accredited, and the emergence of fake FET Colleges. Regulation in the sector is poor, with NSFAS dividends often not reaching students due to poor administration, poor data collection in terms of student demographics and numbers, and corruption.
47. Accommodation remains a prevalent problem. The student housing backlogs as reported by the Presidential Commission on Higher Education and Training, or Heher Commission stood at 300 000 beds for both public universities and public TVET colleges, of which 128 000 was for universities. As is with all indicators, data relating to the TVET sector in terms of housing needs is limited. This shows a deep-rooted problem in how the sector is administered and not taken seriously.
48. There was however a survey conducted by the Department of Higher Education. The *Heher Commission* states that, *"the housing shortage in TVET institutions was confirmed by the Minister when he stated that DHET carried out a survey of the 50 public TVET Colleges in 2015. The survey showed that for the 710 000 college students, there were only 10 120 beds."*
49. The commission reported that "TVET Colleges can provide accommodation for only 1.4% of students; that is 1 in 70 students. Many of those students travel hundreds of kilometres from their homes in rural areas to the nearest college". For universities, only less than 15% of students can be accommodated by current existing beds capacity. This is far from sufficient, with existing residences being poor in terms of infrastructure. Many are without WIFI access, adequate water and toilet facilities, this is especially bad in previously disadvantaged or black institutions of higher learning.
50. Security remains a problem, resulting in high levels of crime and sexual violence in institutions of higher learning. Library services at many institutions of higher learning are not up to standard, and as libraries have incorrectly begun being deemed as non-essential services funding for the area has been steady at a low 1% - 6%, with little development. Access to material for research is increasingly scarce and the lack of funding and sustaining of libraries has been detrimental, particularly to institutions that have struggled to migrate to digital forms of resource provision due to funding and infrastructural problems.
51. In terms of funding, there current National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) is not sufficient to deal with challenges of funding in the sector. There has been an increase in

NSFAS qualifying students, but not an adequate provision of funding for students. This has resulted in a phenomenon known as “top-slicing” being practiced by institutions. Where the grant afforded by NSFAS to institutions per qualifying student is cut and divided so as to be spread evenly across a wider range of students.

52. This results in qualifying students receiving less funding than what has been allocated and determined to be necessary per student. The means test for NSFAS qualifying students is inadequate and not sophisticated in how it assesses worthiness for funding. Students are expected to perform and demonstrate their poverty to the highest degree in order to qualify for funding, which infringes on their constitutional right to dignity.
53. Furthermore, the means test is not considerate of the complex economic realities of South Africans, creating a gap known as the “missing middle”. These are students who are in essence too poor to pay for their own fees, but at the same time regarded as too wealthy to qualify for NSFAS funding.
54. In the TVET sector funding for programs is scarce and inconsistent, resulting in shortfalls that the institutions are unable to cover, and alarming fiscal instability. *The Heher Commission* found that in 2015 there were 664,748 students in programmes known as the ‘National Certificate Vocational (NC(V)) as well as Report 191 (NATED) programmes at colleges countrywide whilst the DHET could only fund 429,638 (64%) students. This underfunding continued in 2016 and was projected to continue in 2017 and 2018.
55. The commission further found that “Occupational Programmes include ‘learnerships, apprenticeships and skills programmes. These programmes are not funded by the DHET’ but are offered at a cost to the client. Colleges work together with SETAs and the National Skills Fund (NSF) to fund these programmes and provide a stipend for needy students.” In the year 2017/2018 TVETs were funded at 53%, rather than 80% as per governmental policy, resulting in considerable unrest from both students and staff.
56. The trends of shortfalls being carried by institutions in the TVET sector is continuous. In a briefing given to the portfolio committee on Higher Education and Training by DHET, one Mr Zirk Joubert. Chief Director: Financial Planning, DHET, outlined the budget of the TVET sector, which amounted to R12.9 billion, but with a shortfall of R1 billion (rounded figure). The same briefing found that the current 2019/20 enrolment plan comprised of 562 006 students, against the target of 664 748 indicated in the annual performance plan (APP), hence the shortfall of R1 billion. The Department had requested the colleges to carry that burden
57. A case study looking at False Bay College in the Western Cape found that 73 members of staff were not funded by the annual DHET allocation. This financial uncertainty resulted in critical appointments not being made, staff not being paid consistently and this affected the quality of teaching and learning. This is common across the sector as it carries the burdens of not receiving Capital Funding.
58. In terms of the University sector, a Report of the Ministerial Committee for the Review of the Funding of Universities (2013) found that ‘Meeting the resource needs of the sector will require significant additional funding. An analysis by the Committee found that state

funding of higher education (in real terms) has been declining over the years. Between 2000 and 2010, state funding per full-time equivalent (FTE) enrolled student fell by 1.1% annually, in real terms.

59. These are socio-economic realities that impact not only the output rates in terms of graduates from the higher education sector, but undermine the developmental and transformation objectives of the country. There is as low intake of black students at institutions of higher learning and low outputs of black graduates.
60. Many students do not complete their studies, and dropout due to the socio-economic realities that hinder them and various forms of alienation. These range from cultural alienation, difficulty in adapting to the higher education system and academic processes and standards that are not in sync with the quality of our basic education sector, racism, homelessness and lack of funding.
61. A study conducted by *Inside Education* found that more than 40% of student's drop out in their first year. Many citing family responsibility, financial circumstances and socio-economic alienation as the reasons for them dropping out. A research paper published by the Department of Higher Education and Training, titled *Addressing Student Dropout Rates at South African Universities* found that only 5% of black and coloured student's graduate from university.
62. This means that coupled with a low intake of black students at universities, there is a low output of graduate and low retention of students in subsequent academic years. This poses a great threat to transformation objectives within academia and research. In addition to this, there is a crisis of unemployment for graduates from the higher education sector, which falls in line with the general unemployment crisis in the country.
63. This means that skilled labourers find themselves jobless, with mounting student debts, and the incentive to enter the tertiary sector as a means of elevating one's material reality are low. According to Statistics South Africa's recently released quarterly labour survey, 2.2% of the 6.7-million unemployed South Africans were graduates, while 6.9% had other tertiary qualifications as their highest level of education.
64. Comparatively, The Republic of China which has been a benchmark for all the developmental world that has not been part of the Western dominance of the economy has been doing extremely well. The success rates can largely be accredited to compulsory schooling required at a basic education level and how this has been streamlined qualitatively across the nation, and intensive infrastructural development. China has a strong emphasis on compulsory primary and secondary education, which as we know has a strong impact on the success a student can achieve in tertiary education and their ability to transition.
65. Their high graduate rates up until doctoral level can be accredited to the amount of investment placed into basic education. In 2018 in China there were 213,800 schools for compulsory education across the country, and the number of new entrants into compulsory education was 34.6989 million, an increase of 4.7% or 1.5611 million

students from 2017. At the level of infrastructure in higher education, The Chinese Ministry of Education reported that in 2018, the average number of instructional computers per 100 regular HEI (Higher Education Institution) students was 26.9, an increase of 0.2 over the previous year.

66. The average number of instructional computers per 100 undergraduate college/university students was 26.7, the previous year. The average number of instructional computers per 100 higher vocational school students increased by 0.7 to 27.5. The Chinese Ministry for Education also reported that in 2018, 604,400 people graduated from postgraduate programs in China, marking a 4.6% increase or 26,300 more graduates than in 2017, of which there were 60,700 doctoral graduates and 543,600 Master's graduates.
67. The number of undergraduates receiving a Bachelor degree was 7.5331 million, 2.4% up or 174,800 more than in 2017. Most recently, Xian Hu, a Chinese newspaper reported that over 8.34 million people graduated from Chinese universities in the summer of 2019, with the employment rate of vocational graduates exceeding 90% The emphasis on inward industrialisation that China has made has had a positive impact in both enrolments in vocational institutions, success rates and employment.
68. The Chinese Ministry for Education reports in its statistical report on China's vocational education in 2018 that *"In the light of the goal set out during the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, and in line with relevant Central Government decisions and policies, the MOE has pursued the development of vocational education as a way to facilitate national development and boost employment, following a path with unique Chinese characteristics, and making unprecedented progress in various areas. . . . These institutions provide extensive training, benefiting hundreds of millions of people every year. In sum, the sector has developed adequate capacity for large-scale training of technicians and skillful workers, serving as an essential lever for the country's economic and social development in terms of human resources."*
69. The report goes further to note the relationship between industries and companies, and vocational education institutions in increasing quality of what is taught and streamlining job opportunities. It reads that *"remarkable progress has been achieved in promoting cooperation between vocational training providers and companies. A total of 56 vocational education steering committees have been established, pooling over 3,000 experts from different industries to provide guidance on vocational education from an industrial perspective. 1,400 vocational education groups have been set up, attracting more than 30,000 companies to jointly explore cooperative training mechanisms, such as customized training, "factories in schools" or "schools in factories", modern apprenticeship, etc. With input from industries and companies, an updated list of vocational college disciplines (770 in total) has been published and a range of standards have been drawn up, including 410 professional teaching standards for vocational colleges, 230 professional teaching standards for secondary vocational schools, 136 internship standards for vocational education institutions, and 30 teaching facility standards for practical training in vocational education institutions."*

70. Perhaps most critically, the improving of funding to the vocational sector has resulted in massive economic growth in the public sector, and qualitative growth in the sector itself. The report reads that *“China has implemented a number of vocational education promotion projects, such as building demonstrative secondary and higher vocational education institutions, improving vocational education quality and facilitating industry-education integration, which have witnessed the emergence of a wide array of high-performing schools, strong disciplines and high-caliber teacher workforce. In 2017, government funding for vocational education across the country reached 335 billion RMB. The student aid system targeting students from low income families has been improved, providing tuition exemption and grants to 90% and 40% of secondary vocational students respectively and offering scholarships and grants to 30% and 25% of vocational college students respectively.”*
71. There has also been massive investment in online learning mechanisms, to account for the increase of demand for higher education, but also for innovative ways of introducing higher education on a broad scale. The China Institute for Employment Research (CIER) index, which seeks to measure supply and demand in the domestic labour market, declined from 1.54 in 2017 to 1.41 in 2018. Put another way, the CIER index calculates that there were still 1.41 employment opportunities for every university graduate as of 2018.
72. China is therefore an illustration of how the problems faced by South Africa can be addressed by focus on vocational training, on development of the basic education sector to streamline standards between the two sectors, and the importance of infrastructural development. The importance of post-graduate outputs being high reflects an understanding of the importance of research development, which has an effect on the developmental standards across sectors and sovereignty. China and its successes must therefore serve as a metric for a government of the EFF on how to develop the higher education sector.

d) On Decolonisation

73. The Economic Freedom Fighters makes a cogent diagnosis of the character of higher education in its founding manifesto, *“It is vital to acknowledge that commonly, the relationship between higher education and ideology reflects the nature and level of class contradictions in society. The history of education struggle in South Africa serves as a testimony to the class contestation of higher learning institutions. The then apartheid regime systematically applied racist, supremacist policies in education system for class and racial privilege and benefits of certain individuals and groups.”*
74. In light of this assessment it would only be fair to concede that the makeup of the curricula in South Africa is not structured to create a socially responsible intelligentsia that will contribute to altering the structural problems of South Africa. Education is conceptualised as a means for capital accumulation, and not necessarily of producing alternative forms of knowledge production, on creating an emerging black intelligentsia and research outputs that will address the economic and social problems of the country and the continent.

75. Decolonial scholar Professor Nelson Maldonado-Torres writes that *"coloniality refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations."* This means that colonialism defined the very basis of knowledge production and what is considered valid forms of thought, culture, development and scholarship.
76. Colonialism crafted education as a tool for empire expansion, capitalist production and defined concepts that moulded modern humanity and society according to its own metrics. Africa and its colonies therefore became not only subjects of study, but her societies, her knowledge systems, customs and norms were disfigured. Africa was created as a site of extraction, where identities and developmental metrics were set by an Imperialist culture that assumed its own validity over others. It is for this reason that our education systems in South Africa, particularly in areas that are research and development orientated such as higher learning are unable to respond to contemporary post-colonial problems.
77. The education, its purpose was not made to respond to the challenges of Africa, but rather to entrench them. How institutions are constructed at the level of architecture maintains symbolism that celebrates racists as philanthropists, and colonisers as developmental heroes. It is from this frustration that the calls of the falling for statues of the likes of Cecil Rhodes were made, as the statues themselves represented the glorification of racism, capitalism, colonialism and patriarchy.
78. The role of who teaches and how knowledge is transferred is a critical aspect of thought that seeks to undo how colonialism constructed education. Brazilian decolonial scholar and freedom fighter Paulo Freire laments in his seminal text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* critically on what he coined as *the banking theory of education*. He writes that,

"A careful analysis of the teacher-student relationship at any level, inside or outside the school, reveals its fundamentally narrative character. This relationship involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening object (the students). The contents, whether values or empirical dimensions of reality, tend in the process of being narrated to become lifeless and petrified. Education is suffering from narration sickness. The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable. Or else he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to "fill" the students with contents of his narration – contents which are detached from reality . . . Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor . . . This is the "banking" concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. . . In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing . . . It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of the world"

79. Freire here capture the very essence of the relationship between the colonial oppressor and the colonial subject. Colonialism created a reality where it was the custodian of knowledge, and the black people are subservient, empty shells who must receive from the very people who have categorised them as non-beings according to their own metrics. It is that very logic that binds black people in South Africa into a state of doubt, and inability to affect change to their spiritual and material realities, as the only knowledge and production they have had access to be that which has been deposited to them.
80. The analogy of a banking system of knowledge is an ironic truth of the reflection of capitalist modes of knowledge production and their purpose, and is what characterises relations of learning at institutions of higher learning. Knowledge is imparted by white lecturers and professors who carry with them the racist and capitalist biases that make up their identity, and it is imparted to an unsuspecting and unquestioning student, who must accept curricula as is.
81. The purpose of decolonisation therefore is to undo the uneven relationship of knowledge production, and ensure that education is in sync with the material, spiritual and theoretical needs of a contemporary African society.

e) On Science and Technology

82. The elections manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters states that, *“the EFF government will use science, technology and innovation not as ends in themselves but to produce the knowledge, information, skills and talent needed to support, facilitate and fuel the development and growth of strategic industries and sectors of the economy and society which are central to the overall independence and sovereignty of South African and African people.”*. This means that scientific development and technological advancement, just as higher education must speak to the developmental needs of South Africa and addressing inequality.
83. As things stand however in South Africa, Science and Technology innovation, research and development, as well as Public Research Institutions do not have mandates that are in line with national priorities. It is a sector that is characterised like all of South Africa by developmental concentration and inequality. The White Paper on Science and Technology adopted by cabinet in 2019 found that,
- “The higher education sector is responsible for nearly 90 per cent of all research publications, compared to about 8 per cent for all the science councils and national research facilities combined. Within the university sector, five universities produce more than 60 per cent of research outputs from the sector”*
84. This means that a majority of research outputs in South Africa are concentrated in a sector that is preoccupied largely with theoretical outputs into innovation, and a higher education sector that does not necessarily carry the core responsibility of research innovation that is in line with governmental targets and needs for development.
85. The paper goes further to say that even outputs of the most qualified researchers at an academic level in the higher education sector are concentrated in few institutions, revealing that *“. . . there are performance gaps between universities and universities of*

technology, and between historically advantaged and disadvantaged institutions. For example, three-quarters of the country's PhD graduates are produced by only six of its universities." Industrialisation levels in South Africa are low and pose a threat to the economic and innovative sovereignty of the country.

86. Dependency on foreign innovation perpetuate the unequal trade and economic relations African nations have with the developed nations and stifle the objectives for a growing economy and job creation. The lack of a State-Owned Pharmaceutical company undermines state capacity to develop innovative medical interventions, creating a dependency on private pharmaceuticals that function on profit-based objectives and not objectives of uplifting social and medical ills of South African society.

3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

a) Early childhood development

87. Families are at the centre of communities, and share the responsibility for children. Family is integral in getting the best environment for children, and are key to risk prevention and early detection – the model remedies potential threats to a child's development. In addition, ECD centres should be required to keep a medical record of all learners who enrol. All children between the age of 0 to 6 should receive all vaccination.
88. Families must be equipped with necessary skills and knowledge to create stimulating, caring and safe home environments. ECD centres must involve families through monthly group activities, and health practitioners and other practitioners such as social workers must use these monthly group activities to share information to make homes conducive environment.
89. Access to ECD programmes should be made universal and it must be compulsory for children from ages of three years and upwards to be enrolled in an ECD for free Parents who do not take their children to ECD centres must be criminalized.
90. ECD curriculum should focus on nutrition programmes, book reading, lessons on health and hygiene and storytelling, and other land-based activities to enhance children's understanding of their surrounding environment.
91. Training of ECD practitioners should be integrated into training of educators. All ECD practitioners should be employed on a full-time basis, with full pay and pension contribution by government. All ECD centres must be registered with the Department of Basic Education. Training of ECD practitioners should prioritise African women and the youth. While unemployment affects people all ages, and races. African women and the youth are affected the most. [Insert stats]. Employment of women and the youth should form integral part of ECD centres and programmes.

b) Basic Education

92. Basic education should include free decolonised education for all, advancing topics pertaining to indigenous knowledge, sovereignty and economic freedom in the curricula. This form of education should use information and communication technology for teaching, with the aim to achieve universal coverage in computer literacy. Career guidance should also be included as a mandatory subject for all high school learners.
93. This should result in one education system wherein all students fall under one education system and write the same examination, and Independent Examination Board (IEB) will be abolished.
94. All people who have dropped out of school, including domestic workers, sex workers and young girls, should be encouraged and incentivised to return to school including through various form of teaching. Part of the curriculum to train educators should include remedial training. Comprehensive adult education programmes and guarantee educational access by adults will increase literacy levels.
95. The introduction of information and communication technology for teaching does not divorce the use of indigenous ways of teaching, learning and development that prioritise community values, languages and knowledge. Training of teachers should prioritise adequate technological skills to impart to learners. Vernacular languages should be introduced as the foundation of the education system in all provinces.
96. The rate at which government is reopening teacher's training college is too slow and does not take into account the fact that there is a serious crisis of educators both qualitatively and quantitatively. There is a need to reopen and build additional teachers training college in all provinces.
97. To create a schooling education environment that is comprehensive, schools must employ nurses, social workers, and physical education trainers.

c) Higher Education, science and technology

98. Higher Education and training constitute a critical component in the struggle for economic freedom, and here we explain what will constitute transformed higher education and training in South Africa. As addressed in the Founding Manifesto of the EFF, Higher Education and training transformation should necessarily encapsulate the following;
 - a. Introduction of free quality well-resourced education for all.
 - b. Alignment of skills to industrial sectors,
 - c. The expansion of post-secondary education and training.
99. To achieve all these objectives, the political and strategic leadership of higher education should be radically changed, and instead of a Ministry of Higher Education, a body comprising of representatives of Government, Labour, Civil Society, Students, Workers, and Private sector should be constituted to be responsible for Higher Education and Training in South Africa. This body will be responsible for the following:
 1. Admissions and enrolment policies of all institutions of higher learning.
 2. Allocation of annual budgets to institutions of higher learning and training.
 3. Appointment of institutional managers such as Vice Chancellors.

4. Closing the gap between former historically disadvantaged institutions and historically advantaged institutions.
5. Ensuring that there is adequate spread of suitably qualified Professors and other Academics across all institutions of Higher Learning.
6. Standardisation of curriculum across all institutions of higher learning with the aim of ensuring that all academic programmes issued by all institutions of higher learning are of equal quality and globally competitive standards.
7. Improvement and sustenance of Professors and Academics' remuneration and welfare in all institutions of higher learning.
8. Determination of infrastructure needed for higher education and training expansion.
9. Interventions in institutions that do not meet the nationally set objectives.
10. Normalisation and standardisation of institutional fees prior to the introduction of free education for all.

i. Free quality education

100. By free quality education for all, we refer to fee-free quality higher education for all. What this means is that instead of collecting fees from individual students in order to provide them with education, institutions of higher learning should be adequately funded through a central system so that the recipients of higher education and training are not bound to pay any fees.
101. Free quality education also means that South Africa's education system should be liberated from the orthodox indoctrination which has defined it for many years due to its colonial-cum-apartheid system and neo-liberal post-apartheid. Institutions of higher learning should be bastions of free thoughts and contending ideas, where superior logic triumphs, and not suppressed because it is not part of the curriculum. With education free, it must be compulsory for all learners to pursue post-secondary education and training at universities, universities of technology and TVET colleges.
102. The Fee free quality education should be funded through three sources, which are 1) The Pension Fund Levy, 2) The Skills Levy, 3) Government Direct allocation and 4) The Corporate Income Levy. These four models will be able to source and allocate adequate funding for higher education in South Africa. In addition to fee free quality education, Parliament must pass a law that will zero-rate all educational apps and content in all electronical gadgets such as computers, laptops, tablets and phones.

ii. Alignment of skills to industrial sectors

103. Higher Education and training should be closely linked to practical work in order to train capable students with adequate knowledge and experience of what they are doing. Very few academic qualifications programmes in South Africa's institutions of higher learning and training are linked to actual work and industrial training and this is totally inappropriate. Such kind of training is similar to teaching potential drivers how-to drive-in theory, and expect them to be drivers without practical driving training.
104. Those who are studying electrical engineering should practically interact with industries that deal with electrical engineering. Those who are studying law should interact with the country legal system and allocated certain legal responsibilities. Those who are studying

accounting should perform practical work of assisting small and medium enterprises with accounting systems and methods while they are still students. This should apply to all spheres of education with the aim of relating and linking theoretical education with practice.

iii. Expansion of post-secondary training and education

105. The purpose of education and strategies of disseminating knowledge need to be redefined and remodelled. The problem in South Africa is not necessarily a shortage of institutions of higher learning, but rather an inadequate use of the existing capacity in strategic economic and developmental zones. Instead of long-term projects such as building new institutions, the administrative capacity of existing institutions must be utilised to develop strong vocational and theoretical subsidiary campuses and departments across the country, to curb the concentration of people in particular provinces and institutions and stratify the student populace.
106. This means for example that instead of a department of mining and engineering that will be based in Johannesburg in the case of the University of the Witwatersrand, a subsidiary institution can be established utilizing the existing administrative capacity in a region that is preoccupied with mining in the current era, such as in the North West and across the platinum belt. There must be comprehensive input as to how to improve research outputs that speak to the socio-economic demands of South African society.
107. The EFF must develop strategy on how to expand and transform the research system and facilitate knowledge diffusion. Through stratifying the provision of infrastructural development for science and technology innovation. Upgrading of knowledge and innovation infrastructure at the level of the state so that dependency is not placed on actors that do not have the social responsibility to keep innovation in sync with South African developmental needs.
108. A culture of innovation and science literacy must be created within the public sector and across state-owned entities. There must be local consumption of innovative products to stimulate inward industrial development and growth.

iv. Accommodation in institutions of higher learning

109. Land must be expropriated without compensation in order to intervene comprehensively with the accommodation crisis in the higher education sector. All abandoned buildings must be repurposed and refurbished into state-controlled residences that will be on par with norms and standards for residences and have sufficient infrastructure to cater for student needs and a conducive learning environment.

v. Repurpose TVET Colleges

110. A commission of inquiry ought to be done on the misuse of state funds particularly in the TVET sector. Transformation objectives in the sector must be aware of the separate

development between Previously Disadvantaged Institutions, Previously Advantaged Institutions and the TVET sector and be biased towards the infrastructural, social and economic needs of the poorest areas. Guidelines and regulations that oversee governance and operations at TVET colleges must be reviewed and strengthened and reviewed.

111. There must be a determined effort at establishing data collection measures and measures for accountability in the TVET sector to curb corruption and mismanagement. There must be a curriculum review of all courses and vocational training in the higher education sector. Teaching methods, practical's and the educational environment in general must create critical students.
112. Disciplines such as the sciences, engineering and mathematics must comprise of an aspect of the social sciences in order to promote an attitude of acquiring skills in order to be part of contributing to the social and developmental needs of the country. There needs to be a deliberate promotion of vocational skills and training within the education sector in South Africa in order to collapse the hierarchy that currently exists in terms of funding and preference at higher education and training.
113. Curricula around automation, digitisation, robotics and coding must be introduced at an early stage of our education system so as to create a smooth transition into the TVET sector. This serves to equip young people with skill sets that will equip them not only to exist in certain labour sectors due to having learnt particular subjects but capacitate them to be able to exist within the emerging reality and be flexible within that reality.

PAN AFRICANISM AND PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM



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ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS, PAN AFRICANISM AND PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM

“Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language.”¹⁴

1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters, defines our approach to international relations thus: “The EFF’s internationalism is premised on building solidarity and working relationships with all movements in the world that identify ideologically with anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism. In this regard, the EFF will ideologically and politically support movements that seek the economic decolonisation of the African continent. The EFF will also advocate for free trade across the entire African continent, with common tariffs for goods and services from country to country. The EFF will also advocate for the ultimate integration of the African continent through the erosion and eventual elimination of unnecessary borders, which, in the case of South Africa will entail the Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland borders in a manner that involves and includes the participation and approval of those countries. This will also be encouraged in other parts of the African continent.”¹⁵
2. This point is further emphasised by the 2014 Elections Manifesto, which firmly located the EFF’s international relations commitment thus: “to build a better South Africa, Africa and a global world order where all people share equitably in the wealth and opportunities that we are collectively able to offer. Our aspirations for South Africa are aspirations for the African continent and the world, and our international relations, cooperation and solidarity programme are founded on the principle that economic emancipation should be extended to all people across the globe.”¹⁶
3. South Africa, the continent of Africa and the world is dominated by only a few global powers who have, through stealth and political and economic manipulation, appropriated for themselves the power to dictate the fate of nations. This dominance of the few global powers is manifested in almost all aspects of life in the underdeveloped parts of the world.

¹⁴ Karl Marx in the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bornaparte

¹⁵ Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters

¹⁶ Economic Freedom Fighters 2014 Elections Manifesto

4. The forms of dominance of the 21st century have evolved from what they were previously, and as Derek Gregory noted "the capacities that inhere within the colonial past are routinely reaffirmed and reactivated in the colonial present"¹⁷, and that these are presently pursued through discursive dominance through the capture of dominant narratives about culture, modernity and tradition.
5. Observing how the global narrative evolved after the 11 September 2001 attacks on the United States as an instance, Gregory noted "the war on terror is an attempt to establish a new global narrative in which the power to narrate is vested in a particular constellation of power and knowledge within the United States of America."¹⁸
6. The EFF's commitment to ushering socialism in South Africa will be futile if it is not at the same time rooted in Pan Africanism and progressive internationalism. This, the EFF acknowledges in the Founding Manifesto, and boldly states that: "The EFF will also advocate for the ultimate integration of the African continent through the erosion and eventual elimination of unnecessary borders, which, in the case of South Africa will entail the Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland borders in a manner that involves and includes the participation and approval of those countries. This will also be encouraged in other parts of the African continent."¹⁹
7. The Founding Manifesto further notes: "The development of the African continent is inextricably linked with the development of South Africa. No amount of sustainable socioeconomic development and stability will be realised in South Africa unless the state plays an active role in the economic development of the African continent. This, obviously, should include the development of trade corridors that link up the entire African continent and create capacity to consume goods and services produced on the continent."²⁰
8. The position of South Africa, and the continent of Africa, needs to be constantly evaluated with the shifting patterns of the global order, such as the development of conservative internationalism, as typified by the Trump presidency in the United States, the dominance of the Conservative Party in Britain (albeit with its fair share of troubles in relation to its continued participation in the European Union); the usurping of power by the conservative and racist elite in Brazil (after a period of hope for progressive forces ushered in by President Lula); the almost universal weakening of progressive left forces, exemplified by the fall of the left in Brazil, imperial attempts to usurp power from progressive forces in Venezuela, the death of the revolutionary generation of Fidel Castro in Cuba, and the imperial-induced collapse of the socialists in Greece.

¹⁷ Derek Gregory. The Colonial Present

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ Founding Manifesto

²⁰ *Ibid*

9. On the African continent, there have been no revolutionary movements to speak of. The so-called Arab Spring, which promised to usher in a new wave of enlightened leadership proved to be a damp squib, and instead of capturing power from the predatory elite, the Arab Spring led to more unrest and instability on the continent. Egypt remains firmly under the leadership of an autocratic army-general, and Libya has seen massive destruction since the assassination of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.
10. The African Union has remained largely toothless, visionless and without any strong political direction from member states. There remains an urgent need for revolutionary forces on the continent to unite and reinvigorate the timeless dream of Pan African unity and development.
11. In the world, there seems to be no firm co-operation amongst Marxist parties; revolutionary struggles are merely on the basis of nation-states and there is no true international movement for the advancement of the socialist struggle.
12. Rather, there is a global emergence of extra-statutory and extra-political forces that seek to control and influence both the state and political parties. This takes the form of corporates capturing the state and dictating state policies, while at the same time capturing political parties to do their bidding.
13. A more dangerous situation is the use of non-governmental organisations and civil society movements to run a parallel form of governance and exert pressure on statutory and political movements towards predetermined objectives.
14. On the African continent, these movements camouflage their real agenda behind purported human rights and development advocacy. In many instances, these movements become agents for nefarious regime change and destabilisation efforts.
15. The EFF seeks to drive a revolution in the midst of these factors. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of these factors and the global players involved is critical for our own struggle.

2. DIAGNOSIS OF GLOBAL DYNAMICS

16. The election of Donald Trump as president in the United States of America in 2016, taking office in 2017; the fall of the Workers Party and the election of the racist Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil; the now-on and now-off Brexit; the sheer impunity with which Benjamin Netanyahu is violating the rights of the Palestinian people – these are all events that have come to redefine the nature of multilateralism over the past few years.

17. Global politics, and indeed economics, have been dominated by conservatives who do not respect the views and aspirations of other countries. The politics of these powerful countries have become dangerously nationalist in character, with little regard for world peace and development.
18. The nature of these developments do not come as a surprise however. These are by-products of the global accumulation crisis of the 21st century, which has forced countries to be inward looking, while also strengthening their ability to exploit resources and people from less developed countries.
19. The 2008 global financial crisis and its aftermath demonstrated just how cunning capitalists have become. The United States was able to bail out a number of their companies, while state intervention of that nature would be frowned upon in developing countries.
20. At the level of multilateralism, there has been notable stagnation and, in some instances, regression. Attempts to reform the United Nations have been fervently fought by the developed countries. The United Nations Security Council, the most powerful structure of the United Nations, remains untransformed to date.
21. Even though the Security Council is made up of fifteen member states, ten of these are non-permanent members, and only five are permanent members, with veto powers. These five permanent members of the Security Council are the United States of America, France, Germany, China and Russia. This means that for the world to move forward on any agreement, all five of these permanent members of the United Nations must agree.
22. The problems are that the world is surely more complex than just these three countries. An urgent discussion is needed on whether there is still a need to have a body such as the Security Council within the United Nations; and if there is still a need, the structure, and decision-making powers of this structure needs a major review. Of particular importance is the need to remove the veto powers from the five permanent members.
23. All members of the Security Council ought to have equal powers, and membership of the Security Council should rotate amongst member states, as is currently the case with non-permanent members.
24. One of the most pressing challenges facing humanity all over the world is the impending apocalypse as a result of global warming and climate change. This is the result of unbridled consumption, over reliance on finite fossil fuels, and generally, the inability of human beings to live within their means.
25. For humanity to survive this impending catastrophe, there needs to be a new global order that is able to make firm commitments towards reducing greenhouse gas emissions and reorienting paths to development away from the utilisation of fossil fuels and the introduction of clean sources of energy.

26. The Paris Climate Agreement remains a prime example of how countries all around the world can work towards a common goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions, keeping the increase in global temperatures to below 2°C and establishing a global movement against climate change.
27. However, in spite of how noble these ideals may be, they have been constantly undermined by the United States of America, which under the guise of renegade science, has realised that its own survival, albeit in a very short term, relies on continued use of toxic sources of energy.
28. Over and above this, the collapse of multilateralism is not new, we have observed this phenomenon over the past two decades. The invasion of Iraq under false pretences by the US and the United Kingdom, bypassing the United Nations; the war in Afghanistan; the economic blockade of Cuba; the coup attempts in Venezuela; the destabilisation of Syria and many other instances around the world all indicate that powerful countries have become emboldened to do what is in their interest, bypassing established multilateral institutions.
29. There is a counterpoint to this, the emergence of China as a global force is to be welcomed. Relying primarily on the capacity of the state, with state-owned enterprises as bedrocks, China has managed to entrench itself as a global power.
30. The emergence of China as a global power provides us with many lessons in South Africa. When Deng Xiaoping took over the leadership of China in 1978, he embarked on state reforms that would transform China from a low-income economy into what is today the second largest economy in the world.
31. He introduced the concept of the socialist market economy in 1978, and from the reforms he introduced, the number of Chinese people living in poverty dropped from 88% in 1981 to 6% in 2017.
32. Deng announced the official launch of the Four Modernisations: agriculture, defence, industry and science and technology, which marked the beginning of the reform and opening-up policies.
33. Today, China is the second largest economy in the world. Its nominal GDP is \$12.01 trillion, and its GDP (purchasing power parity) is at \$23.15 trillion. China has experienced exponential growth over the past few decades, breaking the barriers of a centrally planned, closed economy to evolve into a manufacturing and exporting hub of the world. China is often referred to as the “world’s factory” given its huge manufacturing and export base. However, over the years, the role of services has gradually increased and that of manufacturing as a contributor to GDP has declined relatively.

34. To date, the global political and economic order is still dominated by imperialist countries that still seek resources and labour from the periphery of global capitalism. They employ various methods to do this, including economic manipulation, sponsoring of wars, and outright bullying of countries that do not share the blueprint for managing countries as preferred by the imperialists.

3. ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

35. Africa has a peculiar history, which cannot be compared to any other continent. The history of violent colonisation, plunder of resources, murder of people, shipping out of millions of people to the Americas as slaves, have all defined this continent to date.

36. It is in reverence of this history that one of the founders of Negritude, an ideological outlook to the world from which we got Black Consciousness, Aime Cesaire wrote:

*"And if all I know how to do is speak, it is for you that I shall speak. My lips shall speak for miseries that have no mouth, my voice shall be the liberty of those who languish in the dungeon of despair... And above all my body as well as my soul, beware of folding your arms in the sterile attitude of spectator, for life is not a spectacle, for a sea of pain is not a proscenium."*²¹

37. It was because of this that in 1963, newly liberated African countries decided to form the Organisation of African Unity, a continental body whose express objectives were to free Africa from all the vestiges of colonialism and underdevelopment.

38. In a speech that came to be known as "We must unite now or perish" given at the Founding Conference of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa in 1963, Ghana's first post-independence president Kwame Nkrumah said:

*"Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilize the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people."*²²

39. Nkrumah firmly believed that true independence for Africa lay in African people working together towards a common goal. He believed that it was only united African action that would, as Aime Cesaire (1969) wrote, reject all notions that:

*"Africans never invented anything, never explored anything, never tamed anything", but that Africans indeed "give up themselves for the essence of all things, ignorant of the surfaces but struck by the movement of all things, free of the desire to tame but familiar with the play of the world".*²³

²¹ Aime Cesaire. "Return to the Native Land"

²² Kwame Nkrumah. Speech at the Founding Conference of the OAU

²³ Aime Cesaire. "Return to the Native Land."

40. Many other leaders – such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, the guiding light of Nigerian independence, Leopold Senghor, who together with Aime Cesaire were apostles of Negritude, Obafemi Awolowo, a socialist-oriented nationalist, Julius Nyerere, our sage from Tanzania – espoused the vision of a united Africa.
41. They may have differed on methods of attaining this, but they all agreed that for Africa to prosper, it would have to “unite, or perish”, as Nkrumah argued. These leaders knew that the colonial partitioning and plunder of Africa left behind unviable states, whose primary function was only to be conduits for a new neo-colonial arrangement, where tribalism and imposed religious difference were used to keep African people apart.
42. Julius Nyerere, who preferred a more gradual approach to Pan African integration, differed with Nkrumah on the method and pace for African unification. But he never lost sight of the importance of a united Africa. In 1997, long after his presidency of Tanzania, Nyerere made this important observation: “This is my plea to the new generation of African leaders and African peoples: work for unity with firm conviction that without unity there is no future for Africa. That is, of course, if we still want to have a place under the sun. I reject the glorification of the nation-state, which we have inherited from colonialism, and the artificial nations we are trying to forge from that inheritance. We are all Africans trying very hard to be Ghanaians or Tanzanians. Fortunately for Africa we have not been completely successful... Unity will not make us rich, but it can make it difficult for Africa and the African peoples to be disregarded and humiliated. And it will therefore increase the effectiveness of the decisions we make and try to implement for our development. My generation led Africa to political freedom. The current generation of leaders and peoples of Africa must pick up the flickering torch of African freedom, refuel it with their enthusiasm and determination, and carry it forward.”²⁴
43. At his acceptance speech after being elected as the first President of the Organisation for African Unity in 1963, Emperor Haile Selassie made this important observation:
- “Unity is the accepted goal. We argue about means; we discuss alternative paths to the same objective; we engage in debates about techniques and tactics. But when semantics are stripped away, there is little argument among us. We are determined to create a union of Africans. In a very real sense, our continent is unmade; it still awaits its creation and its creators. It is our duty and privilege to rouse the slumbering giant of Africa, not to the nationalism of Europe of the nineteenth century, not to regional consciousness, but to the vision of a single African brotherhood bending its united efforts toward the achievement of a greater and nobler goal.”²⁵
44. These views on the unity of the African people found almost universal resonance with most of the leaders who fought for the liberation of African people. They understood that disjointed freedoms of African states, based on the partitioning of Africa by Europeans, would only help to lock African people in perpetual underdevelopment.

²⁴ Julius Nyerere (1997). Speech in South Africa

²⁵ Emperor Haile Selassie. Speech at the Founding Conference of the OAU

45. The then president of Guinea, Sekou Toure, outlined the sacredness of African unity succinctly in 1966:

"At no time shall the interest of the peoples of Africa be subordinated to the interests of Guinea; on the contrary, we intend to reaffirm solemnly that the people of Guinea, conscious of the imperatives of history, will always make its interest conform rigorously with the higher interests of all of the African peoples."

46. These African leaders did what they did at the time, to conjure up awareness of the peculiarity of the challenges facing African people, which required peculiar interventions. At the base of this is an underlying thread of the need for collective action to emancipate all African people. This found expression in the founding objectives of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), whose objectives were to free all African countries from colonialism, and to foster continental integration to tackle developmental problems as a Pan African collective.

47. Unfortunately, there is neither political desire nor practical action for continental integration amongst current leaders of the African continent, and the African Union has remained largely out of depth in terms of resolving contemporary African challenges.

48. In the absence of a strong Pan African agenda, we have observed neo-colonialism taking root. The consequence of this development is too dire for the people of the continent. The Democratic Republic of Congo is deliberately rendered dysfunctional in order to enable foreign powers to plunder the resources of that country. Sudan is in a permanent state of conflict, and this is so because that situation allows for foreign powers to extract as much oil as possible without paying what is due to the people of Sudan. The same applies in Libya, Muammar Gaddafi was toppled in order to make that country ungovernable, allowing western companies to plunder the resources of that country.

49. The new colonial present requires no colonial police and soldiers to expand imperial goals, it achieves the same desires by fermenting conflict amongst African people. As Nkrumah observed, the only alternative to unity of Africans is collective immolation.

50. The EFF is the only voice of significance advocating for Pan African unity at the moment. The organisation must position itself as the only true heir to the visionary leadership of the founding fathers of the continent. We must take the baton and reinvigorate the goal of a united Africa.

51. Whatever conceptions of freedoms we may have in this country, they become obsolete if at the same time the rest of the African continent is not free. The turmoil elsewhere in the continent has direct consequences for our wellbeing here too, and the people of the continent cannot defeat the demon of neo-colonialism within the confines of unworkable nation-states without a continental movement for complete emancipation of the African people.

52. It is for this reason that all progressive Pan Africanists should work towards building a continent wide movement for the emancipation of all African people in this continent and in the diaspora. At a practical level, African states had developed an important blueprint in the form of the Abuja Treaty, ratified by the OAU in 1991 in Abuja, Nigeria.
53. This treaty lays out a gradual plan for continental integration, which includes the establishment of the Pan African parliament, the elimination of custom duties amongst African countries, the elimination of non-tariff barriers to pan African trade, customs co-operation and administration, and many other provisions that would have accelerated African development through collective action. African leaders have paid lip service to the Abuja Treaty, and where institutions, such as the Pan African Parliament, have been established they have largely become toothless.
54. The EFF must actively agitate for the implementation of the Abuja Treaty, to ensure that the dream of a united Africa is realised. Coupled with this, there is a need for collective work amongst civil society movements across the continent, and for co-operation between political parties of common ideological outlook. As the EFF, we know that we operate in a country still engulfed by Afrophobic thoughts amongst African people who have allowed people of European descent to instil beliefs of self-hatred among them. But the EFF must never forsake the commitment to African unity, even if it means electoral setbacks in the short to medium term.
55. This must happen because the EFF primarily draws its inspiration from the Fanonian school of thought. The organisation recognises that for South Africa and the African continent to develop, there needs to be a thoroughgoing process of decolonisation to free African people from social, cultural and economic dictates that are essentially anti-African and stunts the growth of the African continent.
56. Cardinal Pillar 6 of the Founding Manifesto advocates for “massive investment in the development of the African economy”, and that this investment must emphasise “massive footprints concerning skills transfer, the development of the communities where investments happen, the payment of tax, reinvestments, corporate social investment, safety standards, compliance with labour laws and regulations and the fundamental economic development of these countries”.
57. Furthermore, the Founding Manifesto says South Africa should provide strategic leadership to Pan African economic development and trade and recognises that South Africa cannot develop to her full potential if the African continent lags behind. It also says “government should establish a sovereign wealth fund, which will prudently invest in the development of the African economy”.
58. This must be done in order to attain economic justice for the dispossessed African people. The Founding Manifesto says: “the question of economic justice is fundamental to the political programme of the Economic Freedom Fighters in South Africa and should be promoted actively on the African continent. This includes the regulation and abolishment of foreign control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy in South Africa and the African continent. The EFF political programme should deliberately provide

ideological, political and economic support to countries that seek to discontinue foreign control in order to take ownership of their own economic resources within the context of providing assistance where there is difficulty."

59. The EFF recognises that Pan African unity must, however, not be narrowly understood as something concerned with racial unity within nation-states. As Julius Nyerere once noted: "African nationalism is meaningless, dangerous, anachronistic, if it is not, at the same time, pan-Africanism."
60. The Pan Africanist manifestation in the EFF therefore seeks to unite all African people, wherever they may be in the universe, towards the common goal of advancing African interests and African development. This must also entail measures to fight against the looting of African treasures (sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly) in the name of trade, based on unequal rather than mutual exchange.
61. At this stage, the most seminal work done towards the realisation of the goal of African unity remains the Abuja Treaty. The treaty is aimed at establishing a common African economic community. This has not been realised because of weak leadership on the continent and the continuing stranglehold that former colonisers and new economic colonisers have over the fate of African nations.
62. An African economic community must be created through "the ultimate integration of the African continent through the erosion and eventual elimination of unnecessary borders".
63. This ideal must, however, be considered in light of recent developments in South Africa, which seek to alienate the country from the continent and its people. The recurring incidents of violent attacks against our African siblings from sister countries on the continent, if allowed to take root, will militate against the ideals of continental integration.
64. There needs to be a concerted, purposeful effort of social engineering to ensure that African people from across the continent and in the diaspora are united economically, socially and culturally.
65. There must also be a recognition that the noble ideal of a united continent cannot and will not succeed if there is no broad movement across the continent that seeks to engender radical Pan African development, democratisation of politics, and uprooting of dictatorships that exploit our siblings and force them to look for economic opportunities elsewhere.
66. If South Africa is alone in this quest for a united continent, this objective of Pan African integration will not happen.

67. For this reason, the ratification of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement must in principle be seen as a positive development for the common development of the continent.
68. This free trade agreement must however emphasise and give preference to Pan African manufactured goods and seek to develop services offered by African people. It must not be reduced to a gateway for the transportation of goods and services from Europe and America.
69. The African Continental Free Trade Agreement must be a vehicle for a programme of massive inward industrialisation of the continent to ensure that Africa becomes the centre of manufacturing of African minerals and other resources.
70. There must be a periodically timed effort to develop road, maritime and aviation infrastructure, to ease trade and movement of goods, services and people across the continent without bypassing Europe.

4. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

71. The EFF must take note of the need for a continental and diaspora-wide Pan African Movement, which must provide a 21st century conceptualisation of Pan Africanism and lead, in these still disjointed countries, political and economic movements whose ultimate objective must be to politically, economically and socially unite the African continent. The initial stage of this must be a call for a continental and diaspora Pan African Congress, to discuss and propose tangible ways for Pan African development and integration.
72. The EFF must, within available means, advocate for a deeper level reconceptualisation of the Pan African Parliament, with the aim of reconstituting this body as an overarching legislative institution for the continent, governed by a continental constitution, which must be supreme to all other constitutions.
73. The EFF must seek to influence the African Continental Free Trade Agreement as the main vehicle towards the economic integration of the continent. This broad vision must include practical steps for the development of the manufacturing capacity of the continent, and a much stronger focus on inward industrialisation, which would include the construction of infrastructure to link the continent.
74. This must entail a complete rejection of free movement within the continent of European, American or Asian goods. The emphasis must be on the movement of goods and services that are manufactured on the continent, or in diaspora African nations, such as Haiti.
75. The EFF must resolve that for complete unification of the African continent, there must be one currency for all the countries of the continent.

76. The conference must further resolve to have one African language at least, Kiswahili as a recommendation, to be developed fully and be integrated into school curriculums with the aim of making the language a common language of communication in Africa.
77. The EFF must agitate for a united African continent, with one federal government and army, and affirm the higher authority of the Pan African Parliament as the ultimate legislative body for continental matters.
78. The conference must resolve that there is an urgent need to strengthen Pan African institutions to entrench Pan African unity and development. This strengthening must happen as follows:

A. PAN AFRICAN PARLIAMENT

- i. The Pan African Parliament (PAP) must be an overarching legislative body for the African Union, and must have areas of exclusive legislation making for the whole continent.
- ii. Areas for exclusive legislation making for the PAP must include continent-wide defence laws, intra-continental trade; and the continent-wide regulation of laws governing the movement of people.
- iii. The PAP must have the authority to ratify which government is legitimate and which one is not. This will give the PAP and the African Union power to refuse the participation of unelected governments and governments that assumed power through violence.
- iv. The PAP must work with all the Electoral Commissions on the continent and be in a position to declare fraudulent elections null and void.
- v. Membership of the Pan African Parliament should exclusively be opened to democratically elected parliaments and to countries that have ratified and are compliant with the African Charter of Democracy, Elections and Governance. The PAP should put in place a monitoring mechanism to guarantee that all parliaments that are represented in the PAP are adherent to the Charter, particularly the following principles as contained in Article 3 of the Charter:
 - a. Respect for human rights and democratic principles;
 - b. Access to, and exercise of, state power in accordance with the constitution of the State Party and the principle of the rule of law;
 - c. Promotion of a system of government that is representative;
 - d. Holding of regular, transparent, free and fair elections;
 - e. Separation of powers;
 - f. Promotion of gender equality in public and private institutions;
 - g. Effective participation of citizens in democratic and development processes and in governance of public affairs;
 - h. Transparency and fairness in the management of public affairs;

- i. Condemnation and rejection of acts of corruption, related offenses and impunity;
 - j. Condemnation and total rejection of unconstitutional changes of government;
 - k. Strengthening political pluralism and recognising the role, rights and responsibilities of legally constituted political parties, including opposition political parties, which should be given status under national law.
- vi. The overall membership of the PAP should be 500 members, divided into two broad categories. The first category of 250 could be the five directly elected members representing member states and reflective of political diversity and opinions of the member states. This category should be full time members of the PAP, who deal with day-to-day matters of the assembly. The second category of 250 should be representatives of incumbent national parliaments in order to guarantee synergy between what the PAP does and what respective national parliaments do. This second category should be decided on a proportional formula, such that countries with larger populations have more representatives.
- vii. The Pan African Parliament should generate funds through a mechanism determined by itself and the African Union.
- viii. As a matter of principle, the PAP should not accept funding that comes with conditions that are inconsistent with the aims and objectives of the PAP. At no stage should external funding constitute more than 50% of the Pan African Parliament.
- ix. Member states should contribute towards the functionality and sustainability of the PAP through a formula that takes into account the size of each country's national overall budget and population size, and countries that do not make the necessary contributions should be excluded from participating in the PAP and not enjoy the benefits that will come from the PAP.
- x. The country in which the PAP is hosted should be responsible for the establishment and maintenance of the physical infrastructure of the PAP, including the accommodation of full time members, rates, water, and electricity bills. In return, the hosting country should, together with the bureau of the PAP co-determine the appointment of the accounting officers of the PAP, particularly the top five staff members such as the clerk, the deputies to the clerk (secretary-general), and chief financial officer.
- xi. The PAP should, within its budget, be responsible for all administrative and personnel/human resources support for all full time members of the PAP, including their salaries, travel, accommodation and allowances. This will avert unequal pay for equal work amongst members.

- xii. The members of the PAP who are not full time will be catered for by their national parliaments in a similar way the current PAP handles allowances and support of members.

B. THE AFRICAN COURT ON PEOPLE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- i. The African court must be strengthened to become the ultimate judicial body to mediate on African affairs relating to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- ii. The operationalisation of this court must mean, in the short to medium term, the sterilisation of the International Criminal Court's ability to interfere on the African continent.
- iii. All member states of the African Union must be made to recognise the African court and sign the protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- iv. Decisions of the African court must be binding on all countries, and countries who defy the decision of the African Court must be isolated.

C. AFRICAN STANDBY MILITARY FORCE.

- i. The EFF must agitate for the establishment of a permanent African Defence Force, to replace African Standby Force that was established in terms of Article 13 of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU).
- ii. This force, though drawn from member states, must account only to the African Union to ensure its relative independence from member states.
- iii. This force must be deployed for the following reasons: to defend the continent against outside interference from imperial forces; to be deployed to remove undemocratic governments from power in the African continent; and to be deployed to quickly quell unjustified insurrections by terrorist groups and sponsored groups seeking to destabilise the continent.

79. Over and above these, the EFF must be in a position to provide leadership to the global left, and support all progressive forces around the world working for socialism.

80. Underpinning this principle must be the acknowledgement that socialism will never work if still confined to nation states, that the true impact of socialism will only be felt if its character is international.

81. Therefore, the EFF must unashamedly be in solidarity with all revolutionary forces, and support attempts to overthrow imperial regimes and usher in progressive governments.
82. The conference must resolve for the expansion of the United Nations Security Council so that it is better representative of all the nations of the world. This must entail the removal of veto power from the so-called permanent members of the Security Council.
83. The conference must also resolve for a complete withdrawal from the International Criminal Court by all African nations, and in its place, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights must be strengthened to deal with abuse of human and people's rights



THE ECONOMY

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Economic Freedom Fighters is the only political movement on the African continent that places the economy at the centre of its political programmes. The reason the EFF is an ECONOMIC emancipation movement is primarily due to the recognition that all other freedoms are meaningless without economic emancipation. This means that the EFF should at all times be absolutely clear about ownership, control and redistribution of the economy for the benefit of all people. This should be understood within the changing dynamics of capitalism domestically as well as globally.
2. As part of the contributions to the EFF's 2nd National People's Assembly, the perspective on the economy will do two things: 1) it will provide a diagnosis of South Africa's economic crises, and 2) provide solutions on what is to be done. The diagnosis section will reflect on the racialised character of South African capitalism and the latter section will propose what is to be done in the following key areas:
 - a. Natural resources
 - b. State-owned companies
 - c. The Fourth Industrial Revolution
 - d. Infrastructure
 - e. Taxation and fiscal policy
 - f. Trade and industrial policy
 - g. Transformation of the financial sector
 - h. Sovereign wealth fund
 - i. Decentralisation of the economy
 - j. Monetary policy
 - k. Fiscal policy
 - l. Pan-continental economic integration.
3. The diagnosis and solutions provided are ideologically informed by what the Founding Manifesto of the EFF outlines as the vision for the future. At all times, the EFF's plans of action should be based on the Founding Manifesto and its Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian tools of analysis.

2. DIAGNOSIS

4. The South African economy, by all measures of standards, is deformed. This deformation is defined by the reality of its 1) systemic racial character, 2) the concentration of wealth in few hands, 3) the concentration of wealth in a few spaces, and 4) the inability to productively expand in a manner that will provide employment to all South Africans who need jobs.

A. SYSTEMIC RACIAL CHARACTER

5. There is a huge difference in developmental indicators between black and white people in South Africa. If white people were living in their own country, they would be ranked to be living among the top 10 most developed countries in the world. This inequality is the South African reality:
 - a. Unemployment among white people is 7% and among black people it is 40%.

- b. Life expectancy among white people is far higher than life expectancy among black people, and this is illustrated by the reality that life expectancy in the Western Cape, which has the highest concentration of white people, is the highest in South Africa.
 - c. Infant mortality for white people is lower than for black people.
 - d. Poverty levels amongst white people in South Africa sits at 1% of the white population, while 64% of black people live in poverty.
 - e. In terms of labour, white people constitute 61% of the skilled labour force, while black people only constitute 18%.
 - f. In terms of spending, white-headed households spend R350 937, which is five times more than black-headed households, which spend R67 828, and three times more than the national average. This means the quality of life and participation in the economy for whites is higher than that of black.
 - g. Only 23% of the top 100 companies in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are held directly or indirectly by black South Africans, with 77% being held by white South Africans. And the 23% includes collective schemes.
 - h. In terms of the ownership of farms and agricultural holdings, white people own 72%, while black people own 4%.
 - i. The majority of black children go to public schools where there are an average of 31 learners per educator and 524 learners per school. Independent schools, which are attended by a majority of white learners, have an average of 12 learners per educator and an average of 205 learners per independent school. Therefore, the strain on infrastructure and human resources at public schools are much higher and black learners face the brunt of this strain. This has an obvious impact on outputs and academic progress.
 - j. Access to higher/tertiary education for white students is 25%, while for black people it is 5%, with 60% dropping out in their first year due to financial strain, a lack of accommodation and a feeling of alienation.
 - k. In terms of access to electricity, 17.4% of black South Africans do not have access to electricity, while only 1.4% of white South Africans do not have access to electricity.
 - l. In terms of healthcare, 72.9% of white South Africans are members of a medical aid scheme, while only 9.9% of black South Africans are members of a medical aid scheme. This means that the majority of white people are not subjected to the collapsing healthcare system in South Africa, while the majority of black South Africans are dependent on inferior public healthcare services.
6. As things stand, when one considers the education, healthcare, the economy, unemployment, poverty levels and access to basic services, white society in South Africa is equivalent to a developed society in a third world country. If one were to remove black people from the data that measures developmental progress according to key indicators in society, a white South Africa would be a global economic and social power house. This is solely based on metrics that qualify a developed nation such as quality of life, economic influence, education, occupational structure of their labour force, infrastructure and literacy rate.

B. ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION IN A FEW HANDS

7. Economic ownership and control in South Africa are in the hands of a few. This is due to colonialism and apartheid. Colonialism and apartheid were fundamentally a racist class project which sought to allocate the black majority, and Africans in particular, to subservient economic roles. Various laws were passed to systematically exclude black people, in general, and Africans, in particular, from economic ownership and control.
8. While formalised colonialism and apartheid ended in 1994, economic apartheid is still a reality in South Africa, and it is defined along the same lines and form that apartheid colonialists envisaged. The following continue to define the South African economy even after 25 years of inclusive elections:
 - a. Three billionaires in South Africa emerged as owners of the same wealth as the bottom 50 percent of the population.
 - b. There is no single financial institution that is owned and controlled by black people.
 - c. 157 of the top 200 richest South Africans are white males.

C. ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION IN FEW SPACES.

9. Economic ownership and control in South Africa is concentrated in very few spaces. This is due to colonialist spatial planning, which sought to develop a small number of areas at the expense of the rest of the country. Gauteng province which accounts for less than 2% of South Africa's land surface and 21% of the country's population accounts for 34% of the country's economic activity.
10. Furthermore, the economic activities of three provinces, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape account for 64% of the country's economic activity. This is further worsened by intra-provincial inequalities and huge divides.

D. LACK OF GROWTH AND JOBLESSNESS

11. Despite many attempts, policies and strategies brought forth to grow the economy and create jobs have failed. One of the biggest failures of the post-1994 government has been the inability to create jobs, in particular for able, willing and young people.
12. South Africa has more than 22.6 million people who can work, of which 16.4 million are employed and 6.2 million are unemployed. These figures do not include the more than 2 million people who looked for work, could not find work and now have given up looking for work. The reality is that more than 10 million South Africans are jobless.
13. Historically – and now – the most effective way to create jobs is to build sustainable industries to produce what people consume on a daily basis and involve people in all stages of production. South Africa's semi-colonial character has positioned the country as an importer of almost all finished goods, products and services and an exporter of natural and semi-processed products. The massive and almost complete importation of finished goods and products is man-made. The EFF must carry the political and ideological will to change that.

14. The post-1994 government's industrial policy failed drastically because it did not pursue inward industrialisation that is needed to build sustainable labour and absorptive factories for the production of daily consumables. This failure was worsened by the movement of investors' money. There was insufficient regulation, resulting in a large component of foreign capital coming in as speculative capital, which did not yield the much-needed jobs dividend. In the past 25 years the ANC-led government has failed by establishing only five special economic zones (SEZs) that are functional.
15. Direct state investment in these zones is around R10 billion, insignificant for a country that spends more than R150 billion on social assistance annually. Fewer than 14 000 jobs have been created by these SEZs which, if they were massively expanded, protected and supported, could have ended the socioeconomic crisis of joblessness. As an interim measure of poverty alleviation, social grants are a progressive intervention, but they cannot and should not be a permanent solution to the country's developmental, poverty and inequality challenges. Social assistance programmes must be accompanied by an equally aggressive labour-absorptive industrialisation programme.

E. ENERGY CRISIS

16. South Africa is facing a major energy crisis that started in 2007 when there were continued rolling blackouts as Eskom struggled to meet the electricity demand. In January 2008, there was load-shedding on a daily basis for more than two weeks, leading to government declaring a national power emergency.
17. The White Paper on the Energy Policy of the Republic of South Africa published in 1998 showed that in 2007, electricity demand would exceed supply and recommended that government take necessary steps to ensure that demand did not exceed available supply capacity. However, the ruling party failed to heed the call and only started intervening to ensure available supply when it was too late.
18. Over and above the failure to build additional capacity, government also failed to maintain energy infrastructure. Eskom is far behind on maintenance and that has been the case for many years. Power stations are ailing. Eskom does not have preventative maintenance testing in place to ensure there is a clear schedule to predict when maintenance and repairs will be required. It is a regular occurrence for boiler tubes to leak and conveyor belts delivering coal to break causing generator units to stop functioning.
19. A key challenge in the energy crisis and the collapse of Eskom is coal. Coal presents two challenges to Eskom: (1) poor quality coal damage boilers, and (2) the cost of coal has practically bankrupted the utility company. The National Electricity Regulator of South Africa (NERSA) says Eskom should pay R350 per ton delivered. Eskom has failed to negotiate a standard price with coal suppliers. Eskom has contracted 16 coal supplying companies to provide the company with more than 70 million tons of coal in the next six years at a cost of more than R38 billion. In some instances, Eskom is paying as much as R600 per ton – double what NERSA says the price should be. The government has acknowledged that at the current negotiated prices, the economy will collapse.

20. Companies like Glencore are charging Eskom an average of R607 per ton on various contracts, while other suppliers such as Iyanga Mining, Zomhlaba Resources and Stuart Coal charges Eskom R336.20, R326,2 and R263.6 respectively. In 2019, Eskom's primary energy costs rose by 17% due to higher coal processes.
21. Another challenge facing Eskom is the increasing role of Independent Power Producers (IPPs). Eskom has signed Purchasing Power Agreements (PPAs) with various IPPs to source electricity at an agreed price. Until recently, Eskom had complete monopoly over electricity generation. However, IPPs are now playing a significant role in generation of electricity. NERSA says Eskom can sell the electricity for R0.9c per kWh. However, the price agreed with IPPs through PPAs average R2.2/kWh. This means NERSA's regulation price is far less than the cost of electricity from IPPs.
22. When Eskom's Chief Financial Officer (CFO), Mr Callib Cassim presented Eskom's interim financial statements in 2018, he made two alarming points that gave a proper perspective on PPAs. He said that the coal cost increase was contained at 7%, but IPP costs were up by 29%. He further stated that IPP costs average R2.12 per kWh and Eskom needs support from government and NERSA to address the situation where Eskom buys electricity from IPPs at higher prices but sells at regulated prices of less than 90c per kWh.
23. The latest report presented by Eskom to Parliament shows that IPPs contributed 4.8% of total electricity production but make up 25% of the total electricity cost. Eskom's total costs increased by R7.8 billion and IPPs accounted for R3.2 billion of that increase. Cassim said IPP costs were three times the cost of generation production.
24. The failure to complete Medupi and Kusile has compounded the energy crisis facing South Africa. The costs for Medupi escalated significantly to over R300 billion from an estimated R24.9 billion, while costs for Kusile escalated to R161.4 billion from an estimated R80.7 billion. There is still no clarity as to when these power stations will be fully plugged into the national grid. Interest paid by Eskom on money borrowed (mainly from the World Bank) to build Medupi and Kusile is causing Eskom serious cash flow problems.
25. Eskom currently has a debt of more than R400 billion and recorded losses of more than R20 billion reported in the last financial year. All efforts to stabilise the utility in the past have failed despite a great deal of money being poured into it. In 2015, Eskom was allocated R23 billion by Parliament with a commitment to stabilise the power utility. In 2019, Parliament gave Eskom an additional R59 billion. There is no clear and believable plan or strategy to stabilise Eskom and electricity supply. All efforts point to the privatisation of Eskom to benefit companies that are closely linked to the current leadership of the ruling party. More than 90% of people have access to electricity in their homes. Eskom has never fully recovered from the crippling crisis that started in 2007.

3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

a) Natural Resources

26. The EFF Founding Manifesto says: "A supposition that the South African economy can be transformed to address the massive unemployment, poverty and inequality crisis without transfer of wealth from those who currently own it to the people as a whole is illusory. The transfer of wealth from the minority should fundamentally focus on the commanding heights of the economy. This should include minerals, metals, banks, energy production, and telecommunications and retain the ownership of central transport and logistics modes such as Transnet, Sasol, Mittal Steel, Eskom, Telkom and all harbours and airports."
27. South Africa has untouched minerals worth an estimated \$2.5 trillion dollars or R37.5 trillion (25/9/2019). In addition, exploration along South Africa's coast reveals the potential to tap oil and gas reserves. Within the current economic framework these resources will continue to serve white monopoly capital both locally and internationally and will not contribute to the overall development of the economy and the improvement of the lives of South Africans.
28. Mineral ownership in South Africa is only part of the problem, however, as the South African economy was built on the exportation of raw mineral resources to the developed world, primarily Europe and the United States, where these mineral resources have then been processed and developed into manufactured products, and then sold to developing countries such as South Africa. To address this, the state needs to take strategic control of South Africa's mineral and petroleum wealth.
29. The EFF Founding Manifesto says: "Minerals and metals beneficiation will constitute a very firm, sustainable and labour absorptive industrial process, which will feature both import-substituting and export-led industrialisation. Various other areas of an increased, sustainable and labour absorptive industrial process could be explored within a situation where the production of metals and minerals are nationalised for the benefit of all."
30. Any state that seeks to develop the forces of production within the country and facilitate rapid industrialisation must ensure that South Africa's unique mineral wealth is owned by the state and extracted by state-owned mining companies. This state ownership, along with the beneficiation and processing of these minerals, must form a central part of the country's broader industrialisation programme.
31. The oil and gas resources of the country, which exist along the country's coastline, as well as those that are yet to be discovered must, like the country's mineral resources, be owned by the state. The state should also build its own refineries and nationalise those that are currently in existence. So that the entire natural gas and petroleum value chain, which can be critical to South Africa's economic growth is run in the collective interests of the people by the state.

b) State Owned Companies

32. The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "A strong developmental state should necessarily have political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to state-owned enterprises (SOE)." This perspective is informed by both current and historical examples of the critical role SOEs have played in the development of national economies.
33. Throughout much of the developed and developing world, economies and industrial capacity has been built on the back of SOEs. "Soon after the Second World War, many European countries took private enterprises into public ownership or set up new public enterprises, or state-owned enterprises, in key industries, such as steel, railways, banking and energy." (Chang, 2014) It is no coincidence that during this period capitalism in the West experienced its Golden Age and post-war economic boom.
34. Following the colonial period many countries in Asia also used SOEs and state led interventions to drive the development of their countries and transform them into industrial powers. SOEs were established in critical sectors of the economy, or "in industries in which private-sector investors were unwilling to invest due to high risk." (Chang, 2014)
35. The EFF will use SOEs to drive the industrialisation and the development of the economy and use SOEs to ensure the delivery of services to the South African people. The current SOEs will also need to be strengthened and recapacitated with clear developmental mandates. While the following new SOEs will be established:
- a) A state-owned housing construction company
 - b) A state-owned roads construction company
 - c) A state-owned cement company
 - d) Various state-owned bank
 - e) A state-owned pharmaceutical company
 - f) A state-owned healthcare equipment company
 - g) A state-owned mining company
 - h) A state-owned food stocking company.
36. To ensure good governance, best practices and the fulfilment of their developmental mandates, a State Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission will need to be established, and as stated in the Founding Manifesto, "These state companies will be buttressed by state ownership of critical parts of the value chains in which these companies operate, e.g. petrochemicals (Sasol), steel (Arcelor-Mittal), etc. so that they produce essential inputs into the economy on a non-profit-maximisation basis." If these companies are to fulfil the mandate, fast-tracking economic development and providing quality services to our people, they will need the necessary human resources and technical skills, and they will not operate on the basis of profit maximisation, but rather on their ability to meet these two core mandates.

c) Fourth Industrial Revolution

37. The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is built on the digitalisation that defined the Third Industrial Revolution and is characterised by “a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres.” (Schwab, 2016). It is largely driven by developments in the use of data, artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, autonomous vehicles, 3-D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, materials science, energy storage, and quantum computing. Like all technological advances the 4IR will disrupt and destroy many industries, but at the same time will allow for the development of new industries, and new forms of production.
38. Mass-robotisation can allow for some businesses to function completely without human labour or at least significantly rely less on human labour (Schwab 49). This will foster an economic predicament in which it is a birth-right to own capital and have an income. Hence, the 4IR may increase the gap between labour and capital and the rich and poor, which in turn may become non- traversable when labour becomes a capital asset (Piketty, 2014).
39. The fear of technology changing the labour market is not new, since the First Industrial Revolution people have been scared of technology taking the place of human labour (Harari 322).
40. For example, according to the McKinsey Global Institute as much as one- fifth of the global labour force could be affected by automation of production by as soon as 2030. This translates to up to 800 million jobs lost as a direct result of the automation of production within the following 11 years. This estimate does not mean that these people first occupied these positions and are fired because of automation. However, approximately 800 million jobs will have been taken over by machines by 2030. Of these 800 million jobs, in the next 11 years McKinsey Global Institute argues that about 75 to 375 million people will be fired as a result of robotics taking over their jobs. Jobs that involve physical labour are most likely to disappear, yet there will be an increase in demand for highly educated workers and social jobs (McKinsey Global Institute, 2017).
41. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development confirms this worry. In its policy brief the international institution asserts that developing countries could lose two-thirds of all jobs to automation of production as most of the jobs in these economies are based in the manufacturing industry (UNCTAD, 2016). Manufacturing jobs are predominantly low-skilled labour jobs. Hence, this shows that the labour force composition of an economy determines to what degree it will experience low-skilled labour redundancy creating the need for developing economies that rely heavily on their physical labour force to adapt.
42. For developing countries, the loss of the geographical labour advantage is more likely to result in a stagnating economy than in growth as in developing countries foreign investment may slow down (Dalenogare et al. 386; Castellacci, 2008; Ramani et al., 2017). As a result, there is a decreasing amount of tax revenue coming in. Consequently, in order to fund education policies more loans will be needed, which will cause the aggravation of the debt trap that will further increase global inequality.

43. Marx illuminated the inherent tendencies of capitalism. In particular the capitalist tendency to foster economic inequality through technological innovation. As abovementioned, Marx wrote that this natural tendency of the capitalist mode of production to increase productivity by way of technology creates "an industrial reserve army, kept in misery in order to be always at the disposal of capital; in the incessant human sacrifices from among the working-class, in the most reckless squandering of labour-power and in the devastation caused by a social anarchy which turns every economic progress into a social calamity" (Marx 337-8).
44. Despite the obvious dangers the 4IR presents. New opportunities for development have also arisen and any country which seeks to rapidly industrialise and develop the forces of production needs to embrace the technologies and changes the 4IR may bring.
45. South Africa, because of its colonial past which has kept it in a state of underdevelopment and dependency for hundreds of years, does not have the time to experience the centuries of growth that Western European countries have had in the development of their economies which have been at the centre of the last three industrial revolutions.
46. An EFF government will therefore need to make a number of aggressive changes to realise the full benefits of the 4IR. Firstly, the education system will need to be reformed as elaborated on in the education section. Secondly, strategies and policies will need to be adopted so that South Africa is able to acquire and develop technologies and patents that will provide the basis for the innovation, and production of new products and technologies. As part of a broader industrialisation programme, policies will need to legislate to protect local industries of the 4IR from outside competition so that they are able to grow and develop without being destroyed by outside producers who have unfairly gained competitive advantages.
47. The immediate consequences of the fourth industrial revolution, which will lead in the rise of ecommerce will be tax collection. The South African Revenue Services, South African Reserve Bank, the Financial Intelligence Centre should tighten their capacity to maximally collect VAT and company income taxes from all ecommerce businesses that receive South African money.

d) Infrastructure

48. Infrastructure in an economic context generally refers to the basic physical and logistical structures and facilities that are needed for the economy to operate. Economic infrastructure in South Africa is designed to maintain a neo-colonial economic order which is largely dependent on the extraction of resources, the provision of cheap services, the financialisation of the economy, and the importation and consumption of high-end industrial goods from the rest of the world. It does not allow for the development of an advanced or industrialised economy and instead leaves South Africa in a permanent state of dependence. Which only serves the interests of local and international elite at the expense of the majority of South Africans.

49. Economic infrastructure in the country is largely limited to the metropolitan and mining areas, as well as some infrastructure around agriculture. This is largely due to the overall neo-liberal economic framework of the country, which is reliant on foreign direct investment or external contractors for large scale infrastructure projects.
50. A state which seeks to develop the productive forces of the economy will therefore need to embark on mass infrastructure projects and redesign the country's infrastructure into one that will facilitate the rapid industrialisation and development of the country's economy. This will require the railway and road network of the country to be rapidly expanded, around the metropolitans, but also in the rural areas and in the new special industrial zones and economic hubs the EFF will establish. This must be done by a state-owned road construction company and Transnet.
51. Access to high-speed internet will need to be rapidly rolled out across the country, and the government will need to partner with private companies to speed-up the roll-out of 5G nationwide. Access to quick and fast internet (as well as cheap electricity) will be one of the most fundamental infrastructure requirements of the 4IR and the modern economy.
52. The country's water and electricity infrastructure will also need to be upgraded, better maintained and expanded under direct ownership and management by the state so that as industrial capacity increases, the basic inputs will always be available at cheap prices.
53. In order to facilitate inter-continental trade, the ports of entry South Africa shares with other African countries will have to be greatly expanded, upgraded and where necessary, new ones built.

e) Taxation and Fiscal Policy

54. In the 2018/19 financial year, the South African Revenue Services (SARS) experienced a tax revenue collection shortfall of R57.4 billion. If the country is to rapidly develop and at the same time improve the living standards of the people, more tax revenue is needed. Currently the South African public, particularly the poor and so-called middle class, are over-taxed while companies and wealthy individuals are able to avoid paying tax for a variety of reasons, including illicit financial flows, general tax avoidance, and the low company tax threshold.
55. According to Global Financial Integrity, in 2015 South Africa experienced illicit outflows worth an estimated \$5.9 billion or R89.2 billion (28/09/2019). This, coupled with the high levels of general tax avoidance, shows that hundreds of billions of Rands of taxable revenue is being lost each year because of the illegal activity of companies and wealthy individuals. In addition, the overall percentage of tax revenue that comes from companies income tax continues to decrease, and in the 2017/18 tax year accounted for only 18.1% of tax revenue, less than that contributed through personal income tax, VAT, and other forms of tax.
56. In order to increase tax revenues, the South African state will have to increase the threshold for company tax and will need to stop the loss of taxable revenue that is occurring because of illicit financial flows and tax avoidance.

57. Based on the EFF submission to the Davis Tax Committee and the EFF 2019 Election Manifesto the following needs to happen.
- a) An Anti-Avoidance of Tax Act will need to be passed to criminalise all forms of tax avoidance and illicit financial flows.
 - b) Multi-national companies operating in South Africa who engage in tax avoidance or illicit financial flows will have their assets nationalised and the directors jailed.
 - c) The establishment of a multi-disciplinary cross-agency task team, independent from SARS and National Treasury, which will include officials from the National Treasury, Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC), South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and SARS, to gather and publish reliable statistical data on illicit financial flows.
58. With the high revenues collected from private capital, the state will then be able to decrease the burden on ordinary South Africans and decrease revenue to 14% once again.
59. One thing is certain, 4IR will decrease the demand for low-skilled labour as the machines of the future will outcompete the human physique. High rates of economic inequality will decrease social mobility and political participation of those at the bottom of the pyramid. Therefore, even though this may seem beneficial for a portion of society, the group that is no longer participating in the economy due to 4IR labour redundancy may be left behind as their social mobility may eventually come to a standstill as economic inequality grows larger.
60. Marx argued that joblessness does not necessarily have to be a bad thing, it can also be freedom. In order to ensure that the 4IR will benefit all, Marx may be able to provide insights. Perhaps, a focus on mass education policies and a framework that enables the fluidity of work by addressing the stigma could be pivotal. There are already sporadic attempts to adapt trials with a non-discriminatory basic income (Standing, 2011). However, it is hard to see where governments should suddenly find the funds to implement these costly measures, especially considering that many are experiencing budget deficits (Piketty, 2014).
61. Piketty's research may provide us with at least one part of the answer. In order to mediate the trend of increasing economic inequality, Piketty suggests that his recommendation of progressive wealth taxation may be able to tackle rising economic inequalities as it tackles the problem of wealth growing faster than productivity; the latter of which is linked to the growth rate of wages.
62. However, Piketty notes that progressive taxation of wealth may require an overarching global governmental body in order to provide the institutional policy framework to guide this practice of global wealth distribution. At the moment, such a framework only exists regionally in institutions like the European Union (Piketty 515-6).

63. With the increased revenue generated through clamping down on illicit financial flows and through contributions from the Sovereign Wealth Fund, the South African state will be able to expand its ability to address the socio-economic needs of the people and reduce the State's debt. Based on the need to decentralise the economy and looking at examples from across the world, the state will also need to change how state revenue is distributed. Currently local government receives 9% of all revenue allocated. Local government should be at the centre of service delivery and following the abolishment of provinces should receive 60% of distributed revenue, and national government 40%.

f) Trade and Industrial Policy

64. When looking at capitalist political economies, there has not yet been a country that developed itself without the process of industrialisation. The level of development between countries nowadays is often the result of when it was able to industrialise. For example, all of today's advanced economies have gone through a process of labour-intensive industrialisation towards a service economy (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2014; Chang, 2014; Schwab, 2016).

65. Informed by historical examples and current success stories, as well as by the Marxist, Leninist and Fanonian schools of thought, the EFF locates the state at the centre of industrial policy and economic development. The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "Within the context of a state-led industrial policy, the state should protect infant industries, particularly in areas where the country does not enjoy competitive advantages. The industrialisation South Africa should adopt ought to be both export-led and import-substituting industrialisation."

66. The South African state must therefore adopt economic policies that protect South African infant industries from outside competition, allowing them to produce and sell industrial produce that consumers are willing to buy at competitive prices with previously imported industrial goods being replaced by locally made products. This can be done by, "protecting domestic producers from superior foreign competition by restricting imports (infant industry protection) or heavily regulating the activities of foreign companies operating within national borders." (Chang, 2014) This approach has allowed developing countries, particularly those in Asia, to rapidly industrialise, allowing them to catch up with the economies of the West, and provide a standard of living to their people that is largely unmatched in the rest of the developing world.

67. To achieve the same results in South Africa, the state will need to play an active role in the economy, subsidise infant industries, place tariffs on imported industrial products, and where necessary completely ban the importation of certain goods that are manufactured abroad. At the same time, a delicate balance needs to be struck with the need to increase the overall industrial capacity of the country. This can be achieved through the establishment of Special Economic Zones which will "promote inward industrialisation and manufacturing investments with export capacity." Allowing private capital to contribute to South Africa's industrialisation on terms set by the South African state.

68. In industries that are high-risk, SOEs will need to take the lead and be the manufacturers and producers in order to allow long-term development and growth of the particular industry without being made bankrupt due to short-term financial losses.

69. Special priority must also be given to industries focused on the technologies of the 4IR, as export capacity and import substitution is reliant on consumer goods being competitive in the local and international market while simultaneously creating the high-end jobs that will match the skills produced by the education system as outlined in the EFF's education policies.
70. Policies and programmes centred around the acquisition of technologies need to be legislated and enforced. These policies and programmes should place particular focus on acquiring technologies, and around market access and tax incentives for international companies willing to work with and share their intellectual property and experience with South African manufacturers. Intellectual property laws need to be amended so that South African SOEs and private companies are able to access ideas and production methods which will inform approaches to manufacturing, innovation and the general industrialisation of the productive forces within South Africa.

g) Sovereign Wealth Fund

71. The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "Owing to surpluses and many sustainable-developmental considerations that will be generated as a result of the South African state's control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy, government should establish a sovereign wealth fund, which will prudently invest in the development of the African economy. This fund will also assist in the insulation of the South African economy whenever there are volatilities in resource-sector prices and when non-renewable resources are exhausted. Most countries, including China, the US, Saudi Arabia, Norway, Libya, Nigeria, Chile, France and many others, have sovereign wealth funds for these purposes. As we speak, despite massive resource riches, South Africa has no sovereign wealth fund, mainly because South Africans do not own their resources."
72. A Sovereign Wealth Fund is usually defined as a state-owned investment fund or entity that is established, "using balance of payments surpluses, official foreign currency operations, the proceeds of privatizations, governmental transfer payment, fiscal surplus and receipts from resource exports." (SWFI, 2019)
73. According to the Sovereign Wealth Fund Institute, the 82 largest Sovereign Wealth Funds have assets under their management worth \$8 trillion or R121 trillion (29/09/2019). The majority of these Sovereign Wealth Funds are held by states who are rich in natural resources and who have used the surpluses generated from state-owned natural resources to develop these funds.
74. A South African state which were to own the mineral wealth of the country on behalf of its citizens would be best positioned to use the wealth that the state is able to generate through resource exports, balance of payment and fiscal surpluses to establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund.
75. "Sovereign Wealth Funds are largely insulated from political micromanagement, and governance structure, investment strategy and transparency requirements are central to the drastic growth in assets. In the main, a Sovereign Wealth Fund requires a robust legal framework to promote sound institutional and governance arrangements to allow for a disciplined long-term investments strategy to generate solid returns." (Shivambu, 2018)

76. Past experience in how Sovereign Wealth Funds have been utilised have shown that the investments made by these funds have largely focused on domestic industries and markets, local infrastructure development, job creating areas of the economy, and long-term investments that private industry is generally unwilling to invest large amounts of capital in.
77. A Sovereign Wealth Fund established by an EFF government should have five key features:
- a) It must be relatively autonomous from political micromanagement.
 - b) It must directly account to Parliament, with a provision that some of the strategic investment reports are provided in camera.
 - c) Only 15% of the Sovereign Wealth Fund's gross profits should be deposited into the National Revenue Fund, while the rest is re-invested.
 - d) The shareholders of the Sovereign Wealth Funds should be a combination of important state institutions, and certainly not a single ministry as is the case with the majority of state-owned companies.
 - e) The Sovereign Wealth Fund should develop an investment policy which brings about a delicate balance of asset management and private equity.
 - h) Decentralisation of the economy.
78. The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "South Africa needs a countrywide spatial development framework that should decentralise development. South Africa's population should be proportionately spread across the length and breadth of the country through maximising each region and province's areas of economic-development potential."
79. Only a state that plays a central role in the economy will be able to facilitate and guide the much-needed process of the decentralisation of the South African economy. The reversal of years of spatial planning which was designed to keep South Africa in a neo-colonial economic system that only served the interests of the white minority was a product of spatial engineering by various white-settler governments. Therefore, if this is to be reversed and the South African economy and its beneficiaries are to be spread across the length and breadth of the country, the state must once again engage in spatial engineering. This can be done by promoting, protecting and supporting industrial activities, particularly manufacturing activities, in areas that currently do not have significant industrial and manufacturing capacity and activities.
80. Special industrial zones must be established in areas of the country, based on population, natural resources available, proximity to ports of entry, and certain geographic considerations such as weather and topography. This process will also have to be facilitated by the expansion of the country's economic infrastructure to all areas of the country, with particular focus on energy, internet access and transport. The information age and the amount of economic activity that takes place online has also minimised the barriers to decentralisation that previously existed as economic activity can now take place anywhere, as long as there is access to quick, quality internet. This further eases the process of decentralisation.

81. Decentralisation will strengthen the financial situation of local government, particularly municipalities outside of the current economic hubs as municipalities across the country will be able to generate higher revenue as a result of the increased economic activity and employment rates in their municipalities.

i) Pan-continental economic focus.

82. "The sum total of energy that went into expansion of inter-African trade was extremely small in comparison with trade that was export-orientated. Since this trade did not bring benefits to Europeans, it was not encouraged by them, and up to the latter part of the colonial period only 10 percent of Africa's trade was internal." (Rodney, 1974) Forty-five years after Walter Rodney wrote this analysis of inter-African trade and the nature of the barely developed Pan African economy little has changed. In 2018, South Africa's five largest trading partners in terms of exports and imports are all countries found outside the African continent. This is by design and is a consequence of Africa and South Africa's continued adoption of neo-colonial economic policies which maintain a system of dependence between African countries and the more developed economies of the world.

83. The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "The development of the African continent is inextricably linked with the development of South Africa. No amount of sustainable socioeconomic development and stability will be realised in South Africa unless the state plays an active role in the economic development of the African continent. This, obviously, should include the development of trade corridors that link up the entire African continent and create capacity to consume goods and services produced on the continent."

84. The pan-continental economic focus of the EFF should therefore drive and guide the economic policies of the EFF once in government, as the overall development of the South African economy will not happen in isolation but will be dependent and informed by its economic interrelations and interdependence with the rest of the African continent.

85. It is, however, crucial that South Africa's relationship with the rest of the continent is not exploitative or imperialist in nature, as the EFF Founding Manifesto says with regard to South Africa's economic relations with other African states, "This should be markedly distinct from the manner in which the Western Powers (the US and European Union) and China do business in Africa. Investment by Transnet on the continent should leave massive footprints concerning skills transfer, the development of the communities where investments happen, the payment of tax, reinvestments, corporate social investment, safety standards, compliance with labour laws and regulations and the fundamental economic development of these countries."

j) Monetary Policy

86. Currently South Africa is one of only a few countries in the world whose Central Bank (Reserve Bank) is privately owned. The South African Reserve Bank also has a mandate protected by the constitution to “maintain price stability in the interest of balanced and sustainable economic growth in South Africa.” Because of this narrow mandate and due to private ownership, the South African Reserve Bank plays little or no role in meeting the developmental needs of the country. The fact that private individuals, more specifically foreigners, are able to own shares in South Africa’s Reserve Bank is a threat to national security and a direct violation of South Africa’s economy. It perfectly illustrates how the South African economy remains a neo-colonial economy.
87. In the rest of the developing world, as well as the developed world and countries with independent Reserve Banks, the Reserve Bank’s mandate goes beyond inflation control and includes limiting unemployment, development of the economy and ensuring easy access to capital. Therefore, if South Africa is to develop an alternative monetary policy, two things need to happen. Firstly, the Reserve Bank must be nationalised and placed under direct ownership and management of the state to avoid private capital being able to use South African monetary policy to directly enrich themselves.
88. Secondly, the mandate of the Reserve Bank needs to be expanded so that monetary policy is used to boost employment, increase capital available in the economy, and ensure that the South African Rand best serves the developmental agenda of the country.
89. State banks also have a central role to play in the development of the South African economy. Therefore, various state banks need to be established to allow for easy access to capital to specific sectors of society and the economy that have previously been denied this access. State-owned banks are able to absorb the risks of financing the new industries that will be central to South Africa’s industrialisation. They will have the mandate and financial resources available to “provide enterprise finance, housing finance and vehicle finance for all South Africans in a manner that promotes development, not the narrow pursuit of profits.”
90. Under an EFF government the following state banks will be established:
- a) Retail state owned bank
 - b) Agricultural state-owned bank
 - c) Housing state owned bank
 - d) Social assistance bank.

k) Energy stabilisation

91. The Founding Manifesto says. “stabilisation of energy sources, in particular the supply of electricity, is important for an economic-development strategy that will include the development of more industries.”. The Founding Manifesto went further to say, :while the South African state should intensify the efforts currently in place for sustainable, consistent energy provision, other means of energy generation should be explored. This should include further research on how energy derived from uranium can be safely transferred into sustainable, environmentally friendly electricity for industrial development, public

purposes and use by households.”. But also, the Founding Manifesto makes an important point to say, “the principle on energy is that green energy sources should be pursued and the state should heavily invest in green energy corporations, which will explore, manufacture and install green energy alternatives in the whole of South Africa”. Energy stabilisation should happen through maximally pursuing mixed energy sources, including safe coal, nuclear energy and renewable energy.

92. In the immediate, Eskom should standardise all coal prices and only pay the prices determined by NERSA. This would save Eskom billions of rand. In addition, Eskom and government should announce an annual ceiling price per ton of coal from all suppliers. If a supplier cannot continue to supply Eskom with electricity, government should massively capitalise the African Exploration Mining and Finance Corporation to take over the contracts of those suppliers who cannot supply coal at normalised cost prices per tonne.
93. Eskom should review all PPAs with IPPS with the aim of existing these contracts.
94. Government should assemble a highly skilled panel of engineers from all over the world to investigate the delays in the completion of the two major power stations, Medupi and Kusile.
95. The government should issue requests for proposals from private developers of nuclear power stations, which should necessarily use a build, operate and transfer model to illustrate how they will use their own money to construct nuclear stations, operate them for a period not exceeding 25 years, transfer skills and thereafter hand over to the state.
96. The other important component on political oversight of Eskom is that it should not have a single ministry as a shareholder representative. The shareholder should be represented by the ministries of public enterprises, minerals and energy and finance. Where possible, the PIC loan to Eskom should be converted into equity and the PIC should have direct shares and a say in the running of the company.

4. CONCLUSION

97. South Africa's economy needs a fundamental shift from the neo-liberal clutches. The EFF should fight for political power in order to take control of the economy on behalf of the people of South Africa.



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1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), since its inception, is the only political movement that has been able to give a clear position on the role of the state and government. Fighters must understand the significance of the state and government in the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime, and why the EFF contest state power.
2. The Founding Manifesto, adopted at the National Assembly on What is to be Done on the 26th and 27th of July 2013 says, "Economic Freedom Fighters will contest political power, because we are guided by the firm belief that we need political power in order to capture the state and then transform the economy for the emancipation of black South Africans, especially Africans".
3. The Founding Manifesto went further to identify seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime, one of these pillars is, "building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders". There are three components to this cardinal pillar i.e. (a) building state capacity, (b) state as a driver of economic development and (c) abolishment of tenders.
4. The paper will start by briefly exploring the evolution of the state, define what is the state and what is state capacity guided by the Founding Manifesto. The paper will proceed to discuss four themes, (a) building state capacity, (b) state infrastructure and maintenance capacity, (c) state as a driver of economic development, and (d) state funded research, innovation and invention. Each theme will include a give a brief background on the current status, challenges and proposals on what is to be done.

2. THE STATE

5. Studies in political economy and development economics continue to look at the importance of the state, and state capacity to explain why some countries achieve economic growth, deliver services to people and manage resources in a manner that is efficient.
6. An important question which we must continue to ask is, what is the state and what is state capacity? To answer these questions, we must draw inspiration from the broad Marxist-Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in our analysis of the state, as correctly captured by the Founding Manifesto. In doing so, we must be careful not to be too academic and theoretical in such a way that our analysis and proposals on what is to be done to build state capacity are not in touch with reality or do not resonate with fighters on the ground who remain the heartbeat of the movement.
7. Also, as a movement, we must do so in order to avoid being statist or statism as warned by the Founding Manifesto. Statist or statism can be described as the belief that the state should control everything. Many including in academia and civil society have accused the EFF of such, and as a result failed to appreciate EFF contribution to the discussion on state, and state capacity. This is done deliberately, in order to mischaracterise the EFF as advocating for 'bureaucratic authoritarian regime' and what the EFF stands for without any conceptual basis. This is also used as a fear mongering tactic, to say if the

EFF has political power to capture the state, the Constitution would wither away, based on nothing but intellectual laziness and shallowness.

8. The Founding Manifesto clearly states that, "attainment of Economic Freedom entails that multinationals and private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy will be discontinued, and all economic wealth directed to the ownership and benefit of all people". The Founding Manifesto went further to say, "this will happen through various and combined forms of common and collective ownership, ranging from state ownership and control, co-operatives and workers' ownership and control of the key sectors of the economy. The state ownership is within this context, an elementary component which will lead to more progressive forms of collective ownership, control and benefit, and therefore not narrow State-capitalism"
9. Vladimir Lenin wrote a book titled '*The State and Revolution*' which was published in 1917. In it, when he defined 'the state', he quoted the following definition and historical analysis from Engels's works, '*The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*', where Engels says;

The state is by no means a power forced on society from without. The state is equally not 'the reality of the ethical', 'the imagine and reality of the reasons' as Hegel maintain. The state is a product of society at a certain stage of development; the state is the recognition that this society has become entangled in an irresolvable contradictions with itself, that it is divided into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to escape. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not devour each other and society in sterile struggle, a power seemingly standing above society become necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict, keeping it within the bounds of 'order'. And the power, which has arisen out of society but placed itself above it and increasingly alienated itself from it, is the state.

10. In the same book, Lenin also. Quoted Karl Marx, who defined the state as, 'the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another, it is the creation of order, legalizing and perpetuating this oppression by moderating the clashes among these classes. There are legitimate questions whether this definition still captures the essence of what the state is. However, to ask these questions, one must appreciate that Karl Marx definition and understanding of the state evolved with time.
11. Lenin wrote the book more than hundred years ago, but the reference to Engels and Marx demonstrate the significance of timeless revolutionary and scholarly work by these giants, and the movement must be guided by scientific tools that can stand the test of time.
12. However, this is not to say the concept of state as described by Engels and Marx, and quoted by Lenin has not evolved with time, and deepening questioning of nationhood, feminism, climate change, concept of 'the people', changing relations between the state and capital. As such it requires a correct conceptual understanding of the state, particularly developmental state, before we can say what is to be done.

13. There is no doubt that state-market-society relations have evolved well beyond these early characterisations of the state, even though these definitions coupled with insights into capitalists' contradictions and full-blown economic crisis are some of the greatest conceptual tools we have today. Despite the evolution of the relationships between state-market-society, many Marxists continue to believe that the state remains an instrument for the domination, oppression and exploitation of the economically weak, vulnerable and those who don't own means of production, in particular land, by the rich and owners of means of production. It is important to note that the state as a tool cannot be understood separately from the economic structure of society, hence Marx argued that the political organisation matches economic organisation.
14. In 1970, a Marxist by the name of Louis Althusser wrote a paper titled "*Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*", wherein he summarise the 'the Marxist theory of the state' whereby the state is viewed (1) as a repressive state apparatus, (2) state power and state apparatus must be distinguished, and (3) the objective of the class struggle concerns state power, and in consequence the use of the state apparatus by the classes holding state power as a function of their class objectives. In doing so, Althusser broadened what was considered a state from what Engels, Marx and Lenin consider to be state and extended it to institutions which were formally outside state control but played a role in the creation of order, legalizing and perpetuating oppression in moderating contradictions between classes. Institutions such as church, education, media, law enforcement, courts, family and others. This intellectual development has been challenged and criticised in many ways, including by those who say that the gist of Althusser's theory is too simplistic and underestimate the autonomy of many of these institutions.
15. Bob Jessop, someone who has written a lot about the nature of the state in the 80s, 90, and more recently, gave a lecture organized by the Centre for Labour Studies in 2014 and he defined the state in three aspects, (a) territory controlled by the state, (b) an apparatus that makes collectively binding decisions for (c) a resident population subject to the state authority. These aspects are commonly associated with general state theory from philosophers as early as Max Weber. The key aspect of what Jessop offered as three aspects of the state is 'state apparatus', and he explained that the core of the state apparatus comprises a distinct group of institutions and organisations whose socially constructed and accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on members of a society in the name of their common interest or the general will.
16. Things like institutions, organisations, collectively binding decisions and general will are contested in society, and as a result this makes what Jessop describe an entry point to understanding the state but not necessarily a definition. It is difficult to define the state the same way it is difficult to define the market as the Ha-Joon Chang, Cambridge University economist said that there are no scientifically defined boundaries because these are political positions.
17. This brings us to the important point. In the Founding Manifesto as stated in the introduction, we say the EFF will contest political power to capture the state and transform the economy. This is so because the group of institutions and organisations that are socially constructed and accepted function as defined and collectively binding in all members of society are central to the reproduction of the capital relations (meaning

the relationship between the capitalist class, which owns the means of production, and the working class, which sells its labour to capital).

18. As a result, we should continue to hold a firm belief that we cannot transform the economy without the state. The idea that the economy and the state are separate is deliberately crafted illusion. This illusion is crafted deliberately for the argument which says the state must play less role in the market. However, Marxist theorist David Harvey in his many writings about neoliberalism such as '*A Brief History of Neoliberalism*', argues that for neoliberal policies to be successful, they depend heavily on the state because it is the state that makes laws which favour deregulation, privatisation and outsourcing of public goods and services.
19. Otherwise, there is a risk of economic and political struggles occurring within the logic of the free market and mere representative state without considering class struggles in how we organise and mobilize society as a movement. In a book that he wrote in 2004 titled "*The Liberal Virus*", the late Marxist scholar Samir Amin argues that class consciousness is diluted for the illusion of economy and state separation to support the logic of capital accumulation. What this has done is to reduce democratic spaces wherein the discussion about the state capacity is about very little of substance, while decisions about the role of the state and state capacity are taken by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), rating agencies and the financial sector.
20. Therefore, for the purpose of the discussion paper is encouraging continuing debates about important questions of citizenship, nationality, subject-hood, legitimacy, stability, rule of law, civic participation. This is by looking at the historical and contemporary works of Marxist philosophers and other progressive scholars such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Naomi Klein, Thomas Pikety and rethink the state in times when there is overwhelming evidence of market fundamentalist policy failure. This is to ensure that we go beyond generic analysis of state and we can consider substantive policy proposals in an era of globalisation and economic crisis. We will continue to view the state as a product of society at various stages of development, central to the process of accumulation in both stability and crisis period, and as an entity that cannot be separated from the economy.

3. BUILDING STATE CAPACITY

21. In the context of the state as briefly discussed above, state capacity is therefore the ability to enforce law and order, collect and allocate taxes, and provide goods and services. This must be done in such a way that it will transform the economy to redistribute economic benefits to the majority instead of minority, eliminate poverty and unemployed, and improve the lives of all people.
22. In doing so, the state through government must provide better services such as health, education, social services, environment etc. to all its people, build and maintain infrastructure and build an inspired, skilled and well-paid workforce.

23. In South Africa, government is established by the Constitution. According to section 40 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa adopted in 1996, government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. Distinctive, interdependent and interrelated means that national, provincial and local spheres of government must work together to perform their constitutional functions and deliver services to the people, while making decisions within the law independent from each other.
24. The Constitution further outlines functions that each of these spheres of government must perform. These functions are outlined in Schedule 4 and 5 of the Constitution. Schedule 4 of the Constitution list functions which national and provincial spheres of government must perform together. The term used in the Constitution to show that these two spheres of government must work together is 'concurrent' competence.
25. The Constitutions list the following functions as the responsibilities of national and provincial government, and where it specifies that a function is excluded, it is a function of national government alone:
- a. Administration of indigenous forests
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Airports other than international and national airports
 - d. Animal control and diseases
 - e. Casinos, racing, gambling and wagering, excluding lotteries and sports pools
 - f. Consumer protection
 - g. Cultural matters
 - h. Disaster management
 - i. Education at all levels excluding tertiary education
 - j. Environment
 - k. Health services
 - l. Housing
 - m. Indigenous law and customary law
 - n. Industrial promotion
 - o. Language policy and regulation of official languages
 - p. Media services directly controlled or provided by the provincial government
 - q. Nature conservation, excluding national parks, national botanical gardens and marine resources
 - r. Police to the extent that the provisions of Chapter 11 of the Constitution confer upon the provincial legislatures' legislative competence
 - s. Pollution control
 - t. Population development
 - u. Property transfer fees
 - v. Provincial public enterprises
 - w. Public transport
 - x. Public works only in respect of the needs of provincial government departments in the discharge of their responsibilities to administer functions specifically assigned to them in terms of the Constitution.
 - y. Regional planning and development
 - z. Road traffic regulation
 - aa. Soil conservation

- bb. Tourism
- cc. Trade
- dd. Traditional leadership
- ee. Vehicle licensing
- ff. Welfare services.

26. However, there are functions in the Constitution which are the responsibility of provincial government only. These includes

- a. Abattoirs
- b. Ambulance services
- c. Archives other than national archives
- d. Libraries other than national libraries
- e. Liquor licences
- f. Museums other than national museums
- g. Provincial planning
- h. Provincial cultural matters
- i. Provincial recreation and amenities
- j. Provincial sport
- k. Provincial roads and traffic
- l. Veterinary services, excluding regulation of the profession

27. Section 155 (6) (a) of the Constitution says that provinces must provide for the monitoring and support of local government in the province and promote the development of local government capacity to enable municipalities to perform their functions. Municipalities with the support of the province must perform the following functions:

- a. Air pollution
- b. Building regulations
- c. Child care facilities
- d. Electricity and gas reticulation
- e. Firefighting services
- f. Local tourism
- g. Municipal airports
- h. Municipal planning
- i. Municipal health services
- j. Municipal public transport
- k. Pontoons, ferries, jetties, piers and harbours, excluding the regulation of international and national shipping.
- l. Stormwater management systems in built-up areas
- m. Trading regulations
- n. Water and sanitation services limited to potable water supply systems and domestic waste-water and sewage disposal systems.

28. But municipalities must also perform the following functions:

- a. Beaches and amusement facilities
- b. Billboards and the display of advertisements in public places
- c. Cemeteries, funeral parlours and crematoria
- d. Cleansing

- e. Control of public nuisances
- f. Control of undertakings that sell liquor to the public
- g. Facilities for the accommodation, care and burial of animals
- h. Fencing and fences
- i. Licensing of dogs
- j. Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public
- k. Local amenities
- l. Local sport facilities
- m. Markets
- n. Municipal abattoirs
- o. Municipal parks and recreation
- p. Municipal roads
- q. Noise pollution
- r. Pounds
- s. Public places
- t. Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid waste disposal
- u. Street trading
- v. Street lighting
- w. Traffic and parking

29. Post 1994 government has operated and continues to operate in a manner that is incoherent, waste resources, fail to allocate human resources properly, and cannot deliver services to all the people. Government is supposed to deliver basic services such as water, electricity, housing, roads, sanitation etc. to the people as mandated by the Constitution. However, the post-1994 government has weakened its capacity to provide many of these services and as a result is not able to deliver these services. We see the poor level of service delivery by the intensity and frequency of service delivery protest. There was more service delivery protest recorded in 2018 across the country than any other years since 2005. In instances when there are service protests, the main grievance cited by people protesting lack of water and electricity, and poor quality of non-municipal services that are the responsibility of either the national or provincial government, e.g. education and policing services.
30. South Africa losses about 1.1 trillion litres of water annually and there is a 250 517 kilometres of water pipeline backlog. For South Africa to eradicate housing backlog, government must build 3.9 million houses at an estimated cost of more than R658 billion. There is 351 468 kilometres of unpaved road. The state is unable to eradicate these backlogs because it does not have capacity.
31. Since government is incapable to deliver many of these, government across all spheres depend on private companies to perform these functions through tenders and outsourcing.
32. Outsourcing is when government chooses an outside private company to provide services on its behalf. Government enters into a contract with an outside private company. The contract which government sign with a private company is called a service level agreement. A service level agreement will specify that a government department or a state-owned entity is appointing company A to deliver the following functions.

33. Government contract outside companies and sign what is commonly referred to as service level agreements and it is supposed to state exactly what the company appointed is supposed to deliver, on what date and at what price. Mr. Willie Mathebula, the acting-Chief Procurement Officer at the National Treasury, told the Zondo Commission of Inquiry looking at state capture in August 2018, that government spend an estimated R800 billion on outsourced services. This includes expenditure by national, provincial, local government and state-owned companies. What we have seen is that, because there is a lot of money involved in outsourcing, this has massive political implications. The system of outsourcing and tendering is easily manipulated by state officials, politicians and the private sector. The private sector also engages in uncompetitive and corrupt behaviour such as collusion and price fixing.
34. Uncompetitive and corrupt behaviour means that the state purchase goods or services at a higher price because such contracts have a higher potential for bribes and kickbacks. Key illustrative examples of corruption that happens mainly because of tenders and outsourcing:
 - a. Transnet locomotive tender – a business case to buy 100 locomotives was changed to favour China South Rail in a tender process, a contract which costed Transnet R509 million more than it should have.
 - b. Construction of 2010 World Cup Stadiums – construction companies participated in collusive tendering (so-called bid rigging), which included cover pricing. The practise of cover pricing involved a company that wishes to win a tender submitting a price to one or more competition to enable other the companies to submit a higher price than the company intended to submit. This practise is a prohibited practice in terms of the Competition Act of 1998.
 - c. A tender worth R200 million was awarded to Intaka, a water purification company. The company sold water purification equipment at inflated prices to the Departments of Health in KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape. The tenders to provide the equipment were awarded without proper procedure and regulations being followed, and an estimated R13 million being illegally paid to officials who processed the tenders. The Chairperson of the ANC in the Northern Cape at the time John Block was also a director. In many cases the equipment was not delivered or needed repair soon after delivery.
 - d. Rand Water awarded a tender to Africa Pipe Industries (API) – whose bid was R14-million higher than that of a rival supplier that met the tender specifications, Hall Longmore. As a result, the awarding of the tender worth a total of R168 million was interdicted by the Gauteng High Court.
 - e. Brand Leadership was awarded a PRASA branding contract to the value of R9 million. However, the contract amount was improperly inflated to R19 million, as a resulted, it costed R10 million more than it should have.
 - f. Angelo Agrizzi the Chief Operating Officer (COO) at Bosasa testified at the State Capture Commission of Inquiry how he played a role to bribe government officials

with money, alcohol, and other luxuries costing a total of R432 million for Bosasa to get awarded contracts with inflated prices.

35. Also, in addition to corruption, the system of tenders and contracts has proved to empower only the private sector, corporations and few politically connected individuals including senior government officials in procurement while it dis-empower communities and workers. In most instances, companies that get government contracts do not employ local people, source material from local suppliers and generally pay workers low wages. Majority of workers employed by companies that have contracts with the state do not employ workers on a full-time contract with employment benefits leaving workers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.
36. The way outsourcing happens in South Africa goes beyond what would be considered non-core services. For example, at a hospital, catering could be considered non-core service. However, outsourcing has gone beyond what is considered non-core services. The National Treasury awarded a contract to 10 companies to perform circumcisions for R1 372 per circumcision. In the past, public health facilities used to perform circumcisions for free. Now, such a basic health care service is outsourced to private companies.
37. After the 2019 General Elections, the number of ministers was reduced from 36 to 28 in an attempt to reserve the complete collapse of government ability to deliver services. As a result, the list of ministries has been reduced and re-organised as follows:
 - a. Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
 - b. Basic Education
 - c. Communications
 - d. Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
 - e. Defence and Military Veterans
 - f. Employment and Labour
 - g. Environment, Forestry and Fisheries
 - h. Finance
 - i. Health
 - j. Higher Education, Science and Technology
 - k. Home Affairs
 - l. Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation
 - m. International Relations and Cooperation
 - n. Justice and Correctional Services
 - o. Mineral Resources and Energy
 - p. Police
 - q. Presidency for Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities
 - r. Public Enterprises
 - s. Public Service and Administration
 - t. Public Works and Infrastructure
 - u. Small Business Development
 - v. Social Development
 - w. Sports, Arts and Culture
 - x. State Security
 - y. Tourism

z. Trade and Industry
aa. Transport

38. To put the decision to reduce number of ministers into context, it is important to understand the difference between executive authority and accounting office. These titles are often used but most of the time with little explanation of what they mean, and it is often taken for granted that everyone understands them. 'Executive authority' in relation to a national department means the cabinet member (Minister) who is accountable to Parliament for that department. On the other hand, the 'accounting officer' is the head of a department responsible for the function of the department and account to the executive authority.
39. However, the reduction and re-organisation of ministries does not immediately reduce the number of departments. It is not clear as it stands if the reduction of ministries will lead to the reduction of actual sizes of departments. The number of ministers as members of cabinet is not the same as the number of departments. There are instances whereby one ministers is now responsible for two departments. For example, as it stands, a Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy is responsible for two departments both with separate accounting authorities. If the intention is to reduce the number of ministers and it does not change the sizes of departments, such exercise may not save government any money and is disingenuous. However, there is an opportunity to save money when there are few ministers.
40. Each sphere of government has state-owned entities, companies and business enterprises. At national government, there are 366 state owned entities including companies, SETAs, institutions of higher learning, constitutional institutions and business enterprises (See Annexure A: List of State-Owned Entities and State-Owned Companies).
41. Majority of state-owned entities do not operate with the purpose to make profit. Instead, they work alongside government departments as enabling units to deliver services to our people. If they charge services to our people, prices that they charge should not be driven by profit but must also by minimum administrative cost. These administrative costs usually cover basic costs such as printing and photocopies, and as a preventive measure to the public to discourage them from wasting state resources. Departments which these entities are associated or linked with give them funds to cover majority of their operational costs.
42. For example, the Department of Environmental Affairs has state owned entities that enable the department to do its work. One of the state-owned entities under the department is South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI). Department of Environmental Affairs' mandate is to give effect to the right of citizens to environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing, and to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generation. To achieve this mandate, SANBI is enabling state-owned entity that work towards this end. SANBI contributes to South Africa's sustainable development by facilitating access to biodiversity data, generating information and knowledge, building capacity, provide policy advice to the Department of Environmental Affairs and conserve biodiversity in its national botanical and zoological gardens.

43. To illustrate the point even further, in 2017, SANBI received a total revenue of R551.3 million, 81 per cent comes from government grant, sponsorships and donations. The remainder comes from sales of admission fees for entrance at SANBI Parks, sales of items such as food and accessories i.e. cap, shirts, pictures, maps etc. SANBI receive majority of its budget from government precisely to enable the department on delivering its mandate.
44. Other entities include museums, regulation entities such as National Credit Regulator (NCR), National Nuclear Regulator (NNR), Competition Commission etc, and research institutions.
45. And then, there are state owned companies that operate to offer market related service and compete with privately owned companies. These companies operate as normal businesses and in some cases in competition with public and private companies. Majority of these companies do not receive subsidy from the state to cover their operations such as salaries, rent, maintenance, equipment and are expected to sell their goods or services to raise income. These companies include Airports Company South Africa (ACSA), Air Traffic and Navigation Services Company, Alexkor, AMSCOR, Denel, Development Bank of South Africa, Eskom, Post Office, Transnet, South African Airways (SAA) and Telkom. A company like Post Office compete with a Germany company DHL, SAA compete with British Airways, Telkom compete with Vodacom, MTN and Cell C.
46. However, even if government does not give these SOEs funds to cover their operational expenses, it does act as a guarantor or surety when SOEs borrow money. This commitment means that if an SOE that borrowed money is unable to make repayment of its loans, the state has the responsibility to cover the repayment.
47. According to the National Treasury budget document tabled in Parliament by the Minister of Finance during his budget speech, at the current moment, government guarantees for SOEs stands at R529 billion, and it is reported as follows:

CONTINGENT LIABILITIES (Rands)	2018/19
Agricultural cooperatives	R93 000 000
Denel	R3 430 000 000
Development Bank of Southern Africa	R4 288 000 000
Eskom	R294 713 000 000
Former regional authorities	R78 000 000
Guarantee scheme for housing loans to employees	R6 000 000
Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa	R152 000 000
Independent power producers	R146 892 000 000
Irrigation boards	R37 000 000
Komati Basin Water Authority	R568 000 000
Land Bank	R2 437 000 000
Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa	R20 000 000
Public-private partnerships	R10 090 000 000
South African Airways	R17 311 000 000
South African Express	R163 000 000
South African National Roads Agency Limited	R30 289 000 000
Telkom South Africa	R125 000 000
Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority	R14 857 000 000
Transnet	R3 802 000 000
TOTAL	R529 351 000 000

48. While government played its role to give guarantees for SOEs to borrow money, this has not led to infrastructure development which creates jobs and improved service delivery. Instead, majority of these entities are going through difficult financial and operational period, with mismanagement of resources and lack of strategic direction.

49. For example:

- a. Denel was once a pioneer in manufacturing of aviation and military support equipment. In the early 1990s, Denel designed and manufactured one of the most advanced attack helicopters, the Rooivalk. Even though the Rooivalk design was based on an existing design, there is no doubt Rooivalk was one of the greatest export products. Denel use to interact and work with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in research and technology, including joint product development. According to CSIR publication of Tuesday, 20th of August 2013 published on CSIR website, the partnership was meant to ensure that the South African defence force and aerospace industry remains at the leading edge of international trends and developments. But this relationship ended because of mismanagement of Denel.

Today, Denel as an entity is struggling to operate, its making losses and cash continues to drop while borrowings continues to increase. Denel CEO Mr. D Du Toit told Parliament Portfolio Committee on Public Enterprises in September 2019 during presentation on progress made in addressing governance challenges that, when he arrived in January, he had been unsure whether salaries would be paid that month. He added that Denel will only break even in 2021

- b. South African Airways (SAA) had developed a long-term turnaround strategy in 2013 to reposition the company to improve its functionally after it was in the brink of collapse. However, in the past 5 years, SAA failed to implement the turnaround strategy because of mismanagement of the business, wrong aircraft, and chopping and changing of board members and management, including employment of incompetent and unqualified people. Also, Eskom has failed to pay back its loans several times and because government had guaranteed the debt, it had no choice but to come to the rescue to pay. According to Africa Check, an organisation that conduct fact checking research, between 1999 and 2017, R29 billion had been made available to SAA. Today, SAA has a debt of R12.7 billion and require R2 billion working capital which it does not have.
- c. Eskom currently borrows money to pay loans, a situation which has put Eskom in the brink of complete collapse because of misguided strategic direction and poor financial management. According to Eskom presentation to Parliament made in September 2019, Eskom had a debt of R440 billion and if it was not for Parliament special appropriation funding of R23 billion that Eskom received in 2015, the company would run out of money by 2013.

50. However, there are SOEs that are performing above average and are building valuable infrastructure, for example:

- a. Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA) is a state-owned company that owns and manages a network of nine airports in South Africa, including the three main international gateways i.e. O.R Tambo International, Cape Town International and King Shaka International Airports. Government owns 74.6% of ACSA as a majority shareholder and PIC owns 20%. According to ASCA 2019 annual report, the company generated R7.6 billion to South Africa's economy and created 30 684 jobs. ACSA is fully. Self-funding and pays dividends to its shareholders including to government and it paid R145.6 million in dividends.

51. State-owned entities are an expression of state ownership and control of strategic sectors of the economy as the foundation for sustainable economic transformation. The EFF founding manifesto states that a strong developmental state should necessarily have political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to state-owned entities and state-owned companies and private corporations.

52. SOE and private sector compliance with the state's developmental targets should not be voluntary, but a mandatory, crucial factor around which the state should be able to use a carrot-and-stick system to enforce. It can never be correct that the state operates only with the "hope" that the still colonial and foreign-owned, and thus unpatriotic, private sector will voluntarily support the developmental agenda and pursue the agenda of job creation, poverty reduction and sustainable development with the same vigour that should define government.
53. The founding manifesto further state that, as concrete steps forward, which the state should initiate, establish and give strategic and financial support to, are the following:
 - a) A state housing-construction company.
 - b) A state roads-construction company.
 - c) A state cement company.
 - d) A state pharmaceutical company.
 - e) A state-owned mining company.
 - f) A state food-stocking company (to regulate prices of basic foodstuffs and guarantee food security for all).
54. These state-owned companies will be supported by state-ownership of critical parts of the value chains in which these companies operate so that they produce essential inputs into the economy on a non-profit-maximisation basis.
55. South Africa must also use state-owned entities with the capacity to do big business to expand their footprint to the African continent.
56. This should be markedly distinct from the way the Western Powers (the US and European Union) and China do business in Africa. Investment by Transnet in the continent should leave massive footprints concerning skills transfer, the development of the communities where investments happen, the payment of tax, reinvestments, corporate social investment, safety standards, compliance with labour laws and regulations and the fundamental economic development of these countries.
57. South Africa's established state-owned enterprises and semi-owned parastatals, such as SAA, the Airports Company of South Africa, Eskom, Telkom, Denel, Safcol and other public entities such as the SABC, Infranco and Sentech should begin to invest in the development of the African continent. While avoiding adventurism, these investments should not be driven by the narrow pursuit of profit making, but the need to develop Africa's infrastructure, logistics, systems and communications in a manner that will transfer skills and create sustainable employment opportunities for many people in the continent, thus contributing to development. The important question is, how should a developmental state manage SOEs to efficiently lead structural economic transformation and development in the continent?

58. The trend in the Western economies, by Western economies we refer to the United State and Europe economy, has been to retreat from state-ownership of enterprises. However, and ownership control in a paper published in Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies (BICCS') Asian Paper Volume 4 Article 6 titled 'Chinese strategic state-owned enterprises', Mikael Mattlin argues that China on the other hand has maintained significant ownership control over SOEs operating in industries that are strategic, while relinquishing control of less important enterprises. In 2003, China established the State Assets Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC) under the State Council.
59. The State Council of the People's Republic of China, namely the Central People's Government, is the highest executive organ of State power, as well as the highest organ of State administration. The State Council is composed of a premier, vice-premiers, State councillors, ministers in charge of ministries and commissions, the auditor-general and the secretary-general. The premier of the State Council is nominated by the president, reviewed by the National People's Congress (NPC), and appointed and removed by the president.
60. SASAC website states that, 'authorised by the State Council, in accordance with the Company Law of the People's Republic of China and other administrative regulations, SASAC performs the investor's responsibilities, supervises and manages the state-owned assets of enterprises under Central Government and enhances the management of state-owned assets. This means that SASAC responsibility is to increase the value of the SOEs assets, supervise SOEs through statistics and auditing, manage the process to determine how much workers and top executives are paid, and see to it that policies in place are implemented.
61. In the past, several oversight functions were formerly scattered in various government agencies. The creation of the SASAC centralised many of these functions and unapologetically it follows socialist market economy. SOEs that were selected to fall under the control of SASAC were selected by government to form the basis from which China's future top global companies will be created. According SASAC 2018 report on economic performance of state-owned and state holding enterprises, SOEs paid taxes of 1.5 trillion yuan (R3.1 trillion) to government.
62. It is not only China that has SOEs that are self-funding, pay taxes and dividends to government. According to a 2015 PWC report, titled '*State-Owned Enterprises: Catalysts for public value creation*', SOEs are an influential and growing force globally and the report shows that the proportions of SOEs among the Fortunes Global 500 has grown from 9% in 2005 to 23%, and this was driven particularly by the growth of Chinese SOEs.
63. Other countries like United Arab Emirates, Russia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, India and Brazil have SOEs that are active internationally and engage in trade. All over the world, SOEs play far greater role to provide public goods, limit private and foreign ownership in the local economy and increase access to public services in making certain goods and services more affordable because of cross-subsidisation. Cross-subsidisation in the context of SOEs is when an SOE charges a lower price than a market price because it is subsidized by government ownership in the SOEs. It is not a recent whereby state intervene in the economy to improve service delivery through SOEs. Historically,

especially after the Second World War, the rapid increase of the world economy happened primarily because of high levels of state intervention through SOEs.

64. However, there is no single acceptable model of SOEs ownership. Other countries keep full ownership whereas others keep partial ownership with strategic equity partners. Strategic equity partner is when a private company own shares in an SOE informed by a strategic contribution either finance, expertise, value chain and for state capacity. It will also include the ability to produce, build and maintain public service and infrastructure in an efficient and effective way of doing it.
65. Factors to consider when looking at model to manage SOEs include the value an SOE create for society, efficient management of SOE and protection of domestic economy to lessen dependence on foreign capital.
66. In the case of South Africa, the state used SOEs to build the economy as early as the 1920s. A paper by Stephen Greenberg, published by the Southern African People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN) in 2006, titled *"The State, Privatisation and the Public Sector in South Africa"*, demonstrate that SOEs were used to provide basic infrastructure and create employment especially for 'poor whites' workers. The state also played a major role in the growth of manufacturing industry in South Africa through SOEs such as Iron and Steel Corporation (IsCOR), South African Forestry Company (Safcol), South African Coal and Oil Company (Sasol), which was initially planned as a private company but because there was no resources, the state intervened and invested resources, and other chemical and mineral beneficiation entities.
67. In the mid-1970s, Afrikaner capital called for reduction in state ownership and control of key areas of the economy, and this was started through partial privatisation of Sasol in the early 1980s. The White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation by the apartheid government made a case for privatisation in areas such as catering, laundry, cleaning, security services, construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, dams, water purification works.
68. The post-1994 democratic state took political power but continued with policies set out by the state in the dying days of apartheid. Initially, the liberation movement started by saying nationalisation of the mines, banks, and monopoly industries is their policy. This was said in 1990, however, by 1996, things had changed, and privatisation was said to be a fundamental policy of the liberation movement. The recent trends towards privatisation of SOEs is not new. Instead, it is continuation of a project that was started by the apartheid state and advocated for by Afrikaner capital.
69. One thing that has remained consistent in the process of privatisation of South Africa's SOEs is the participation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Patrick Bond shows in his book, titled *"Elite Transition"*, published in 2000 that the IMF sent advisory teams to South Africa to help the apartheid government move to neoliberal policies, and privatisation of state assets was one of the IMF recommendations. The recent economic paper by Minister of Finance Tito Mboweni is essentially a replica of the IMF recommendations contained in the report after the 2018 visit.

4. STATE INFRASTRUCTURE AND MAINTENANCE CAPACITY

70. Between 1998 and 2018, government including all provincial, municipal and state-owned entities spent almost R3 trillion on infrastructure, which increased from R48.8 billion in 1998 to R236.2 billion in 2018. In addition to government, state-owned companies spent R1.3 trillion on infrastructure in the same period. In the year 2019, government infrastructure expenditure is estimated at a total of R276 billion. 34% of the expenditure is for transport and logistics, energy account for 19%, water and sanitation account for 16%, and other economic services, health, human settlements, education and social services account for the remaining 31%. Infrastructure expenditure is through state-owned companies which account for 38% (R339 billion) of total infrastructure expenditure, followed by local government which account for 24% (R204 billion), provincial departments accounts 22% (R184,8 billion), and the 16% (R136 billion) is spent by national departments, public entities and some public-private partnership.
71. Majority of infrastructure in South Africa is old and collapsing before they reach their life span due to poor maintenance. Provinces and municipalities inherited apartheid infrastructure which was designed to serve very few white minorities and have not been able to build additional infrastructure or maintain existing ones. In some instances, the infrastructure that is not working is basic infrastructure.
72. For example, the EFF Caucus submitted a question to the Minister of Health to ask, of the available ambulances, how many are not function because of breakdown, lack of medicine or equipment? The Minister responded and said, of the 1 941-total number of ambulances in the country stationed in hospitals, clinics, and Emergency Medical Services (EMS) Stations, 973 are not functional and majority of these are in EMS Stations. In another instance, the Minister responded to a question and said Charlotte Maxeke Johannesburg Academic Hospital has one CT Scanner and Mammography, and they were both broken and not in use
73. The South African Institution of Civil Engineering (SAICE) published a report titled '*2017 Infrastructure Report Card*', and it shows deterioration of ageing bulk water infrastructure, lack of sanitation and under-service of pit toilets exposing people to diseases, neglect of roads and overall infrastructure that has collapsed.
74. The National Infrastructure Maintenance Strategy adopted by Cabinet in 2006 as an overarching policy for maintenance of public infrastructure was based on the premise that maintenance will continue to be outsourced to private companies. As a result, the focus of the strategy was on regulation, norms and standards, and financing model with no effort or attempt to build internal maintenance capacity. This approach also found expression in the National Development Plan (NDP) as it also prioritised financing model and investment levels without consideration for building internal capacity.
75. The Department of Public Works and Infrastructure is the custodian of state properties. Yet the department outsources all public works and infrastructure related work to private sectors, and in some instance without capacity to manage contracts or oversees the work to ensure quality and value for money.

5. STATE FUNDED RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION

76. One of the complementary pillars in the EFF Founding Manifesto said that the EFF will advocate for and implement programmes that seeks to use science and technology as a contributor to sustainable livelihoods. The Founding Manifesto went further and state that the EFF will advocate for and implement the construction of a High Technological Institute, which will teach innovation and research on technology with the aim of innovating technological instruments and gadgets in South Africa.
77. Research that supports the development of new innovative products and services is important and has the potential to facilitate economic growth and quality of life. Research and development required dedicated resources. Countries that have invested in research and development have enjoyed unprecedented levels of economic growth.
78. For example, China has relied heavily on its manufacturing ability for many years to support its economic development, emerging as one of pioneers in emerging industries led by research, development and innovation. As the country continue to develop, China's government continue to put more resources into research, development and innovation which feed into industrial development. In 1991, China's research and development spending of US\$13 billion (R197 billion) accounted for just 0.7 percent of its GDP, ranked number 8 in the world. By 2017, China's R&D expenditure of US\$445 billion (R6.7 trillion) had increased to 2.1% of its GDP.
79. To put the increase of China's expenditure in R&D, it's important to look at United States (US) expenditure on R&D in the same period. In 1991, the US spent US\$237 billion (R3.6 trillion), and by 2017, the expenditure had increased to US\$464 billion (R7 trillion).
80. On other hand, South Africa spending on R&D has declined over the years. In 1991, South Africa was ranked number 23 in the world above China, spending R42.4 billion, which amounted to 0.8% of the GDP. In 2016, South Africa's total contribution towards R&D reached R32,3 billion or 0.68% of the GDP, less than what the country was spending in 1991. This is despite government tax incentives and target to spend 1.5%.
81. About 10 countries in the world account for 80% of spending, and all these countries have strong spending by the business sectors. However, in South Africa, government and universities spend more than business.
82. In terms of the number of people who work in R&D, South Africa has an estimated 42 533 people working in R&D. This is very low compared number of people who work in R&D, even worse compared to BRICS countries. BRICS countries have a much higher number of people working in R&D, Brazil (316 499), China (3 710 580), India (528 219), and Russia (778 155).
83. In the last 20 years, the post 1994 government was guided by the White Paper on Science and Technology published in 1996, and it aimed to (a) promote competitiveness and employment creation, (b) enhance quality of life, (c) develop human resources, (d) work towards environmental sustainability, and (e) promote information society and knowledge generation.

84. While there has been progress in research and development, mainly the participation of black people and women, this has not led to the competitiveness and employment creation as the country is facing unemployment crisis. The research and development that is there has not enhanced quality of life for majority as they continue to live in crowded and space-less places. Instead, it is research and development that is biased towards creation of comfort for the minority and big business as they move more towards digitised and financialized economy, while inequality, environmental degradation and poverty has increased to unthinkable proportions.
85. The Technology Innovation Agency (TIA), a national public entity established in terms of section 2 of the Technology Innovation Agency Act of 2008, was supposed to play a far greater role in consolidating the research and development funded by the state through Innovation Bridge, Human Science Research Council (HSRC), National Research Foundation (NRF), Council for Geoscience, South African Medical Research Council (SAMRC) to enable the state to build much needed capacity. Instead, it remains an insignificant entity with a small budget that has decreased from R481 million in 2014 to R397 million in 2018. As a result, TIA project funding has decreased from R374 million in 2014 to R309 million in 2018 and employs far less people with a wage budget that has decreased from R118 million to R99 million.
86. There is no research, innovation and development in South Africa that has led to large scale industrialisation or change the way in which the state delivers services. Instead, manufacturing continues to decline, with millions of people facing retrenchment in all sectors.
87. The White Paper on Science, Technology and Innovation adopted by Cabinet in March 2019 fails to appreciate that one of the central factors constraining the performance of research, innovation and development is the biased nature of research towards advancing the interest of big business, multinational companies and wealthy individuals while other factors such as insufficient policy coherence and coordination, inadequate monitoring and evaluation, and poor for innovation environment is a result of misguided research priorities. Basically research, innovation and development that prioritizes profit over human life.
88. But also, it is research, innovation and development that exploit underpaid and poorly researched scientists who at times lose rights to their ideas, invention and research is taken without compensation.

6. STATE AS A DRIVER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

89. Post-1994 government has played an active role in reproducing the inequalities and imbalances of the past by not doing anything to transform the economy, opting for superficial changes through black economic empowerment instead. Government, in its current incoherent and fragmented form cannot drive real industrial economic growth and development.

90. It is a mischaracterisation to refer to South Africa in any form or shape as a development state, and to continue to refer to South Africa as a developmental state will only delay the process to reposition the state towards economic development. There is lack of direction in terms of economic development, and state capacity continues to deteriorate.
91. A developmental state must drive economic and industrial development, independent from capitalists. The post-1994 government does not drive economic and industrial development independent of capitalist. Instead, it is the other way around. Capitalists, particularly from the financial sector, dictates the terms, phase and direction of all forms of economic intervention.
92. For example,
- a. The World Bank was at the forefront of large-scale renewable energy capacity to diversify Eskom's sources of electricity generation.
 - b. Despite evidence of high cost of data and Independent Communications Authority of SA (Icasa) charter regulations, prices of data have not fallen.
 - c. The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Bill (MPRDA) that was going to drive local beneficiation was not signed because mining companies didn't want it signed.
 - d. Privatisation of Eskom is driven by private companies with interest in renewable energy i.e. Investec, Rothschild, Banks, and Old Mutual.
93. To drive real economic growth and industrial development, it requires a strong state with the ability to develop a clear strategic vision and be able to implement and monitor progress. A strong development state should necessarily have political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to state-owned enterprises and private corporations. SOEs and private sector compliance with the state's developmental targets should not be voluntary, but a mandatory, and a crucial factor around which the state should be able to use a carrot and stick system to enforce. SOEs must not be driven by principles of profit maximisation, by the need to provide affordable and sustainable service to the people.

7. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

a) Insourcing and intra-state procurement

94. The EFF has led by example and advocated for insourcing in legislatures and our councillors have sponsored motions of insourcing of cleaners, security guards, gardeners and general maintenance workers. Due to the intervention and leadership of the EFF, more than 4 000 security guards are insourced in the City of Johannesburg, with a salary of R10 000 per month, medical aid, pension and uniform. The EFF Caucuses in Nelson Mandela Bay, City of Tshwane, and all municipalities that did not have outright winners in 2016 local government elections are engaged in programmes that will lead to the insourcing of workers. However, as the EFF, we firmly proposed that government and SOEs must abolish tenders and insource workers on a full-time basis.

95. To abolish tenders, it will require amendment to the current legislation and introduction of a new legislation. A legislation to abolish tenders must provide an overall framework of insourcing of services that the state and government need on a regular basis to delivery services. The legislation will replace the current system of wholesale outsourcing of services and functions requested by the state to address administrative problems created by outsourcing, corruption in the tender system and improve quality and accountability in service delivery.
96. Insourcing legislation should clearly prescribe services, limits outsourcing and promote job security. The following services must be prescribed as services to be insourced by all organs of the state:
- a) Cleaning services
 - b) Security guard services
 - c) Gardening, horticulture and landscaping services
 - d) Banking services
 - e) IT services
 - f) Professional of catering services in all hospitals, correctional services and other government facilities.
 - g) Accommodation of government departments include police stations.
 - h) Travel services
 - i) Management, maintenance and repair of government vehicles
 - j) Building and maintenance of all infrastructure i.e. schools. Hospitals, roads, sanitations, dams and other infrastructure.
97. The legislation must also provide for a skills audit of all employees and require a database containing the skills of all employees to promote fair labour practices and training of workers. The legislation must clearly state that all organs of the state including all spheres of government, state-owned entities and state-owned companies must insource all the prescribed services. The EFF is in the process of tabling an Insourcing private member bill to these effects and the Bill is in drafting stages.
98. When we call for insourcing, we are not saying that government and SOEs must do everything including things that are not practical. In instances where services prescribed cannot be insourced, the legislation must provide for mechanism to exempt an organ of the state from insourcing. However, the process to exempt an organ of the state from insourcing should be informed by clear criteria which will not be easily manipulated for political and corrupt means. These should include interest of national security, prescribed services only needed can be obtained from international supplier or it is in the public interest.
99. There are also SOEs that offer services which government departments and other SOEs outsources to third party service providers. For example, in 2016, the National Treasury awarded a transversal contract to Vodacom for 20 governments department with the highest telecommunications spend. The contract was for Vodacom to deliver cell phones devices, airtime, data and overall infrastructure. Transversal contract is a contract that is facilitated by the National Treasury centrally for goods or services that are required by one or more than one government department and SOES. Other example of transversal contracts that the National Treasury has facilitated for various provinces and departments include a tender for medical equipment, courier services, and vaccines.

100. According to 2019 Telkom annual report, at March 2019, the Government of South Africa held 40.5% of Telkom's shares and the Public Investment Corporation (which is a state-owned asset management company) owns 11.9%. Telkom has the capacity to do the same thing that Vodacom was contracted through a transversal contract.
101. Therefore, we must pass a law to establish intrastate procurement whereby a government department or SOEs cannot go out and tender services that can be procured from a government department or SOEs. The legislation must allow for a standing memorandum of authority (MoU) between entity that provide services and all other departments and SOEs that needs the services.
102. For example, all government departments and SOEs that needs Courier services must sign a standing MoU, and in instances where the services that are needed cannot be procured from within government and SOEs, exemption legislation.

b) State-owned companies and strategic equity partner

103. The NPA must re-affirm the resolution of the first NPA and the founding manifesto, that a strong developmental state should necessarily have the political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to SOEs.
104. The attempt to privatise the remaining SOEs must be rejected. If privatisation of SOEs like Eskom, Denel, Transnet and others, continues, the state will have no capacity to intervene in the economy to build much needed capacity and create much needed jobs.
105. All SOEs must be repositioned to play a central role in building state capacity. The first step towards repositioning SOEs is to consider creation of a central administrative agency like China's SASAC, to increase the value and contribution of SOEs to provide public goods.
106. The Ministry of Public Enterprise is not an appropriate way the state manages and control SOEs primarily because of two reasons:
- a. Firstly, it was created in the 1980s to implement and oversee commercialisation and privatisation of SOEs, and not with the intention to grow SOEs value and strategic control in the economy to benefit majority. The post-1994 government has failed to repurpose the ministry and its mandate, as a result, it is continuing with the purpose which it was created for.
 - b. Secondly, unlike in the past when individual ministries had control over daily functions and strategic direction of SOEs, today the Minister of Public Enterprise has too much deciding powers as the only shareholder or majority shareholder without the necessary contribution by other stakeholders. The ministry decides on the appointment and removal of board members, unduly influence decisions of boards beyond the scope of legislation and at times the ministry is at the centre of chaos and crisis in these SOEs as we witnessed with the resignation of SAA and Eskom former chief executive officers in recent times.
107. The central administrative agency to be entrusted with increasing the assets value and contribution of SOEs in strategic sectors such as transports, telecommunication, mineral beneficiation and social value infrastructure i.e. water, roads, health and education facilities.

108. Such an agency must be relatively autonomous from political micromanagement. Once it is given a broad political mandate, which should include clear infrastructure and job dividends targets, must be given enough space to implement operational and administrative policies.
109. Also, such an agency should develop infrastructure, economic and investment policy which outline clearly what each strategic SOEs must do. In addition, such policies should be approved by Parliament.
110. While the state should retain majority shareholders in strategic SOEs, the question of strategic equity partners must be looked at case by case instead of wholesale privatisation as it is the case currently. In the current moment, the focus is on privatisation because the debt of SOEs is arguably the biggest threat to South Africa's public funds and could also be an opportunity to raise much needed cash as revenues have continued to decline as the economy fail to grow. There may be instances where it makes sense to introduce a strategic equity partner. Introduction for strategic equity partners must be considered within clearly outline policy guidelines. For example, a strategic equity partner for an SOE like SAA should bring advantage to procurement of aircrafts or access to wider routes with competitive advantage.
111. In addition to competitive advantage, a diverse ownership in SOEs while the state retains majority ownership will build much needed accountability mechanism. For example, according to South African Airways Act No. 5 of 2007 says the Minister of Public Enterprise exercise all the rights attaching to SAA shares and SAA interests on behalf of the State, including the rights of shareholder and member of SAA. This has led to unchecked powers and lack of accountability as it is the case with the current Minister of Public Enterprise. Strategic equity partners will play an important role of check and balance.

c) Abolish use of consultants

112. Government must abolish use of consultants in all spheres of government. Government Technical Advisory Services (GTAC), an agency of the National Treasury, must be formally established through an act of Parliament as a schedule 3 national public entity and report directly to the President. GATC must build internal capacity and stop using consultants who charge exorbitant fees qualified to offer strategic advice.

d) Infrastructure maintenance capacity

113. The state should establish state-owned housing construction company, and state-owned roads construction company, and immediately abolish tenders for construction and maintenance services in government and SOEs, and must employ engineers and artisans on a full time
114. At the centre of building state capacity through insourcing and repositioning of SOEs, is the ability to build strong and well-coordinated state capacity to deliver large infrastructure projects, particularly as it relates to the life cycle of the infrastructure, operations and maintenance. This means that planning of infrastructure such buildings, roads, vehicles, hospital equipment, boarder scanners, water purifications and dams, electricity power plants and telecommunication towers must include as core component clear maintenance plan.

115. This should include details such as budget, number of jobs as a result of maintenance and clear timeframes of what, when and how each infrastructure is maintained. Failure to incorporate maintenance as core component of planning infrastructure leads to collapse of infrastructure before its life span and high cost of maintenance with interruption to the economy.
116. Each year, government and SOEs must submit a consolidated report on infrastructure maintenance by President to Parliament, which should include details of the number of jobs created through maintenance of infrastructure.

e) State funded research and development

117. To drive South Africa's economic development, centred on a developmental state, spending on R&D must increase to 2.5% of the GDP by 2024. Spending on R&D should lead to production of knowledge, information, skills and talent needed to support, facilitate and fuel the development and growth of strategic industries and sectors.
118. Reposition Technology Innovation Agency (TIA) to play a greater strategic role in leading and stimulating technological innovation that leads to technological discoveries, innovation and improvements. This should be done by first increasing their budget, MoU with state funded research to produce research that will have job dividends with clear timeframes and achievable targets.
119. All TIA MoU signed with other state-funded research should be linked with funding by Industrial Development Corporation, Development Bank of Southern Africa and other state financial development institutions with such targets and industrial policy.
120. The state should own shares in all state funded inventions instead of receiving royalties and should prioritise inventions that will improve delivery of water, health, education and roads services and infrastructure.
121. The Ministry of Higher Education and Training, Science and Technology, must have greater administration and coordinated approach towards funding for research and development to ensure that the future of research, innovation and development is aligned with broad political objectives. This should not result in abuse of administrative powers by bureaucrats to influence research outcome. There must be a deliberate effort to create a more relaxed environment for scientists because only when they feel free, they will be able to conduct genuine research.
122. However, this is long term approach and will not result in innovation that will lead to the industrial development that is needed to create jobs immediately. Countries that did not industrialize 200 years ago when the world experience a wave of industrialization are regarded as late industrializers. Today, countries that want to industrialize are facing different challenges, including stiff competition from countries that are industrialized and capital that is more mobile, mobile enough not to wait for investment in research and development that will results inventions that will lead to industrialization.

123. Alice Amsden, a historical economist credited with the theory of late industrialisation, a theory based on the experience of Brazil, China, India, South Korea and Taiwan was to identify how companies could move from export of natural resources to beneficiation of mineral resources to produce goods and services, based on knowledge-based assets. But to generate knowledge-based assets, one needs research, innovation, development, time and manufacturing experience. The theory went further to show that, for late industrializers, this requires countries to borrow and apply technical knowledge.
124. Unlike in the 1980s when it was difficult for countries to earn foreign currency in the absence of fast speed internet, today it is different. High speed internet and technology makes it easier to purchase or license frontier technologies. Other than the issue of foreign currency, South Africa could meet all other requirements i.e. product demand from domestic and continent market, helped by protection of infant industries.
125. In addition to product demand and protection of infant industries, companies must also keep the prices of whatever products. While the theory was developed in the 1980s, conditions have changed and require critical analysis of material conditions today.
126. Therefore, as a country, South Africa and the continent needs to explore borrowing and applying technical knowledge more aggressively to stimulate industrialisation.

f) Amendments of Public Finance Management Act

127. To drive real economic growth will require amendment of various legislation, important amongst them is the:
- a. Amend the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA) and Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) to compel national, provincial and state-owned entities to procure 80% of all goods from local producers and a minimum of 50% from producers of which 50% is owned and controlled by women and the youth.

g) State owned retail company

128. South Africa is amongst countries with the highest level of shopping centre that serves as shops for goods and services that households consume. All the shopping centres and the shelves space they provide is owned and controlled by private companies. As a result, it is big business that decides what produces end up in the shelves.
129. Manufacturing in South Africa has declined since 1994. According to information from Statistics South Africa, in 1993 manufacturing contributed 21.3% to South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the first quarter of 2019, manufacturing contributed 13% to the GDP. This means that majority of goods in South African shops are imported goods from all over the world which end up in these shelves.
130. Goods production, packaging, transportation, marketing, advertising, retail and trade should constitute one of South Africa's biggest economic sector. For this to happen, the state cannot depend on retail space shelves that is owned by big business. Government must build and support state-owned trading and retail platforms all over the country. Government must also establish a retail state-owned bank.

131. Products – such as glasses, cups, plates, spoons, tiles, energy-efficient building materials, furniture, washing products, electronics and textiles – that people use on a daily basis must be produced locally through labour-absorptive means

132. Parliament must pass a law to introduce a legislation for a quota of 60% on all shops to sell locally produced goods and products.

h) State-led manufacturing capacity

133. Government cannot depend on big business to revive the manufacturing sector. Government must use state procurement decisively in all spheres of government – estimated at around R1 trillion annually – to enable industrialisation. Existing or new SOEs must produce things that government buy and are used by all government departments and/or items which government spends a lot of money on.

134. All government departments at a national, provincial and local sphere, state-owned entities and the judiciary buy cars and petrol, therefore;

- a. A SOE like Denel with sophisticated capacity must be established to manufacture cars in a labour intensive yet efficient manner.

135. Government spends billions every year to buy linen either for different purpose i.e. uniform, bedding, and clothing for patients in hospitals,

- a. A SOE must manufacture linen.

136. Both car and line manufacturing companies must manufacture for government departments including SOEs.

8. ANNEXURE A: LIST OF STATE-OWNED ENTITIES AND STATE-OWNED COMPANIES

CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS (9)

1. Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
2. The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
3. The Commission on Gender Equality
4. The Financial and Fiscal Commission
5. The Human Rights Commission
6. The Independent Electoral Commission
7. The Municipal Demarcation Board
8. The Pan South African Language Board
9. The Public Protector of South Africa

MAJOR PUBLIC ENTITIES (20)

1. Air Traffic and Navigation Services Company
2. Airports Company
3. Alexkor Limited
4. Armaments Corporation of South Africa

5. Broadband Infrastructure Company (Pty) Ltd
6. CEF Pty (Ltd)
7. DENEL
8. Development Bank of Southern Africa
9. ESKOM
10. Independent Development Trust
11. Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited
12. Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa
13. SA Broadcasting Corporation Limited
14. SA Forestry Company Limited
15. SA Nuclear Energy Corporation
16. SA Post Office Limited
17. South African Express (Pty) Limited
18. Telkom SA Limited
19. Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority
20. Transnet Limited

OTHER PUBLIC ENTITIES (249)

Part A: National Public Entities (155)

1. Accounting Standards Board
2. African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund
3. Afrikaanse Taalmuseum, Paarl
4. Agrément South Africa
5. Agricultural Research Council
6. AGRISSETA
7. Artscape
8. Banking Sector Education and Training Authority
9. Boxing South Africa
10. Brand SA
11. Breede-Gouritz Catchment Management Agency
12. Castle Control Board
13. Chemical Industries Education and Training Authority
14. Commission for Conciliation, Mediation & Arbitration
15. Community Schemes Ombud Service
16. Companies and Intellectual Property Commission
17. Companies Tribunal
18. Compensation Fund, including Reserve Fund
19. Competition Commission
20. Competition Tribunal
21. Construction Education and Training Authority
22. Construction Industry Development Board
23. Council for Geoscience
24. Council for Medical Schemes
25. Council for the Built Environment (CBE)
26. Council on Higher Education
27. Cross-Border Road Transport Agency
28. Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sports Education and Training Authority (CATHSSE)
29. Ditsong: Museums of South Africa
30. Education, Training and Development Practices SETA (ETDP)

31. Electricity Distribution Industry Holdings (Pty) Ltd
32. Energy and Water Sector Education and Training Authority (EWSETA)
33. Estate Agency Affairs Board
34. Fibre Processing Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority (FPMSETA)
35. Film and Publication Board
36. Financial and Accounting Services SETA (FASSET)
37. Financial Intelligence Centre
38. Financial Sector Conduct Authority
39. Food and Beverages Manufacturing Industry (FOODBEV)
40. Freedom Park Trust
41. Health and Welfare Sector Education and Training Authority
42. Housing Development Agency
43. Human Sciences Research Council
44. Independent Regulatory Board for Auditors
45. Information Systems, Electronics and Telecommunications Technologies Training Authority
46. Ingonyama Trust Board
47. Inkomati-Usuthu Catchment Management Agency
48. Insurance Sector Education and Training Authority
49. International Trade Administration Commission
50. iSimangaliso Wetland Park
51. Iziko Museums of South Africa
52. KwaZulu-Natal Museum
53. Legal Aid South Africa
54. Local Government Education and Training Authority (LGSETA)
55. LUTHULI MUSEUM
56. Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services Education and Training Authority
57. Marine Living Resources Fund
58. Market Theatre Foundation
59. Media Development and Diversity Agency
60. Media, Information and Communication Technologies Sector Education and Training Authority (MICTS)
61. Mine Health & Safety Council
62. Mining Qualifications Authority
63. National Agricultural Marketing Council
64. National Arts Council
65. National Consumer Commission
66. National Consumer Tribunal
67. National Credit Regulator
68. National Development Agency
69. National Economic, Development and Labour Council
70. National Electronic Media Institute of SA
71. National Empowerment Fund
72. National Energy Regulator of South Africa
73. National Film and Video Foundation
74. National Gambling Board of SA
75. National Health Laboratory Service
76. National Heritage Council (NHC)
77. National Home Builders Registration Council—NHBRC

78. National Housing Finance Corporation
79. National Library, Pretoria/Cape Town
80. National Lotteries Commission
81. National Metrology Institute of South Africa
82. National Museum, Bloemfontein
83. National Nuclear Regulator
84. National Regulator for Compulsory Specifications
85. National Research Foundation
86. National Student Financial Aid Scheme
87. National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency—NURCHA
88. National Youth Development Agency
89. Nelson Mandela Museum, Umtata
90. Office of Health Standards Compliance
91. Office of the Ombudsman for Financial Services Providers
92. Office of the Pension Funds Adjudicator
93. Office of the Valuer-General
94. Performance Arts Council of the Free State
95. Perishable Products Export Control Board
96. Ports Regulator of South Africa
97. Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
98. Productivity SA
99. Public Service Sector Education and Training Authority
100. Quality Council for Trades and Occupations (QCTO)
101. Railway Safety Regulator
102. Road Accident Fund
103. Road Traffic Infringement Agency (RTIA)
104. Road Traffic Management Corporation
105. Robben Island Museum, Cape Town
106. Rural Housing Loan Fund
107. SA Civil Aviation Authority
108. SA Council for Educators
109. SA Heritage Resources Agency
110. SA Heritage Resources Agency, Cape Town
111. SA Institute for Drug-free Sport
112. SA Library for the Blind, Grahamstown
113. SA Local Government Association
114. SA Maritime Safety Authority
115. SA Medical Research Council
116. SA National Accreditation System
117. SA National Roads Agency
118. SA Qualifications Authority
119. SA Revenue Service
120. SA Tourism Board
121. Safety and Security Education and Training Authority (SASSETA)
122. Servcon
123. Services Sector Education and Training Authority
124. Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA)
125. South African Diamond and Precious Metals Regulator
126. South African Health Products Regulatory Authority (SAHPRA)

127. South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI)
128. South African National Energy Development Institute (SANEDI)
129. South African National Parks
130. South African National Space Agency
131. South African Social Security Agency
132. South African Weather Service
133. Special Investigation Unit
134. State Information Technology Agency
135. State Theatre, Pretoria
136. Technology Innovation Agency
137. The Co-operative Banks Development Agency
138. The National English Literary Museum, Grahamstown
139. The National Radioactive Waste Disposal Institute (NRWDI)
140. The National Skills Fund (NSF)
141. The Playhouse Company, Durban
142. The Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA)
143. Thubelisha Homes
144. Transport Education and Training Authority
145. Umalusi Council for Quality Assurance in General and Further Education and Training
146. uMsunduzi Museum
147. Unemployment Insurance Fund
148. Universal Service and Access Agency of South Africa
149. Universal Service and Access Fund
150. Urban Transport Fund
151. Vredefort Dome World Heritage Site
152. War Museum of the Boer Republics, Bloemfontein
153. Water Research Commission
154. Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority
155. William Humphreys Art Gallery

Part B: National Government Business Enterprises (21)

1. Amatola Water Board
2. Aventura
3. Bloem Water
4. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
5. Export Credit Insurance Corporation of South Africa Limited
6. Inala Farms (Pty) Ltd
7. Lepelle Northern Water
8. Magalies Water
9. Mhlathuze Water
10. Mintek
11. Onderstepoort Biological Products
12. Overberg Water
13. Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
14. Public Investment Corporation Limited
15. Rand Water
16. SA Bureau of Standards
17. Sasria Limited
18. Sedibeng Water

- 19.Sentech
- 20.State Diamond Trader
- 21.Umgeni Water

Part C: Provincial Public Entities (56)

EASTERN CAPE

1. Eastern Cape Gambling and Betting Board
2. Eastern Cape Liquor Board
3. Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA)
4. Eastern Cape Provincial Arts and Culture Council
5. Eastern Cape Provincially Aided Libraries
6. Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency
7. Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council

FREE STATE

1. Free State Gambling, Liquor and Tourism Authority

GAUTENG

1. Gauteng Enterprise Propeller
2. Gauteng Gambling Board
3. Gauteng Growth and Development Agency (GGDA)
4. Gauteng Partnership Fund (GPF)
5. Gauteng Tourism Authority
6. Gautrain Management Agency
7. XHASA ATC Agency

KWAZULU-NATAL

1. Agri-Business Development Agency
2. Amafa Akwazulu-Natali
3. Dube TradePort Corporation (DTPC)
4. Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife
5. KwaZulu-Natal Film Commission
6. KwaZulu-Natal Gaming and Betting Board
7. KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders
8. KwaZulu-Natal Liquor Authority
9. KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning and Development Commission
- 10.KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority
- 11.Natal Sharks Board
- 12.Royal Household Trust
- 13.Trade and Investment KwaZulu-Natal

LIMPOPO

1. Limpopo Gambling Board
2. Limpopo Roads Agency
3. Limpopo Tourism and Parks Board

MPUMALANGA

1. Mpumalanga Economic Empowerment Corporation
2. Mpumalanga Economic Regulator
3. Mpumalanga Investment Initiative
4. Mpumalanga Regional Training Trust
5. Mpumalanga Tourism and Parks Board

NORTHERN CAPE

1. Kalahari Kid Corporation (KKC)
2. McGregor Museum (Kimberley)
3. Northern Cape Economic Development, Trade and Investment Promotion Agency (NCEDA)
4. Northern Cape Gambling Board
5. Northern Cape Liquor Board
6. Northern Cape Tourism Authority

NORTH WEST

1. Mmabana Arts Culture and Sport Foundation
2. North West Parks Board
3. North West Tourism Board
4. North West Youth Entrepreneurship Services Fund
5. NW Gambling Board
6. NW Housing Corporation
7. Provincial Arts and Culture Council

WESTERN CAPE

1. Commissioner for the Environment
2. WC Gambling and Racing Board
3. Western Cape Cultural Commission
4. Western Cape Language Committee
5. Western Cape Liquor Authority
6. Western Cape Nature Conservation Board
7. Western Cape Tourism, Trade and Investment Promotion Agency

Part D: Provincial Government Business Enterprises (17)

EASTERN CAPE

1. East London Industrial Development Zone
2. Eastern Cape Development Corporation
3. Mayibuye Transport Corporation

FREE STATE

1. Free State Development Corporation

KWAZULU-NATAL

1. Cowslip Investments (Pty) Ltd
2. Ithala Development Finance Corporation
3. KwaZulu-Natal Mjindi Farming (Pty) Ltd
4. Mjindi Farming (Pty) Ltd
5. Mpendle Ntambanana Agricultural Company (Pty) Ltd
6. Richards Bay Industrial Development Zone Company

LIMPOPO

1. Gateway Airport Authority Limited
2. Limpopo Economic Development Agency

MPUMALANGA

1. Mpumalanga Economic Growth Agency

NORTH WEST

1. Northwest Transport Investments (Pty) Ltd

2. NW Development Corporation

WESTERN CAPE

1. Casidra (Pty) Ltd
2. Saldanha Bay IDZ Licencing Company SOC Ltd

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (62)

EASTERN CAPE

1. Ntinga O. R. Tambo Development Agency
2. The Buffalo City Development Agency
3. Amathole Economic Development Agency
4. Blue Crane Development Agency
5. Cacadu District Development Agency
6. Chris Hani Development Agency
7. Mmotlie Investments
8. Mandela Bay Development Agency
9. Nkonkobe Economic Development Agency
10. Port St John's Development Agency
11. Alfred Nzo Development Agency
12. Joe Gqabi Economic Development Agency

FREE STATE

1. Lejweleputswa Development Agency
2. Maluti-A-Phufong Water (Pty) Ltd
3. Centlec (Pty) Ltd
4. Metsimaholo Mayor's Trust

GAUTENG

1. Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo
2. Pikitup Johannesburg (Pty) Ltd
3. The Joburg Theatre (Pty) Ltd
4. Johannesburg Social Housing Co. (Pty) Ltd
5. City of Joburg Property Company
6. Johannesburg Water (Pty) Ltd
7. Johannesburg Metropolitan Bus Services
8. City Power Johannesburg (Pty) Ltd
9. Johannesburg Roads Agency
10. Johannesburg Development Agency
11. Roodepoort City Theatre
12. The Johannesburg Fresh Produce Market
13. The Metropolitan Trading Co. (Pty) Ltd
14. Sandspruit Works Association
15. Tshwane Economic Development Agency
16. Tshwane Housing Company
17. East Rand Water Care Company (ERWAT)
18. Pharoe Park Housing Company
19. Brakpan Bus Company
20. Ekurhuleni Development Company (Greater Germiston Inner City Housing)
21. Lethabong Housing Institute
22. Germiston Phase II Housing Company
23. West Rand Development Agency



KWAZULU-NATAL

1. Durban Marine Theme Park (Pty) Ltd
2. ICC Durban (Pty)Ltd
3. Sisonke Economic Development Agency
4. Hibiscus Coast Development Agency
5. "Ilembe Management Development Enterprise (Pty) Ltd"
6. Safe City Msunduzi (Pty) Ltd
7. Uthukela Water (Pty) Ltd
8. uThungulu Financing Partnership
9. uThungulu House Development Trust
10. Umhlosinga Development Agency
11. Ugu South Coast Tourism

LIMPOPO

1. Polokwane Housing Association
2. Greater Tzaneen Economic Development Agency
3. Sekhukhune Economic Development
4. Waterberg Economic Development Agency

MPUMALANGA

1. Mbombela Economic Development Agency
2. Thaba Chweu Local Economic Development Agency (THALEDA)
3. Umjindi Local Economic Development Agency

NORTH WEST

1. Dr Kenneth Kaunda District Economic Agency
2. Lekwa-Teemane Development Agency
3. Rustenburg Water Services Trust

WESTERN CAPE

1. "Central Karoo Economic Development Agency (Pty)Ltd"
2. Convenco - CT International Convention Centre Company

HIGHER EDUCATION (76)

Part A: Universities (26)

1. Cape Peninsula University of Technology
2. University of Cape Town
3. Central University of Technology, Free State
4. Durban University of Technology
5. University of Fort Hare
6. University of Free State
7. University of Johannesburg
8. University of KwaZulu-Natal
9. University of Limpopo
10. Nelson Mandela University
11. North West University
12. University of Pretoria
13. Rhodes University
14. University of South Africa
15. University of Stellenbosch
16. Tshwane University of Technology

17. University of Venda
18. Vaal University of Technology
19. Walter Sisulu University
20. University of the Western Cape
21. University of the Witwatersrand
22. University of Zululand
23. Sol Plaatje University
24. Mpumalanga University
25. Mangosuthu University of Technology
26. Sefako Makgatho Health Science University

Part B: TVETs (50)

1. Buffalo City TVET College
2. Eastcape Midlands TVET College
3. Ikhala TVET College
4. Ingwe TVET College
5. King Hintsa TVET College
6. King Sabata Dalindyebo TVET College
7. Lovedale TVET College
8. Port Elizabeth TVET College
9. Flavius Mareka TVET College
10. Goldfields TVET College
11. Maluti TVET College
12. Motheo TVET College
13. Central Johannesburg TVET College
14. Ekurhuleni East TVET College
15. Ekurhuleni West TVET College
16. Sedibeng TVET College
17. South West Gauteng College
18. Tshwane North TVET College
19. Tshwane South TVET College
20. Western TVET College
21. Coastal TVET College
22. Elangeni TVET College
23. Esayidi TVET College
24. Majuba TVET College
25. Mnambithi TVET College
26. Mthashana TVET College
27. Thekwini TVET College
28. Umfolozi TVET College
29. Umgungundlovu TVET College
30. Capricorn TVET College
31. Lephalale TVET College
32. Letaba TVET College
33. Mopani South East TVET College
34. Sekhukhune TVET College
35. Vhembe TVET College
36. Waterberg TVET College
37. Ehlanzeni TVET College
38. Gert Sibande TVET College



- 39.Nkangala TVET College
- 40.Orbit TVET College
- 41.Taletso TVET College
- 42.Vuselela TVET College
- 43.Northern Cape Rural TVET College
- 44.Northern Cape Urban TVET College
- 45.Boland TVET College
- 46.College of Cape Town for TVET
- 47.False Bay TVET College
- 48.Northlink TVET College
- 49.South Cape TVET College
- 50.West Coast TVET College



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INTRODUCTION

1. As a socialist organisation, the EFF must examine law, justice and the legal system in the context of the role it plays as a component of the state. Law is an expression of state power.
2. Lenin teaches us that the state cannot be neutral. It is an instrument of class rule and it must invariably and by definition pursue the interests of the ruling class. In a capitalist state, such as South Africa, the law serves the interests of the capitalist class.
3. Lenin also teaches us that the state is a means of coercive control which possesses the monopoly of violence mainly through the control of the army and the police. To that we must add the courts and the prisons as the last part of the value chain of coercion and state-sanctioned violence.
4. In order for the legal system to mask its reliance on naked violence, it needs to attract the attribute of legitimacy. This is achieved by means of a massive propaganda machinery, mainly spearheaded by the profit-driven media and the educational system, among others.
5. Similarly, from a Marxist perspective, social relations are defined by ownership of the means of production, employment and selling of labour power by the proletariat. The rules of such ownership, employment and the sale or exchange of commodities, including labour power, are derived from law.
6. It is the prevailing system and ideology which prescribes the rules of law, property rights and exchange. In South Africa, the basis for property rights to land and other property classes is section 25 of the Constitution, which entrenches the property rights acquired from colonialism and apartheid and necessarily negates the property relations which obtained in pre-colonial times under a system of collective ownership. It is the latter system which was violently attacked and defeated by colonialism to introduce the current system of "private" property.
7. With this theoretical background in mind, we need to engage with the current reality and acknowledge that the current legal system provides opportunities to advance the struggle for economic freedom in the short term. Hence, our participation in the present legal structures is mostly defined by parliament and the courts. We have defined these as the secondary pillars of struggle. The third and most important pillar is mass mobilisation, which is the only indispensable component of the struggle for economic freedom.
8. In short, our long-term goal must remain the total overhaul of the capitalist state, including its institutions and legal system. Dialectically, our short- and medium-term goal must be to utilise the space available in the current legal and justice system to accelerate the achievement of the long-term goal. In so doing, we must be alive to the ideological shortcoming of the justice system and resist the temptation to view and romanticise it as a reliable or indispensable instrument for revolutionary change.

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

9. The most prominent feature of the current justice system in South Africa is its inaccessibility to black people and the poor. That inaccessibility is defined by economic means, by language and by geographic reachability. Most importantly, it is defined by ideological alienation since it is rooted in the values of individual or "private" rights as opposed to the African values of ubuntu, collectivism and communalism.
10. The EFF policy on the justice system must therefore seek to address the issue of access to justice in its multi-dimensional perspective and not confine it to issues of physical or financial access.
11. The role of traditional courts, which are still centres of justice for the majority, must be closely examined to ensure community participation, democratisation and gender equality.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

12. For the EFF, equality before the law means equal treatment irrespective of race, class and gender. Specific measures must be designed to address each one of these categories of oppression and exploitation.
13. Minor economic crimes should not attract a criminal record. These crimes are an indication of the failure of the state to provide the most basic services to the people. The EFF government must also establish economic justice courts to adjudicate civil matters involving both individuals and corporations so as to achieve maximum economic justice for those ill-treated and exploited by those corporations.
14. On gender, the EFF must fight for the multiplication of sexual offender courts. Harsher and exemplary sentences must be introduced to deal specifically with the demon of gender-based violence and patriarchy in general, which is itself a form of violence and injustice.
15. The EFF must ensure the development of a national online database of all sexual predators, along with their relatives and other social networks, which must be easily accessible to all members of the community countrywide.
16. Sex work must be legalised, and protective safety measures and technology tools must be provided to sex workers.

ON THE ROLE OF THE COURTS

17. The system of the appointment of judges must be vastly improved to ensure maximum community participation and policing of behaviour to enhance justice.
18. Race, gender and class diversity must be actively ensured on the bench to improve sensitivity and eliminate inherent bias.
19. The EFF must introduce measures to strengthen the Judicial Services Commission to ensure the adequate and speedy filling up of judicial vacancies, the training of judges and the qualitative transformation of the judiciary beyond numbers and demographics. Such measures must include a well-defined retirement regime for judges and to define the role of retired judges in the provision of judicial and legal training as well as the enhancement of access to justice.

a) OUR CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

20. The primary outlook of the EFF is to ensure that the system is corrective and rehabilitative rather than punitive.
21. Further, the correctional services system must be transformed to include compulsory education and skilling for all inmates. This must be followed by the time expiry of criminal records, depending on the nature of the crime and work done after imprisonment. This will ensure the proper reintegration of ex-offenders as productive and law-abiding citizens.
22. The EFF is fundamentally opposed to the privatisation of correctional facilities.
23. An important component of not condemning inmates to a life of stigmatisation and crime must include a specific focus on programmes aimed at juvenile offenders with the aim of ensuring their non-return to correctional facilities.
24. The bail system must be abolished for minor crimes and strengthened for serious crimes with a specific emphasis on sexual offences and violent crimes.

b) ON CHAPTER 9 INSTITUTIONS

25. Chapter 9 Institutions provide an inexpensive outlet for the poor to access justice and to counteract state abuse and arrogance.
26. Accordingly, the EFF must ensure that the capacity of Chapter 9 Institutions is massively expanded, particularly the offices of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission and the Gender Commission.
27. Separate budgets must be established for all Chapter 9 Institutions.

c) ON TRANSFORMATION

28. In addition to the judiciary, the legal profession and institutions of legal training must be transformed to reflect the demographics and social norms and values of the majority.
29. Through collaboration with progressive organisations operating in the sector, the EFF must monitor the activities of law firms and universities to ensure that there are aggressive programmes of transformation.

d) SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

30. While we are fully alive to the inherent shortcomings of a legal system which is designed to perpetuate the oppression of black people, the working class and women, it is our revolutionary duty to exploit the gaps and opportunities which are available within that system in order to fundamentally change it.
31. It was Marx who informed us that capitalism carries the seeds of its own destruction.
32. The EFF must expand the political education of the masses to understand that the system needs a complete overhaul in the long-term but that it can be simultaneously used to achieve short-term gains for the oppressed.
33. It is in the management of these contradictions that the EFF policy on justice and participation in the structures of legislation-making and judicial adjudication must navigate.
34. The ultimate goal must remain the replacement of the current liberal constitution with a programme based on equality, justice and lasting peace. These ideals can only be achieved by the introduction of a socialist state and legal system.



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SPORTS TRANSFORMATION

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1) The state of Sports and Recreation in South Africa must and can only be understood within the context of South Africa's socio-economic and material conditions and history. Access to sport infrastructure and resources at a grassroots level continues to be a privilege only enjoyed by the white minority and a small percentage of the black population who attend former white schools. It is at schools that this material inequality is most evident. You have former model-C schools, and private schools which during apartheid were previously white only, and which still continue to be dominated by white students and staff with access to sports equipment, facilities, and coaching. That children at schools where the majority of students are black, and in the townships and rural areas do not receive.
- 2) This unequal distribution in resources has a direct impact on the quality of performances of the national teams with the national cricket and rugby teams (sports mainly played at majority white schools), performing much better on the international stage than the national soccer team (a sport mainly played at majority black schools).

2. CURRENT STATE

- 3) At the same time in former white communities and suburbs only the upper middle class and rich can afford there are various facilities and spaces of sports and recreation where the community members are able to engage in a variety of leisure and sport activities.
- 4) At the professional and also the amateur level rugby and cricket continue to be in areas where the white minority still control the sport from top to bottom, and are able to maintain the status quo and their control and privilege of the two sports at the expense of black counterparts.
- 5) Female sports continue to remain underfunded. With little support from the state or the private sector. Members of female national teams are compensated far less than their male counterparts even when they perform markedly better. The same goes for sportspersons with disabilities who continue to be underfunded, yet perform above expectations.
- 6) While South Africans continue to watch sport, for a variety of reasons including those previously listed more and more of the population are becoming inactive. This has had led to two problems. Firstly, an increase in non-communicable lifestyle diseases such as diabetes, cholesterol and heart diseases. There are now currently 3.5 million South African with diabetes and this number only continues to increase. This decrease in physical activity and increase in lifestyle diseases amongst South Africans has negative effects on the country and society as a whole.
- 7) Firstly, it has a direct impact on the quality of life of South Africans, it places a greater burden on the healthcare system, and it leads to more people being unable to be economically productive.

- 8) Secondly, economy of sport, there is a growing yet unequal sports economy with resources primarily going to elite sportsman, elite sports teams, producers of sports equipment, and the broadcasters at sport, with the rest of the the masses of people being nothing more than passive participants who only consume.
- 9) Every year at the grassroots and professional level billions of Rands in sports equipment and sports kit is consumed, yet very little of this is produced in South Africa. Young black entrepreneurs do not have equal space to compete with the big, well established white companies.

3. THE ORGANISATIONAL POSITION

- 10) The EFF, over and above the seven (7) non-negotiable cardinal pillars, also have fourteen (14) complimentary pillars which are just as important. Sports and Recreation is the 5th of the complimentary pillars.

4. WHAT IS TO BE DONE:

- 11) Equality within the different sporting codes **MUST** be enforced. Women in sports should be treated equally to their male counterparts. The gap in their salaries should be bridged, and companies who are giving sponsors to men male teams should also be encouraged to give same sponsors to female teams.
- 12) The Department of Sports and Recreation must cease to exist and the various aspects of sports and recreation, such as health, economic value and social development must become part of the broader mandate of those respective departments.
- 13) The state must ensure that schools particularly schools in townships have the necessary facilities, equipment, sport kits and training facilities so that mass participation is guaranteed at a grass roots level.
- 14) All communities must be fitted with sporting facilities and equipment so that members of the community are easily able to engage in physical activity without having to travel or spend money. These facilities should always cater for people with disabilities.
- 15) Communities, especially young people, must be exposed to indigenous games, e.g. diketo, murababa etc., within schools and community recreation centres.
- 16) Local and District municipalities should allocate substantial budgets to ensure sports participation and competitions within municipalities.

- 17) The equipment, kits and material provided at schools and in communities must be produced in South Africa, in order to increase the industrial capacity of the country and to create jobs. Young black South Africans in townships should be offered skills training in the manufacturing sector so to enjoy same opportunities of manufacturing and selling sports kits and equipment.
- 18) Coaches must be trained and employed so that they can be deployed to schools across the country.
- 19) The state must integrate physical activity into a broader inter-departmental preventative healthcare programme. That will focus on ensuring that all South Africans have the opportunity to live an active and healthy lifestyle.
- 20) Resources and infrastructure must be specifically allocated to female sports teams.
- 21) A programme of action must be drawn up and implemented that will dismantle the control and power that white administrators and officials still have over South African sport at the amateur and professional level, particularly in rugby and cricket.
- 22) The SABC must air all national team games of all sports so that every South African is able to watch their country being represented and competing on the national level.
- 23) Using mass participation in sport at the grass-roots as the basis government must establish sports academies where South Africa's best sporting talent will be able to develop their skills with state-of-the-art equipment and training so at the professional level South African talent is able to compete with the best in the world.

ARTS AND CULTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

- a) In a speech delivered in 1970, Amilcar Cabral detailed the role cultural domination plays in the economic domination of the African continent. "History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned."
- b) He further went on to say that, "Culture is always in the life of a society, the more or less conscious result of the economic and political activities of that society, the more or less dynamic expression of the kinds of relationships which prevail in that society, on the one hand between man and nature, and, on the other hand, among individuals, groups of individuals, social strata or classes." Using a Marxist, Leninist and Fanonian ideological framework, this understanding of culture and the role culture plays in the economic exploitation of Africa, her people and her resources, can be applied to the current South African context. Where in order to justify and perpetuate the continued exploitation of the African continent by Imperialist Capitalist forces, African culture, cultural practices and ideas are suppressed, all attempts by Africans to self-determine their economic and cultural development are sabotaged, and undermined. While at the same time a Eurocentric culture, and a culture of consumerism is fed to the masses through the media, key institutions, and the broader arts and entertainment industry.

2. CURRENT STATE

- e) The most obvious example of South Africa's failure to transform arts and culture in our country is in the symbols, monuments and what and how we remember. Twenty-five (25) years into the democratic dispensation symbols of apartheid and colonialism continue to hold places of prominence in our society. Die Stem is still part of the National Anthem, public facilities such as roads, airports and schools are named after murderous criminals who are responsible for the genocide, dispossession, and impoverishment of the African masses.
- f) African languages continue to be undermined, reserved for the informal spaces in society. African school children still get taught in either English or Afrikaans preventing them from maximising their academic potential and placing them at a disadvantage to children whose first language is either English or Afrikaans.
- g) The neglect of African languages has resulted in their lack of formalisation, and development within sectors of society, such as government, business, and academia.
- h) Township and local schools do not have arts and drama classes as compared to their counterparts in private/model C schools. The government has neglected the need for such in their curriculum, including hiring teachers who have these specific qualifications.

- i) Women and young girls are still exposed to cultural practices like ukhlohlwa (virginity testing), ukungena (marriages of inheritance), ukuthwala (forced marriages), in the rural parts of this country. These practices have stripped women of their dignity for centuries and they continue to be practiced even in this “new” dispensation. This is discrimination and abuse to the female citizens of this country.
- j) The arts and Entertainment industry, worth an estimated R129.2 billion according to a 2017 report by PWC, is still largely in the hands of white monopoly capital, with black actors, entertainers, musicians and creatives in general generating wealth for the executives and production companies. These companies continue to exploit the intellectual property of arts to their own benefit. While some creatives are reasonably compensated for their work, the majority continue to see little or no compensation for their creative productivity.
- k) At the same time, due to the monopoly white capital still has over the arts and entertainment industry, along with the assistance of certain black production and distribution companies, many smaller black creatives and entertainers are denied access to resources, and a broader audience, with gatekeeping being commonplace.
- l) While it is expected that capital and the privatised arts and entertainment industry are only concerned with profit margins and the maintenance of the status quo, the state has an obligation to create the conditions and provide the material support for the overall development of the national culture and entertainment industry. This requires a state that is willing to financially support upcoming African artists and entertainers, and ensure that the legislation and infrastructure is in place to facilitate.
- m) African literature has been neglected for 25 years, instead of using state policy and resources to promote African literature and African intellectual development, leaving the status quo intact. With spaces of academic thought and intellectual development bastions of white power and influence.
- n) White domination of the arts and culture industry as well as of key cultural and intellectual institutions has resulted in South African art and culture not being a true reflection of who we are as African people, and does not allow for our total cultural development.

3. THE ORGANISATIONAL POSITION

- o) The EFF, over and above the seven (7) non-negotiable cardinal pillars, also have fourteen (14) complementary pillars which are just as important. Arts and culture is the 5th of the complementary pillars.
- p) Youth development is of utmost importance in changing the status quo in the economy for black communities. This can be achieved through ensuring that skills development subjects are offered in all our schools and communities.

4. WHAT IS TO BE DONE

- q) Throughout the country all statues, museums, and national monuments, streets and public facilities that memorialise colonialism and apartheid, as well as those who oversaw the oppression of the black majority must be removed from public site and where necessary destroyed.
- r) At the same time statues, museums, and national monuments, streets and public facilities must be commissioned or renamed so that they are reflective of South Africa's people, history, culture and historical development.
- s) Die Stem must be removed from the National Anthem, and the original Nkosi Sikelela Afrika must become the National Anthem of the country.
- t) A coordinated inter-departmental programme must be established by government that will guarantee that African languages become integrated into every aspect of South African life. At a basic education level all children must be taught every subject in their first language. At a higher education level all students must be taught in their first language, with academic papers being published in African languages.
- u) In the creative arts and literature government must support and encourage the use of African languages across all mediums, and programmes must be established to support and develop African authors whose works are a reflection of African culture and the continent's historical development. With this literature being promoted by the state and distributed across the country.
- v) African literary giants must be fully incorporated into the school curriculum and their works must be as well known in South African society as Shakespeare is in the United Kingdom.
- w) All libraries in schools should have books by African Authors, written in our indigenous languages.
- x) Arts and drama to be offered as subjects in the curriculum. African art taught in every school, e.g. beading, weaving etc.
- y) Policies and institutions need to be introduced to transform the entertainment industry and ensure that African content, with African actors, African directors, and African producers is prioritised and aired on radio and TV.
- z) Throughout the country, but more specifically in the townships and rural areas, infrastructure must be built and maintained that will allow young black children to engage in the arts so that they can develop their skills and creativity. This must include theatres and recording studios as well as equipment needed to make these facilities fully functional.

- aa)** State resources must be used to subsidise and protect the music industry particularly those in the industry who are black. Creative property rights must be guaranteed to all artists, and the state must provide facilities for all artists, but more particularly up and coming artists, to realise their creative potential.
- bb)** Minimum quotas must be established for African content on all media and entertainment outlets so that African people are able to embrace their culture, and that the arts and entertainment industry as a whole is able to grow.
- cc)** The Pan-South African Language Board must be fully empowered and resourced so that African languages are developed and integrated into every aspect of our society. To achieve this, the board will have to be given greater powers and the ability to intervene and provide guidance across society and governmental departments.
- dd)** The SABC must be transformed into one of the key weapons in the arsenal of government, when it comes to the promotion and development of African culture, popular education, and distribution of information.
- ee)** The SABC must be given the resources and the capacity to promote, develop, and institutionalise African content, African actors, African directors, and African producers, across all mediums of communication. With a mandate that goes beyond making profit and focuses on the social and cultural development of South Africa.
- ff)** The SABC must use its capacity to enter millions of South African homes on a daily base to engage in popular education programmes.

