



# 2<sup>ND</sup> NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

## REPORT & RESOLUTIONS



CONSOLIDATING THE GROUND TOWARDS SOCIALIST POWER



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**SECTION 1: FOREWORD BY  
THE SECRETARY GENERAL,  
CMSR MARSHALL DLAMINI.**



# FORWARD

The Economic Freedom Fighters' 2<sup>nd</sup> National People Assembly (NPA), took place between 13 and 16 December 2019 in Johannesburg, under the theme "Consolidating the ground towards socialist power!" More than 3 500 delegates from audited and constitutional branches of the EFF across South Africa gathered to re-affirm the generational mission for economic freedom in our lifetime. Delegates deliberated on crucial issues that confront the organisation as well as society, in particular gender-based violence, the youth and the resurgence of the privatisation of state-owned companies in South Africa, the African continent and the world.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA was joined by our progressive allies in the country such as the South African Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU) and the Association of Mineworkers Construction Union (AMCU). Economic Freedom Fighters in Liberia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Malawi as well as members of the People's Democratic Movement (PUDEMO) of Swaziland also attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA. They all formed part of the commissions that contributed to sharpening the perspectives held by the EFF.

These issues include, but are not limited to:

1. Organisation character and re-design
2. Land and agrarian revolution
3. Media and the battle of ideas
4. Economic transformation
5. Social transformation, sports, arts and culture
6. Education and health
7. International relations
8. Gender struggles

Amidst these discussions, delegates also had the opportunity to look at the organisation's Constitution, adopted at the 1<sup>st</sup> NPA, in terms of how it should be amended to suit its evolving work, subjective challenges and opportunities. Among key amendments adopted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA is the overall structure of the Constitution, an increase in the number of additional members of the Central Command Team (CCT) from 34 to 40, and the inclusion of a Code of Conduct for Public Representatives which will guide all EFF public representatives as a legal basis upon which they will be held accountable.

Now, guided by the Founding Manifesto and the seven cardinal pillars, the CCT – under the guidance and leadership of President and Commander in Chief Julius Malema – presents to all members, ground forces, supporters, the progressive forces, as well as all people of South Africa, the African continent and the world, consolidated resolutions which will form part of our political programme to consolidate the ground towards socialist power. The collective leadership elected at the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA will be assessed based on the objectives and commitments set out in these resolutions.

The overall observations of the EFF's 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA are the following:

1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA was excellently organised, with delegates who were focused, disciplined and determined to make the NPA a resounding success.
2. Logistics and preparations were excellent, particularly around delegates' transportation, accommodation, catering and security, notwithstanding an incident on the Sunday during dinner where a few delegates were injured when they were prevented from entering the dinner hall.

### Overview of the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA Proceedings

The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA took place over a period of four days from 13 December at the Johannesburg Expo Centre after thorough preparation by provinces, regions and branches, which included Branch People's Assemblies, Branch General Assemblies and audits. The following discussion documents were officially circulated on all social media platforms, the EFF website and all branches by 14 November 2019:

1. Organisational character and re-design
2. Land and agrarian reform
3. Gender struggles
4. Media, communications and the battle of ideas
5. Health
6. Social development
7. Education
8. Pan Africanism and progressive internationalism
9. The economy
10. State capacity
11. The justice system
12. Sports, arts and culture

All delegates, local and international guests, and ambassadors for the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA arrived in Johannesburg on 13 December at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus for accreditation where they registered, collected an NPA backpack (which included a copy of the discussion document, EFF Founding Manifesto, Constitution and Code of Conduct, and the NPA agenda, guidelines and election procedures). The NPA backpack also contained a t-shirt, packet of condoms and a packet of sanitary towels. Upon registration, each delegate received lunch. Registration of all delegates was concluded by 22:00.

The opening plenary session started on Saturday, 14 December, and was chaired by the former national chairperson Commissar Dali Mpofu. The opening plenary session was opened by the singing of the national prayer *Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika*. EFF Gauteng Provincial Chairperson Commissar Mandisa Mashego delivered the welcome address and invited Pastor T Ralekholela to lead the NPA in prayer. Dr. Tumi rendered an item and the NPA stood to observe a moment of silence for the passing of Pastor Neyi Zimu. President and Commander in Chief Julius Malema then delivered a political report, which was followed by a break for lunch.

After lunch, the opening plenary session, chaired by Deputy President Commissar Floyd Shivambu, received messages of support from EFF Liberia, EFF Namibia on behalf of EFF in Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Ghana, the President of the People's Democratic Movement Mlungisi Makhanya, former Minister in the Republic of Zimbabwe Saviour Kasukuwere, President of AMCU, and General Secretary of SAFTU Zwelinzima Vavi. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA also received messages of support in writing from progressive alliances that could not attend, including a message of support from the Zindzi Mandela Foundation.

After the messages of support, the NPA received accreditation by the former deputy secretary-general Commissar Hlengiwe Mkhali and the credentials were duly adopted. The deputy president presented the rules of the NPA which were also adopted. Former secretary general, Godrich Gardee, and former treasurer general Leigh-Ann Mathys presented the organisational report and financial report in a closed plenary session, respectively.

It is important to note that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA proceedings, and in particular the closed sessions and breaks, all guests, business people, international guests and ambassadors were hosted at the business lounge, a conducive environment for networking, sharing ideas and engaging on various issues. Secure, clean and conducive areas to host media were also provided and included free WIFI, a coffee bar, beverages and lunch.

The reports were not discussed immediately as the plenary moved to the election of officials. The election of officials was conducted by the Institute of Election Management Services in Africa, chaired by Mr. Terry Tselane. Mr. Tselane read the election rules and proceeded to receive nominations for the officials. The nominations were taken and all the official positions were not contested and the NPA adjourned. The following were elected:

1. JULIUS MALEMA – PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF
2. COMMISSAR FLOYD SHIVAMBU – DEPUTY PRESIDENT
3. COMMISSAR VERONICA MENTE – NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON
4. COMMISSAR MARSHALL DLAMINI – SECRETARY GENERAL
5. COMMISSAR POPPY MAILOLA – DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL
6. COMMISSAR OMPHILE MAOTWE - TREASURER GENERAL

On the second day of plenary, 15 December, the NPA received nominations for the 40 additional members of the Central Command Team (CCT). The following commissars were elected onto the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA CCT:

1. COMMISSAR RENEILOE MASHABELA
2. COMMISSAR ANTHONY MATUMBA
3. COMMISSAR NONTANDO NOLUTSHUNGU
4. COMMISSAR ZILINDILE VENA
5. COMMISSAR HLENGIWE MKHALIPHI
6. COMMISSAR LEHLOHONOLO FANA MOKOENA
7. COMMISSAR DR MBUYISENI NDLOZI
8. COMMISSAR DR. LAWRENCE MATSETELA
9. COMMISSAR FIKILE OORTMAN
- 10.COMMISSAR DR. SUZAN THEMBEKWAYO
- 11.COMMISSAR MMABATHO MOKAUSE
- 12.COMMISSAR LAETITIA ARRIES
- 13.COMMISSAR REBECCA MOHLALA
- 14.COMMISSAR BABALWA MATULELWA
- 15.COMMISSAR NTHAKO SAM MATIYASE
- 16.COMMISSAR KHOSI MKHONTO
- 17.COMMISSAR NOKULUNGA PRIMROSE SONTI
- 18.COMMISSAR MATHAPELO SIWISA
- 19.COMMISSAR NOLUVUYO TAFENI
- 20.COMMISSAR THEMBI MSANE
- 21.COMMISSAR NATASHA NTLANGWINI
- 22.COMMISSAR SHIKODA MKHWANAZI
- 23.COMMISSAR DELISILE NGWENYA
- 24.COMMISSAR JEANETTE KOMANE

- 25.COMMISSAR MBALI DLAMINI
- 26.COMMISSAR LORATO DUBA-TITO
- 27.COMMISSAR YOLISWA NOMAMPONDOMISE YAKO
- 28.COMMISSAR PHIWABA MADOKWE
- 29.COMMISSAR THABANI MIYA
- 30.COMMISSAR ANITA MARYS MARAIS
- 31.COMMISSAR PEBANE MOTEKA
- 32.COMMISSAR SHARON LETLAPE
- 33.COMMISSAR PATRICK SINDANE
- 34.COMMISSAR MGCINI TSHWAKU
- 35.COMMISSAR VUYANI PAMBO
- 36.COMMISSAR NAZIER PAULSEN
- 37.COMMISSAR SINAWO TAMBO
- 38.COMMISSAR TSEKO MAFANYA
- 39.COMMISSAR MPHU MOROLANE
- 40.COMMISSAR NTOKOZO HLONYANA

After the election, commissions deliberated topical issues identified. Deputy Secretary General Poppy Mailola read commissions, commission guidelines, venues, chairs, rapporteurs and scribes of each commission. On the evening of 15 December, all delegates, guests and friends of the EFF were entertained at the official 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA social with various artists and musicians.

On the last day of the NPA, the plenary reconvened and was addressed by the former president of PUDEMO Mario Masuku who delivered a message of support. The plenary also received reports from commissions. All resolutions were adopted with additions from the floor. The resolutions on organisational re-design were presented and duly adopted with additions. The Treasurer General Commissar Omphile Maotwe presented eight appeals to the NPA, and all eight appeals were rejected as accused members failed to demonstrate their innocence, and the reports were duly adopted. The Deputy President presented proposed amendments to the Constitution and the proposed amendments were adopted.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA declaration was then read by Secretary General Commissar Marshal Dlamini and adopted by the NPA, before the newly elected President and CIC Julius Malema closed the NPA.

# SECTION 2: 2<sup>ND</sup> NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY CREDENTIALS



# CREDENTIALS OVERVIEW

Registration of delegates took place on Friday, 13<sup>th</sup> December 2019, at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus. Former DSG Commissar Hlengiwe Mkhali presented credentials at the opening plenary session and they were duly adopted. A total of 3 799 delegates from branches, regions, provinces and the CCT were expected and a total of 3 180 delegates registered, a total of 84% turn up.

## SUMMARY OF DELEGATES

#	PROVINCE	NUMBER OF DELEGATES EXPECTED	REGISTERED DELEGATES	TOTAL % TURN UP
1	EC	467	366	78%
2	FS	259	220	85%
3	GP	560	511	91%
4	KZN	575	441	77%
5	LP	621	539	87%
6	MP	449	399	89%
7	NC	181	128	71%
8	NW	409	345	84%
9	WC	225	179	80%
10	CCT	53	52	98%
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>3799</b>	<b>3180</b>	<b>84%</b>

## BRANCH DELEGATES

#	PROVINCE	BRANCH DELEGATES EXPECTED	BRANCH DELEGATES REGISTERED	BRANCH DELEGATES % TURN UP
1	EC	441	341	77%
2	FS	234	196	84%
3	GP	535	486	91%
4	KZN	530	401	76%
5	LP	596	516	87%
6	MP	428	378	88%
7	NC	156	108	69%
8	NW	388	325	84%
9	WC	196	152	78%
10	CCT			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>3504</b>	<b>2903</b>	<b>83%</b>

## REGIONAL COMMAND TEAM DELEGATES

#	PROVINCE	RCT DELEGATES EXPECTED	RCT DELEGATES REGISTERED	RCT DELEGATES % TURN UP
1	EC	21	20	95%
2	FS	20	19	95%
3	GP	20	20	100%
4	KZN	40	36	90%
5	LP	20	18	90%
6	MP	16	16	100%
7	NC	20	15	75%
8	NW	16	15	94%
9	WC	24	22	92%
10	CCT			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>197</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>92%</b>

## PROVINCIAL COMMAND TEAM DELEGATES

#	PROVINCE	PCT DELEGATES EXPECTED	PCT DELEGATES REGISTERED	PCT DELEGATES % TURN UP
1	EC	5	5	100%
2	FS	5	5	100%
3	GP	5	5	100%
4	KZN	5	4	80%
5	LP	5	5	100%
6	MP	5	5	100%
7	NC	5	5	100%
8	NW	5	5	100%
9	WC	5	5	100%
10	CCT			
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>45</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>98%</b>

## CENTRAL COMMAND TEAM DELEGATES

CCT DELEGATES EXPECTED	CCT DELEGATES REGISTERED
53	52

# SECTION 3: EFF ELECTED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP



# OFFICIALS



**JULIUS MALEMA**  
PRESIDENT AND CIC



**CMSR FLOYD SHIVAMBU**  
DEPUTY PRESIDENT



**CMSR VERONICA MENTE**  
NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON



**CMSR MARSHALL DLAMINI**  
SECRETARY GENERAL



**CMSR POPPY MAILOLA**  
DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL



**CMSR OMPHILE MAOTWE**  
TREASURER GENERAL

## **ELECTED ADDITIONAL CENTRAL COMMAND TEAM MEMEBRS**

1. COMMISSAR RENEILOE MASHABELA
2. COMMISSAR ANTHONY MATUMBA
3. COMMISSAR NONTANDO NOLUTSHUNGU
4. COMMISSAR ZILINDILE VENA
5. COMMISSAR HLENGIWE MKHALIPHI
6. COMMISSAR LEHLOHONOLO FANA MOKOENA
7. COMMISSAR DR MBUYISENI NDLOZI
8. COMMISSAR DR. LAWRENCE MATSETELA
9. COMMISSAR FIKILE OORTMAN
- 10.COMMISSAR DR. SUZAN THEMBEKWAYO
- 11.COMMISSAR MMABATHO MOKAUSE
- 12.COMMISSAR LAETITIA ARRIES
- 13.COMMISSAR REBECCA MOHLALA
- 14.COMMISSAR BABALWA MATULELWA
- 15.COMMISSAR NTHAKO SAM MATIYASE
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- 17.COMMISSAR NOKULUNGA PRIMROSE SONTI
- 18.COMMISSAR MATHAPELO SIWISA
- 19.COMMISSAR NOLUVUYO TAFENI
- 20.COMMISSAR THEMBI MSANE
- 21.COMMISSAR NATASHA NTLANGWINI
- 22.COMMISSAR SHIKODA MKHWANAZI
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- 28.COMMISSAR PHIWABA MADOKWE
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- 31.COMMISSAR PEBANE MOTEKA
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- 36.COMMISSAR NAZIER PAULSEN
- 37.COMMISSAR SINAWO TAMBO
- 38.COMMISSAR TSEKO MAFANYA
- 39.COMMISSAR MPHO MOROLANE
- 40.COMMISSAR NTOKOZO HLONYANA

# SECTION 4: 2<sup>ND</sup> NPA RESOLUTIONS



# RESOLUTIONS

## A. ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTER AND REDESIGN

1. Noting that all the commissions agree and reaffirm the ideals for which the EFF was created, the attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime, as encapsulated in the Founding Manifesto.
2. Further noting that all the commissions agree on organisational principles as outlined in the discussion document, as well as reaffirm the political and ideological manifestation of the EFF, as articulated in both the discussion document and the Founding Manifesto.
3. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA re-emphasises that the EFF remains a campaigning activist mass movement, 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.
4. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA reaffirms the mass character of the organisation and that the EFF remains, in essence, a protest movement and the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF must, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movements in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws, exploitation of workers and the poor, wherever they may be in South Africa.
5. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA acknowledges the Pan-Africanist character of the EFF, and that 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 infant stages, the Economic Freedom Fighters organisations in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Liberia, Zambia Nigeria, Lesotho and Ghana draw inspiration from the EFF in South Africa.
6. The 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA further acknowledges that this inspiration stems from the reality that the EFF's mission for economic emancipation is not constrained by the colonial borders imposed 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.

The second National People's Assembly, therefore, resolves:

1. The EFF must build a Pan-Continental movement, which must be driven by the ultimate objective of uniting the African people in their struggle for emancipation from imperial and neo-colonial control. For this purpose, the Central Command Team (CCT) shall be permitted to provide organisational and resource support to all movements that associate with the EFF, provided that they adhere to the following principles:
  - a. **COMMITMENT TO PAN–AFRICANISM**, which aims to ultimately integrate the African continent.
  - b. **COMMITMENT TO THE AFRICAN AGENDA** defined by the return of the **LAND, MINERAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC WEALTH** to the ownership and control of Africans.
  - c. **COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND GENDER EQUALITY**, including commitment to reject homophobia.
  - d. **NO ASSOCIATION WITH IMPERIALIST FORCES** in terms of political programmes and funding.
  - e. **COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND REGULAR ELECTIONS.**
  - f. **COMMITMENT TO PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM.**
2. The organisation must launch the Women's Command before the third National People's Assembly.
3. The organisation must have 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.
4. The CCT must collectively be the beacon of sound ideological, political and organisational principles; and all commissars are to be members who deeply understand the Founding Manifesto of the EFF, the Constitution and all other policies of the organisation. The CCT should be composed of members who are able to conduct political education and training to all lower structures.
5. **BRANCHES OF THE EFF REMAIN WARD BASED**, but must establish **VD COORDINATING COMMANDS** in each VD, and not only for purposes of elections.
6. 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 increased from the current 6 officials + 35 additional members + 18 provincial chairpersons and secretaries to 6 + 40 additional members + provincial chairpersons and secretaries.
  - ii. The deputy secretary-general must be a non-negotiable full-time official. In addition to being head of organisational human resources, he or she must be responsible for membership and the 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 shall choose from amongst its members a full-time spokesperson who shall also serve as head of communications.
- 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 the 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. Political education must maximally utilise digital platforms, media and social media to provide internal and external political education.
- xi. CCT members must belong to committees decided upon by the CCT, and these committees must give periodic reports to the CCT and War Council.
- xii. 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.
- 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 updates 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 have the power to enter into contracts and have regular meetings to recommend and make key decisions and deployments.

## **B. FINANCE AND FUNDRAISING**

Mandate: What do we do as EFF to make sure we are able to finance the revolution?

- a. Whereas there is a need for a sustained presence across the organisation amongst the communities across the length and breadth of the country;
- b. Acknowledging that the continued presence of the organisation amongst the people is a prerequisite to earning people's trust and confidence that the organisation is the only true representative of the people's aspirations; and that this demands availability of both human and financial resources;
- c. Recognising that there is a heightened level of antagonism towards the EFF in the current nature of politics and economics in South Africa;
- d. Noting that the EFF as a revolutionary movement must devise grassroots-based forms of financing the revolution, and in this particular instance, of financing the organisation;
- e. Further noting the importance of operationalising fundraising as a standing item of organisational activities;
- f. Therefore, we resolve that to finance the revolution, key fundamental principles must be in place to guide the movement, from the branch to national leadership.

The guiding principles are as follows:

- a. As an unconventional revolutionary movement, every member of the EFF is a fundraising agent for the organisation.
- b. Fundraising **MUST** be part of reporting at all organisational reporting meetings.
- c. Through sustained activities from branch up, the organisation at a local level must be able to finance most of its operational requirements and programme of action requirements.
- d. EFF activists should avoid taking cash from people who donate to the organisation; rather, we must encourage donations in kind.
- e. EFF members must be known as activists in the communities. This will cultivate a culture of trust, and this will encourage people to want to contribute to the EFF.
- f. EFF activists must be bound by the revolutionary discipline of the EFF, and live according to the Code of Conduct.

Further, the commission, noting the intense resource requirements for running a revolutionary organisation, therefore, resolves that for the organisation to run as an effective and efficient revolutionary organisation, the following should be done:

- a. The EFF should register an investment company which will be registered under the Companies Act 71 of 2008.
- b. Investment in the property sector in South Africa and abroad.
- c. The EFF should build the Winnie Mandela Private School in Alexander.
- d. The EFF should make a donation to the PUDEMO foundation in Swaziland.
- e. All regions should participate in the recycling of bottles and manufacture them into glasses with a printed logo to be sold to the public as part of merchandise.
- f. The EFF should empower young designers who will be designing the merchandise of the EFF, so that the production of all EFF merchandise will be done by the EFF.
- g. All regions should identify land for commercial farming which will be run by the EFF investment company.
- h. The EFF merchandise from head office should be rolled out to all provinces and regions for sale.
- i. Under the investment company, the EFF should open a factory that will be producing matches to be sold country wide.
- j. The EFF should develop a distribution plan for emerging farmers, and assist them in distributing their goods to markets at a fee.
- k. All professionals and the working class of the EFF should voluntarily contribute a certain percentage of their salaries towards the revolution.
- l. All provinces and regions of the EFF should identify property for sale, and lease such property out to generate revenue.
- m. Each region should identify high traffic volumes for the purpose of selling merchandise.
- n. Regions should embark on a campaign for getting 100 people per region who can contribute R1 000 each to the EFF for a specific period, which can be on quarterly basis.
- o. The EFF should formulate its own financial institutions, buy shares, an EFF starter pack and have its own funeral policy for its membership managed by the EFF.
- p. The EFF must build its own hotels and hire fighters to work in them country wide.
- q. All CCT members, members of parliament and members of the provincial legislatures to get at least five people who can contribute R500 every month to the bank of the EFF via debit order.
- r. Encourage and equip fighters to start cooperatives that can be used in their communities, where people can buy in bulk and a certain percentage from that cooperative will be paid towards the EFF.
- s. The Officials acting as a collective shall enter into agreements and/or contracts with service providers including entering into borrowing agreements and/or contracts with financial services providers on behalf of the EFF.

## C. LAND AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The second National People's Assembly:

1. Reaffirms the first cardinal pillar of the Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters, on land expropriation without compensation for equal redistribution and use.
2. Acknowledges the work done by the EFF over the past five years, particularly the work done in parliament, leading the process of amending section 25 of the Constitution, to allow for expropriation of land without compensation.
3. Notes the discussion documents circulated for the purpose of guiding thinking on land, agrarian reform and the food economy for the second National People's Assembly.
4. Further, the commission noted that amongst other things, the discussion documents highlighted the following:
  - a. Attempts at resolving the land question through technocratic and neo-liberal methods such as the "willing buyer, willing seller" approach applied by the state since 1994 have failed.
  - b. In 1994, Africans 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, the 1951 Group Areas Act, and other vicious pieces of law passed by colonial and apartheid governments. Aware of this historical injustice, a three-pronged land reform programme was designed in 1994, focussed on land redistribution, restitution and land tenure reform. The state promised to redistribute 30% of agricultural land to black people by the end of 1999, a target said to emanate from the World Bank advisers of the ANC government at the time.
  - c. The resolution of the land question in South Africa is the one of the most important resolutions needed for the emancipation of all South Africans and the ushering in of economic freedom in this lifetime. The commitment in the preamble of the Constitution that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" is an empty gesture when the majority are without land and property. Without land, the promise of equality is meaningless.
  - d. 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. The first of these cardinal pillars is the expropriation of land without compensation for equal redistribution and use.

- e. Central to the colonial and apartheid project of black subjugation was a concerted programme of land dispossession of 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 livelihoods and socio-economic development.
- f. 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. Figures provided by the state are that the state has paid some R54 billion in support of land reform. The bulk of that money has been used to pay off white landowners.
- g. That the obstacles to effective land reform include the flawed constitutional design whose wrong enforcement has protected colonial and apartheid acquired private property rights and impeded the ability to redress colonial and apartheid land plunder, the weak institutions for land reform, the absence of political will, greed by property owners, the slavish adherence to the 'willing seller, willing buyer' which has no constitutional basis, corruption within the state and failure to enact enabling legislation.

The second National People's Assembly therefore resolves as follows:

1. The CCT and EFF members of parliament must intensify the work geared towards the amendment of section 25 of the Constitution. This amendment must emphasise the abolishment of private ownership of land, and the transfer of the land as a whole to the people, and that the State must hold this land in custody on behalf of the people as a whole. In order to achieve these goals, weaknesses in state institutions, such as the Commission on Land Rights and Restitution and the Land Claims Court, must be identified and addressed.
2. That even though other political parties support the concept of land expropriation without compensation, they do so for completely different reasons; reasons which may be anathematic to the ideals which the EFF fights for. Therefore, the EFF must object to any amendments to the Constitution that would not result in the fundamental restructuring of the property rights regime in the country. Therefore, the EFF must object to any amendments to the Constitution that would entrench the status quo and produce only superficial changes.
3. To guard against 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 Rights Protector (Ombudsman), which must be integrated in chapter nine of the Constitution. The land rights protector (ombudsman) must be empowered to defend the public against any abuses from any government official encountered by the public.

4. There must also be a permanent People's Land Court, with national jurisdiction, empowered to resolve any land disputes, including disputes about compensation.
5. 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 appointed by Parliament, be independent and act according to the law and the Constitution. Its decisions must be reviewable in court, and if any of its officials is found to have contravened the law, punishment must be as harsh as possible, to dissuade other officials from breaking the law.
6. The EFF must establish a permanent Land and Agrarian Revolution Unit, to build ongoing land consciousness amongst our people, to educate people about the EFF's approach to land.
7. In line with the organisational redesign, the EFF must make sure that the CCT member responsible for land and agrarian reform must have the necessary capacity, including legal desk capacity to provide legal advice to people arrested for repossessing land (land occupations).
8. In order to build a broad class of smallholder farmers, the EFF must advocate for the opening of agricultural colleges and the promotion of the study of agriculture, land reform and agrarian studies in our institutions of higher learning.
9. Smallholder farms must be utilised strictly for productive agricultural, crop and livestock purposes and those used for lifestyle farming purposes should be discouraged.
10. The CCT commissar for land must establish a committee composed of all members deployed to the land and housing portfolios in all spheres of government. This committee must meet quarterly and report to the SGO on political and governance advances relating to the attainment of Cardinal Pillar number one.
11. The CCT must have a permanent programme of land occupations around the country, with the aim of resolving land hunger. These occupations, which should prioritise the resolution of landlessness, land hunger and homelessness, must be escalated to target privately-owned farms, which are not being used to maximum capacity and they should then be used by our people for food security, building of homes and production.
12. The land occupations must also be aimed at undoing apartheid spatial planning and homelessness, and must therefore not exclude affluent areas.
13. Specifically, the EFF must initiate amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Evictions Act, 1997, to prohibit the demolition of erected structures on so-called "illegally occupied land".
14. The EFF must move for legislation that would outlaw the eviction of farm workers and farm dwellers across the country. This must include the flagging of farms and companies that evict farm workers and farm dwellers, and banning these companies/farms from any procurement with government at any level.

15. The EFF must move for legislation that would outlaw the eviction of farm workers and farm dwellers across the country. While the legislation is being considered, there should be a national moratorium on the eviction of farm workers and farm dwellers.  
Pending an overarching legislative framework, the EFF must advocate for a fundamental restructuring of the Commission for Land Rights and Restitution so that it has powers to make decisions on restitution claims, redistribution and application of expropriation without compensation.
16. The EFF must call for the resolution of the possible mandate creep and duplication of functions between the Public Works and Land Affairs Departments. The Expropriation Act lies in the Public Works Department, whereas the majority of the work that needs to be done on land reform lies with the Department of Agriculture and Land Reform. The latter department should have expropriation powers for all matters relating to land in the public interest.
17. It must be noted that currently there is no legislation for the redistribution of land. The EFF must call for the urgent enactment of national legislation for the redistribution of land as mandated by the Constitution.
18. The State should immediately cease the 'willing seller, willing buyer' approach. It cannot wait for the amendment of the Constitution as the 'willing seller, willing buyer' finds no expression in the current constitutional design.
19. The Land Claims Court is currently crippled in its ability to provide judicial oversight to the land reform process. There should be immediate steps taken to strengthen the court by appointing a permanent head of the court and full-time judges without delay.
20. The EFF must initiate legislative amendments, to ensure that traditional leaders do not have the powers to lease or sell land that belongs to the people to private companies, and that land administration powers at local level are democratised, and are affirming of the rights of women to own land. Legislation should make it clear that traditional leaders do not have more rights to the land than the people.
21. Each branch should start a small farming project in rural and urban areas, to ensure food self-sufficiency at a local level. This must also include the hosting of agricultural expos in villages, to direct rural farmers to market opportunities for selling their products.
22. 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.

23. Given that agricultural value chains are controlled by white monopoly capital, which squeeze out subsistence and smallholder farmers, making it impossible for emerging black farmers to come through, the EFF leadership should establish a commercial institutional framework, which must have the necessary research and development capacity, to provide strategic interventions in support of black farmers. This must include the opening up of market opportunities for black farmers, and the development of scientific capacity within the state and amongst black farmers to produce seeds that would break the monopoly of Monsanto.
24. The EFF must initiate legislation that must outlaw the spread of genetically modified seed and foodstuffs, and force the government to undertake independent studies on the impact of GMOs on the health of the people, and their impacts on the environment.
25. The ultimate limits as to the size of the farms each person must be allowed to have rights over must be determined by agro-ecological conditions.
26. The EFF must fight for the 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.
27. 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.
28. The CCT must establish a Pan-African agricultural development entity, which would strengthen intra-continental trade and Pan-African ownership of the agricultural value chains. This entity must focus on providing appropriate infrastructure to identified projects, provide developmental funding, and guarantee access to markets across the African continent.

## **D. MEDIA AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS**

Noting that:

1. Neo-liberal ideology has been adopted and faithfully implemented by the former liberation movement in South Africa for the past 25 years and signifies a confirmation of their capitulation.
2. 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 neo-liberal state.
3. Communication is a fundamental human need, without which education, commerce, politics, and culture are impossible to realise. In the modern digital world, following developments of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, communication will permeate all of human interaction.

4. In South Africa, the cost of communication is exorbitantly and unreasonably high, resulting in the exclusion of millions of our people from benefiting from opportunities offered in the telecommunications sector. In addition, that the mobile communications sector is dominated by a duopoly of MTN and Vodacom, who control 71% of the market.
5. Part of the reasons for the exorbitant cost of communications is this lack of competition in the industry. This is 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; to allow the transfer of data between users if they send it to contacts on the same network; from mid-April (2019) to allow users to opt out of out-of-bundle data charges; and to notify users of the depletion of their data bundles at 50%, 80% and 100% intervals.
6. The release of the high demand spectrum offers an opportunity to create more competition in the sector, which may help in the reduction of the cost of communication. In addition, heavy regulation of pricing on mobile operators by the national regulator (ICASA) can in help in ensuring the cost of communication is reduced and affordable
7. The roll-out of 5G requires a massive new infrastructural roll-out which a single mobile operator cannot be able to sustain on its own. This may limit universal access and leave millions of our population excluded from the digital benefits brought by 5G

## **On Telecommunications**

We resolve that:

8. ICASA must not auction the high demand spectrum, as it will only reproduce the existing duopoly in the market. The option is to use the high demand spectrum for the wireless open access network (WOAN) model, which should be targeted for the whole 5G spectrum roll-out. The majority of it should be utilised for this.
9. Companies must be obliged to start sharing infrastructure with the view to 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 a common good and the WOAN is a possible route to that end.
10. There must be an industrial policy in the telecommunications which allows domestic manufacturing of communications products.
11. The EFF must intensify campaign on the reduction of data and airtime prices.
12. The EFF must begin to promote the use of smaller telecommunications companies or service providers in order to collapse the duopoly of Vodacom and MTN.

13. Mobile network operators must be persuaded to offer online sites that contribute to social development free of charge

## On Broadcasting

Noting that:

14. Outside the public broadcaster, there is only one player in the pay-television market and that is MultiChoice. OpenView, owned by the eTV group, is playing in this space, but at an almost insignificant level since its own free-to-air channel, eTV and its 24-hour news channel are on the MultiChoice platform.
15. The SABC is by law meant to broadcast in the interest of the public, and not government or ruling parties. It must exercise editorial independence in 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.
16. The majority of the woes of the SABC happen at a 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 refused to offer fair live coverage of opposition parties' events.
17. The financial problems that have characterised 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. This meant that there has been no certainty and stability to see long-term decisions stand the test of time
18. ICASA's 'Must Carry Regulations' have given MultiChoice an advantage over the SABC, including growing literally at the back of the SABC's success over the years.
19. In October 2008, the 'Must Carry Regulations' passed 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.
20. 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 the 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 of 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.

21. ICASA's 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 highly expensive. The SABC continues to bear the brunt of uncompetitive sub-licensing conditions.
22. MultiChoice, as the primary right 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.
23. There are still 3,9 million analogue-only households that have yet to migrate to Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT); that is, if we accept that DStv, Starcom and OpenView users have already migrated and that there are 500 000 active DTT households. 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.
24. 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.
25. There is deliberate underpayment of black television content as compared to content provided by white production companies in MultiChoice. Black production companies suffer and as a result there is general underpayment of actors, scriptwriters and other workers within the film and television industry.

We resolve that:

26. The SABC must be the broadcaster of the African continent in terms of story, music, films and news. It must centre the content from the continent with a view to culturally re-integrate the country into the continent.
27. There must be immediate removal of section 60(3) 'Must Carry Requirements' altogether from the Electronic Communications Act. There should also be an amendment of the Electronic Communications Act in a way that allows the SABC to freely negotiate retransmission consent agreements on commercial terms with other players in South Africa and internationally.
28. 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 includes setting criteria on which fairness would be judged. Regulations should cater for instances when pay-TV does not intend to broadcast the event, or be a part of it, it should be required that the rights be offered to the public broadcaster at no fee.

29. ICASA must exempt the SABC and/or amend the DTT regulations to remove the stipulation that compels the SABC 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.
30. ICASA provisions, which state that the SABC must go through a bureaucratic licensing process before launching new digital broadcasting channels (OTT programmes, e.g. sports channel, education channel, health channel) must be removed. This is because the SABC's competitors, such as e.Media (with free-to-air license) and MultiChoice, have no such requirement.
31. The payment of TV licenses must be integrated into the DStv subscription fee or any other pay TV operator subscriptions.
32. There must be an investigation into the payment structure in MultiChoice of production companies which must lead into a transformation to ensure equal treatment for blacks.

### **On Out of Home Advertising (OOH)**

Noting that:

33. 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 market share in an industry worth over R2 billion, whose ownership is white dominated. This is amongst the most untransformed spaces in the communications sector in general.
34. Billboards exist on land, mostly municipally owned and thus pay rent or some rates to municipalities, especially in big metropolitan cities such as 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.
35. Research shows that the National Government and the Gauteng government, together with SAA, appear among the top twenty-five main OOH advertisers. Between 2014 and July 2019, the National Government spent over R73 million on OOH, and the Gauteng government over R57 million. There is no doubt that this money has been spent with the big 5 in the main.

We resolve that:

36. We initiate an open campaign for transformation in this space, which is directly linked to the land. Government must pass regulations to ensure that 80% of their OOH budget is spent on black-owned OOH companies.
37. Municipalities and metros must be forced to use leasing agreements to prioritise black-owned OOH.
38. We initiate a neutral annual conference in which media buyers (particularly big business) can meet with OOH owners to secure spaces in explicitly black-owned OOH.
39. There must be regulation of how advertising space is provided to corporate companies, particularly those that promote alcohol consumption and wasteful consumerism.

### **On Internal Communications**

Noting that:

40. There has been a coordinated media and propaganda war on the EFF from mainstream media houses. This war seeks to delegitimise the EFF, its leadership and its social standing
41. The EFF has captured public imagination in the country, and this has led to an intensified and coordinated attack on the EFF and its leadership in order to dent its integrity.
42. There is now an open and unashamed war declared against the EFF by reputable media publications and journalists.
43. 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 the South African political imagination.
44. 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 audiences.

Also noting that:

45. The war is structured in the same format as the apartheid StratCom which used intelligence organisations to infiltrate the media. These organisations have attacked the integrity of black African leaders, to render them incompetent and unable to conduct basic affairs.

46. The war is structured in such a manner that African leaders and skilled individuals have their reputations tainted without substantive evidence or fair trial.
47. Social media is the base that has allowed the EFF to survive despite the open propaganda war and sometimes shutdown on the traditional media base.
48. Interesting improvements still require attention, chief amongst which is followership among females. On both Instagram and Facebook the EFF records 75% of its followers as males. Females who actively like the EFF Facebook page or follow the Instagram page are less than 30%.
49. That there are journalists who have constituted themselves as a cabal of a faction of the ruling party that contests the political space in the same manner as political parties.
50. That the South African National Editors Forum represents the bosses within the capitalist, profit driven media and cannot legitimately speak on behalf of all other journalists.
51. There is an urgent need for a new forum for journalists who are not editors to speak on the injustices within newsrooms. This forum must give voice to the many voiceless journalists and offer a safe space to ventilate struggles within newsrooms and against editors.

The Commission therefore resolves that:

52. The EFF must establish alternative broadcast, radio and print media to guard against the negative characterisation of socialist ideals and the left in general.
53. While we promote media freedom and accountability, media entities must self-regulate and isolate those who are bias and openly campaign for political parties.
54. Self-regulation entities like the South African Broadcasting Complaints Commission and the Press Council of South Arica must be openly supported and strengthened to allow speedy justice, accountability and general improvement of independent media.
55. The EFF must develop a communications and media policy that will guide how members and structures interact with the media fraternity.
56. The EFF head of communications must be full-time in the Head Quarters

## E. HEALTH AND EDUCATION

1. South Africa should direct its focus to 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 lives. Primary public healthcare should be underpinned by a strong immunisation and vaccination programme.
2. A process to repurpose healthcare should start by documentation of the status of each public healthcare facility. The National Department of Health (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.
3. The NDoH should set a target for 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.
4. 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.
5. The 6th Parliament should finalise the National Health Amendment Bill to ensure clinics are open 24 hours.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. There are calls for the complete de-commodification of healthcare, and for it to be constitutionally declared an essential human right.
9. 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 a manufacturer.

10. 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.
11. 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.
12. 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 that 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. South Africa's medical schools largely produce doctors who are ready for commercial healthcare. Furthermore, medical school 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.
13. The doctor-patient ratio is problematic on primary healthcare level. The EFF has to do research on institutional facilities to analyse and check patient to health practitioner ratio in health facilities and devise a strategic and relevant ratio plan for each region based on hospital level and clinic level.
14. In regard to curriculum changes with training, the EFF should engage with the SANC to resolve some of the problems faced by the SANC.
15. EFF members must be participants in clinic committees.
16. Branches must run programmes of health awareness and teach the community on EFF health policies, like the One Clinic, One Ward.
17. Clinics that do not have a 24 hour policy should have alternative seating for patients arriving early in the morning to avoid patient vulnerability.
18. EFF branches must devise programmes to assist with cancer awareness and cancer advocacy in communities.
19. The EFF must ensure that oncology services are found in all and or most health facilities.
20. The EFF must advocate for the building of more recovery centres for cancer patients.

21. Public representatives of the EFF must make use of public services.
22. The EFF must advocate for the addition of more mobile clinics for pensioners who travel long distances to access healthcare.
23. There must be a minimum of two trained field workers in each ward to be of service and have direct contact with community members.
24. Clinical psychologists at each clinic and health facility must be included because of the high rate of mental health issues.
25. There must be a minimum of two ambulances in each ward and the central dispatch of ambulances must dispatch one ambulance with immediate effect if the two are on duty.
26. Every clinic must provide patients with chronic illnesses with groceries. Defaulting patients stop taking medication because of hunger. These services must be linked to social auxiliary workers services.
27. Health machines and equipment must be serviced by the state.
28. Community healthcare workers must be trained to become nurses.
29. Security in clinics must be increased and technology used innovatively to assist in this regard. ART is stolen to produce nyaope and thus is a seriously sought out drug that is stolen from clinics.
30. Youth health policies must be researched as they assist with creating awareness on teenage pregnancy and prevention of it.
31. Japan's PMCT programme should be looked into and adopted to decrease and eliminate mother-to-child transmissions, which still happen in SA.
32. Mass programmes are needed for men to be more deliberate in accessing healthcare, testing and being proactive with their health.
33. The emphasis of the EFF should not just be on the Cuban health system but must also be cognisant of the indigenous African health medicines and systems.
34. Identification and prevention of diseases and sicknesses must be tracked from schools. Health systems that focus on prevention must be devised to have a correlation with schools.
35. Domestic production of medicine must be emphasised and implemented. The state must support this in the form of funding for primary producers of medicines.
36. Teachers in schools should be trained and should teach coping mechanisms for mental health issues. Schools must also have mental health practitioners available for students and pupils.
37. The EFF should advocate for short courses for paramedics, which should be aligned with SANCA, so that the short courses should not be abolished and thus affect the efficiency of the EMS.
38. In mobile clinics, equipment that assists with detecting cancers, such as mammogram machines, must be available.
39. Training of nurses must be expanded so that in the absence of doctors, nurses are still equipped to deal with the health issues of patients.

40. Healthcare education should be mainstreamed to also suit pensioners and also younger children.
41. Secrecy and confidentiality must be maintained for HIV-positive patients whose privacy is not respected in the current treatment and medication collection system.
42. EFF branches should establish health committees that will look into the peculiar health issues of the community and deal with them comprehensively.
43. Mobile oncology clinics to assist community miners with diagnosis and treatment of cancer should be introduced.
44. Indigenous sport must form part of the sporting codes from ECD, primary, secondary and tertiary level.
45. The EFF government must build and resource science centres in townships and rural areas.

## On Education

1. 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 ages of 0 and 6 should receive all vaccinations.
2. Families must be equipped with the 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 a conducive environment.
3. Access to ECD programmes should be made universal and it must be compulsory for children from the age of three and upwards to be enrolled in an ECD for free. Parents who do not take their children to ECD centres must be criminalised.
4. The 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.
5. 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 contributions 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 an integral part of ECD centres and programmes.

6. 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.
7. This should result in one education system wherein all students fall under one education system and write the same examination, and the Independent Examination Board (IEB) will be abolished.
8. 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 forms of teaching. The curriculum to train educators should include remedial training. Comprehensive adult education programmes and guaranteed educational access by adults will increase literacy levels.
9. The introduction of information and communication technology for teaching is not divorced from 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.
10. The rate at which the government is reopening teachers' training colleges is too slow and does not take into account the fact that there is a serious crisis, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in respect of educators. There is a need to reopen and build additional teachers' training colleges in all provinces.
11. To create a schooling education environment that is comprehensive, schools must employ nurses, social workers and physical education trainers.

#### On Higher Education, Science and Technology

12. 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, the transformation of higher education and training should necessarily encapsulate the following:
13. 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 representatives of government, labour, civil society, students, workers and the private sector, should be constituted to be responsible for higher education and training in South Africa. This body will be responsible for the following:
  - a. Introduction of well-resourced, free, quality education for all;

- b. Alignment of skills to industrial sectors;
- c. The expansion of post-secondary education and training;
- d. Admissions and enrolment policies of all institutions of higher learning;
- e. Allocation of annual budgets to institutions of higher learning and training;
- f. Appointment of institutional managers such as vice-chancellors;
- g. Closing the gap between former historically disadvantaged institutions and historically advantaged institutions;
- h. Ensuring that there is adequate spread of suitably qualified professors and other academics across all institutions of higher learning;
- i. 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;
- j. Improvement and sustenance of professors' and academics' remuneration and welfare in all institutions of higher learning;
- k. Determination of infrastructure needed for higher education and training expansion;
- l. Interventions in institutions that do not meet the nationally set objectives; and
- m. Normalisation and standardisation of institutional fees prior to the introduction of free education for all.

i. Free quality education

14. 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.
15. 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 thought and contending ideas, where superior logic triumphs, and is 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.
16. The fee-free quality education should be funded through three sources, which are 1) a pension fund levy, 2) a skills levy, 3) government direct allocation and 4) a 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 electronic gadgets, such as computers, laptops, tablets and phones.

## ii. Alignment of skills to industrial sectors

17. 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 kinds of training are similar to teaching potential drivers how to drive in theory, and expecting them to be drivers without practical driving training.
18. 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's legal system and allocated certain legal responsibilities. Those who are studying accounting should perform the 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 to practice.

## iii. Expansion of post-secondary training and education

19. 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.
20. 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 utilising 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 on how to improve research outputs that speak to the socio-economic demands of South African society.
21. The EFF must develop a strategy on how to expand and transform the research system and facilitate knowledge diffusion This could include stratifying the provision of infrastructural development for science and technology innovation and 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.

22. 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

23. Land must be expropriated without compensation in order to intervene comprehensively in 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. Repurposing of TVET Colleges

24. A commission of inquiry ought to be instituted 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.
25. 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, practicals and the educational environment in general must create critical students.
26. Disciplines such as the sciences, engineering and mathematics must comprise 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 in higher education and training.
27. Curricula around automation, digitisation, robotics and coding must be introduced at an early stage in our education system 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 function in certain labour sectors due to having learnt particular subjects, but capacitate them to be able to function within the emerging reality and be flexible within that reality.
28. Introduce the use of indigenous languages in the school system from ECD to tertiary level.

29. SAPS personnel should be deployed on full-time basis to high violence risk schools.
30. Strengthen security personnel and immediate security response for the protection of teachers.
31. The EFF must advocate that all ECD practitioners must be registered with SACE.
32. Public representatives in the education committees and portfolios must do more oversight visits to schools.
33. Agriculture must be taught from ECD level to tertiary level as a compulsory subject.
34. Attendance of school meetings by parents should be strictly monitored and there should be repercussions for parents who neglect the education of their children.
35. An afrocentric university must be established that solely teaches and focuses on African studies.
36. There should be different systems of education and not just one mainstream system in the public sector, to accommodate children with autism or learning disabilities.
37. Each region in all provinces should have at least one school for children with disabilities and a transport system that caters to them during and after school hours.
38. There should be parental training programmes for parents so that they are able to participate in the education of their children.
39. All schools must have one social worker on a full-time basis.
40. BCTs must establish subcommittees to deal with education sector issues in the community. Programmes initiated by the BCTs' subcommittees must be reported to regions and provinces.
41. EFF members and leaders in branches must form part of SGBs in schools.
42. Schools must have direct relationships with local clinics and hospitals for emergencies such as labour and injuries that need immediate attention.
43. Scholar transport must be checked and serviced much more frequently. Children in rural areas travel in old buses that are not safe and break down, causing pupils to be late.
44. There must be an alternative system of documenting children without Identification documents. Lack of ID should not equal not accessing education.
45. The EFF must establish a protection system for teachers in both private and public schools.
46. There should be a standardised ratio of teacher to learners that is applied across the board in public schools (suggestion 1:30).
47. Health education must be integrated in the curriculum system from ECD to tertiary as relevant per level.
48. Driving licenses must be part of the education curriculum at secondary and high school levels.

49. Career guidance must be integrated with the education system from primary school level, expanding and growing per level.
50. Children with special needs require teachers with audio and oral skill and training.
51. Skill centres should be built in township communities where they can be accessed by the youth to get skills and training on the 4th Industrial Revolution.
52. Educators' forums need to be established by the EFF to protect and advance education issues much more intricately.
53. The EFF must conduct a ground-based survey into the status of our schools and provide custom-made solutions per school.
54. Schools must have sensitivity in dealing with pregnant teenagers in order to avoid alienating them from the school community and thus influence dropping out. Schools must have a healthy environment for learners facing challenges.
55. The passing percentage on STEM subjects must be increased to counter the science and technology issues faced in the industry. This will also increase STEM graduates.
56. We must do away with the policy of progressing learners on the basis of age.
57. There must be occupational therapists in all schools and ECD centres so they can detect learning disabilities and challenges early.
58. SGBs must be depoliticised. No SGB must have final say on who gets employed.
59. The EFF must advocate against the granting of a certificate to grade 9s. This system renders them invisible and unaccounted for by the government.
60. An electronic filing system must roll out in all clinics and be integrated with other health facilities to eradicate long queues for collecting medication and accessing files.
61. The NDoH must be pushed to establish provincial pharmacy centres for regulation purposes.
62. The EFF must push for the amalgamation of traditional and indigenous health system with the mainstream health system. There must be a working relationship between the two systems for maximum success and support.
63. The NDoH must supply traditional healers with HIV testing kits.
64. The EFF should advocate for free access to PEP and PrEP for all people and not just vulnerable groups. The application and screening process is unnecessary.

## F. THE ECONOMY

The Commission on Economic Transformation noted the discussion document circulated prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA, and in particular the Commission noted the following diagnoses and observations made in the discussion document:

1. The South African economy, by all measures of standards, is deformed. This deformation is defined by the reality of the economy's systemic racial character, the concentration of wealth in a few hands, the concentration of wealth in a few spaces, and the inability to productively expand in a manner that will provide employment to all South Africans who need jobs.
2. 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.
3. Despite many attempts, the policies and strategies brought forth to grow the economy and create jobs have failed.

Noting that:

- I. 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.
- II. 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.
- III. 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.
- IV. 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.

Further noting that:

- V. The state and state capacity is important for economic growth, service delivery and management of society resources for the collective good of the people in an efficient manner.
- VI. We cannot transform the economy without the state playing a central and strategic role, and the attempt to separate the economy and the state is a deliberately crafted illusion.
- VII. Institutions, organisations, collectively binding decisions and general will are contested in society, and as a result it is difficult to define the state, and contest state power and laws which favour deregulation, privatisation and outsourcing of public goods and services.

- VIII. The post-1994 government has operated and continues to operate in a manner that is incoherent, wastes resources, fails to allocate human resources properly, and cannot deliver services to all the people.
- IX. Government across all spheres depend on private companies to perform these functions through tenders and outsourcing.
- X. 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.
- XI. Uncompetitive and corrupt behaviour means that the state purchases goods or services at a higher price, because such contracts have a higher potential for bribes and kickbacks.

We acknowledge that:

- XII. Corruption in the system of tenders and contracts empowers only the private sector, corporations and a few politically connected individuals, including senior government officials in procurement while it dis-empowers communities and workers.
- XIII. State-owned entities are an expression of state ownership and control of strategic sectors of the economy as the foundation for sustainable economic transformation.
- XIV. The majority of the infrastructure in South Africa is old and collapsing before they reach their life span, due to poor maintenance.
- XV. 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.
- XVI. The 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.
- XVII. The government, in its current incoherent and fragmented form, cannot drive real industrial economic growth and development, and it is a mischaracterisation to refer to the South African state as a developmental state.

The Commission on Economic Transformation therefore recommends that the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolve:

1. To re-affirm the EFF Founding Manifesto and 1<sup>st</sup> NPA resolutions as a primary political programme and our strategic guide on the question of economic transformation and socialist revolution.

2. To re-affirm the 1<sup>st</sup> NPA's belief that a thorough implementation of the EFF Founding Manifesto's cardinal and complementary pillars will require that the EFF captures political power and the state, and transforms or revolutionises the economy for the benefits of all, in particular:
  - a. The legislation that governs mineral resources; and
  - b. The nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank and placing it under the direct ownership and management of the state.
3. To re-affirm the resolution of the EFF Founding Manifesto and 1<sup>st</sup> NPA, that a strong developmental state should necessarily have the political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to SOEs and reject privatisation of SOEs, Eskom, Transnet, Denel and South African Airways.
4. To work with progressive forces to ensure that all SOEs are repositioned to play a central role in building state capacity.
5. To introduce legislation in Parliament to establish a state-owned agency that assesses the asset value and contribution of SOEs in strategic sectors, such as transport, telecommunication, mineral beneficiation and social value infrastructure (i.e. water, roads, health and education facilities) and for the dissolution of the Department of Public Enterprises.
6. That the EFF must continue to expose, reject and campaign against independent power producers who signed contracts with Eskom to generate electricity and sell to Eskom.
7. To mobilise society to demand the state's strategic control of South Africa's mineral and petroleum wealth. The state ownership, along with the beneficiation and processing of these minerals, must form a central part of the country's broader industrialisation programme.
8. To demand finalisation of the mineral and petroleum bill before Parliament, which will lead to ownership of the oil and gas resources of the country that exist along the country's coastline, as well as those that are yet to be discovered, just like the country's mineral resources.
9. To continue to call for the use of 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, advocate for strengthening of current SOEs and establishment of the following new SOEs:
  - a. A state-owned roads construction company;
  - b. A state-owned cement company;
  - c. Various state-owned banks, in particular a retail-owned bank, agricultural-owned bank, housing bank, and social assistance bank;
  - d. A state-owned pharmaceutical company;
  - e. A state-owned healthcare equipment company;
  - f. A state-owned mining company; and
  - g. A state-owned food stocking company.

10. To table a private member bill to legislate protection of local industries of the fourth industrial revolution from outside competition so that they are able to grow and develop without being destroyed by outside producers who have unfairly gained competitive advantages.
11. To call on the South African Revenue Services, the South African Reserve Bank and the Financial Intelligence Centre to tighten their capacity to maximally collect VAT and company income taxes from all e-commerce businesses that receive South African money.
12. To launch a campaign for closure of all private ports of entry to South Africa in Parliament and through public campaigns.
13. To expose, reject and campaign against the secretly engineered plan to allow the takeover of Pioneer Foods (a South African owned company) by Pepsi (PepsiCo – an American owned company). Pioneer Foods is the largest company in food supplies (i.e. bread, maize meal, flour, cereals). This takeover is going to affect our food security, threaten job security of Pioneer Foods workers, our farming sector, and in particular our attempts to transform the farming industry.

The Commission on Economic Transformation further recommends that the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolve:

14. To finalise the General Anti-Avoidance of Tax bill which seeks to criminalise all forms of tax avoidance and illicit financial flows. 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.
15. To establish a multi-disciplinary cross-agency task team, independent from SARS and the National Treasury, which will include officials from the National Treasury, the Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC), the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and SARS, to gather and publish reliable statistical data on illicit financial flows, with legislative power to investigate, with access to companies annual reports and banks accounts.
16. To also launch a public campaign against illicit financial flows targeted at companies involved in illicit financial flows.
17. To launch a public campaign for the adoption of 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.
18. To advocate for a sovereign wealth fund with the following 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 fund 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.
19. To call for the expansion of the South African Reserve Bank's mandate to use monetary policy to boost employment and increase capital available in the economy.
  20. To table a private member bill to amend the Public Finance Management Act and Municipal Finance Management Act 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. The EFF should also table a law to introduce legislation for a quota of 60% on all shops to sell locally produced goods and services.
  21. To advocate for the abolishment of the use of consultants in all spheres of government and call for the formalisation of Governance Technical Advisory Services (GTAC) as a public entity through an act of Parliament and build internal capacity.
  22. That the EFF must reject outsourcing of recurring services in government, and launch a nation-wide insourcing in government and all state-owned entities.
  23. To advocate for the establishment of a state-owned housing construction company and state-owned roads construction company, and immediately abolish tenders for construction and maintenance services for the delivery of large infrastructure projects in government and SOEs.
  24. That the EFF must continue to call for increased spending on research and development with the objective to reach spending of 2,5% of the GDP by 2024. 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 road services and infrastructure.

On energy, we resolve that:

1. South Africa should pursue an energy mix strategy which appreciates the usage of clean coal technology, and wind, solar, water and nuclear energy sources.
2. Eskom should standardise all coal prices and only pay the prices determined by the National Energy Regulator of South Africa (NERSA).
3. ESKOM should explore all legal possibilities, including going to courts, to nullify all evergreen coal contracts.

4. Government must capitalise the African Exploration Mining and Finance Corporation (AEMFC) to take over the coal supply contracts of suppliers who cannot supply at the coal price determined by NERSA and announced as ceiling price by Eskom.
5. ESKOM should review all power purchase agreements (PPA) with independent power producers (IPPs) with the aim of exiting the nonsensical contracts.
6. Government should assemble a highly skilled panel of engineers from all over the world to come and investigate the delays in the completion of the two major power stations, Kusile and Medupi.
7. Government should issue requests for proposals from private developers of nuclear power stations, which should necessarily use a build, operate and transfer (BOT) 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.
8. Government should massively invest in renewable energy projects, including wind, solar and water sources of energy generation.
9. Government should be represented as Eskom shareholders by the ministries of energy and mineral resources, finance and public enterprises.
10. The Public Investment Corporation loan to Eskom should be converted to equity, and the PIC should be one of the shareholders.
11. SASOL should be fully state owned and should build a refinery in South Africa, and all the by-products should be used for local industrialisation.

## **G. SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

The EFF 2<sup>ND</sup> NPA Commission on Social Transformation seeks to reaffirm its mandate on the nationalisation of strategic sectors and assets of the country and to ensure that the commission will blend a strong industrial policy to support social and economic development. The commission will affirm and further resolve on the discussion document, particularly the sections that speak to sports, recreation, arts and culture, gender struggles, and social development. These topics are deliberately grouped together as they deal specifically with issues that deal with social transformation.

### **On Sports and Recreation**

Noting that:

Since the advent of democracy, sports and recreation in South Africa has not had any significant improvements. The socio-economic and material conditions have not changed, especially for black females and youth within the space of sports and recreation. Inequality is still very prevalent. Female sports continue to not have the same benefits enjoyed by their male counterparts.

Sports infrastructure and facilities are still enjoyed by the privileged minority. Black communities in townships and rural areas do not have to the same sports facilities and equipment found in private and white schools, in their schools.

Furthermore,

There is an unequal distribution in resources within the so-called white and black sports. This has an adverse impact on the economic growth of the black community and its participation in sports and recreation.

Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolves that:

1. 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 sponsorships to male teams should also be encouraged to give the same sponsorships to female teams.
2. 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.
3. The state must ensure that schools, particularly schools in townships, have the necessary facilities, equipment, kit and training so that mass participation is guaranteed at a grass-roots level.
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. Coaches must be trained and employed so that they can be deployed to schools across the country.
7. 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.
8. Resources and infrastructure must be specifically allocated to female sports teams.
9. A programme of action must be drawn up and implemented that will dismantle the control and power white administrators and officials still have over South African sport at the amateur and professional level, particularly in rugby and cricket.

## **On Arts and Culture**

Nothing that:

South Africa's government has failed to expressively transform the arts and culture sector. 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. African languages continue to be undermined and neglected. African children are taught in either English or Afrikaans. Black cultural development is impeded.

Furthermore,

The industry of arts and entertainment is monopolised and saturated by white domination, who continue to exploit the poor black artists.

Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolves that:

1. 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 sites and where necessary destroyed.
2. 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.
3. Die Stem must be removed from the national anthem, and the original Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika must become the national anthem of the country.
4. 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.
5. In the creative arts and literature, the 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.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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 the equipment needed to make these facilities fully functional.
9. 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 so that all artists, but more particularly up and coming artists, are able to realise their creative potential.
10. 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 so that the arts and entertainment industry as a whole is able to grow.
11. The Pan-South African Language Board must be fully empowered and resourced so that African languages are fully 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.

12. 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.
13. 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.
14. The SABC must use its capacity to enter millions of South African homes on a daily base to engage in popular education programmes.

## **On Gender Struggles**

Noting that:

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 marginalised collective. 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; black women are not only encountered by the struggle for liberation as women, but also as black people.

When one interrogates the oppression and repression of women in South Africa, and the world, it becomes clear that what has at first been assailed as a personal problem is in fact a social and political one. There are strong parallels between the liberation of women and the black power struggle, being oppressed by similar psychological/economic dynamics and the deplorable conditions of our people. It is thus necessary to go to the root of the problem, rather than to become engaged in solving secondary problems arising out of that condition.

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.

Furthermore,

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 in 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 of 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.

In the EFF's strides towards ensuring the emancipation of women, it is only women themselves who will have to confront the harsh reality that there is a normalised patriarchal war against black women rooted in hatred for women in general. Already we see how the ANC has betrayed the sacrifices and vision for a liberated society with the consequence that only the women linked to the political and economic elite have and will continue to benefit since 1994.

Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolves:

1. That 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.
2. That the EFF will strive for 50% women representation in all spheres representing economic benefit, political participation, and managerial and leadership responsibility.
3. To institute 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).
4. To institute education of the police on gender justice and the establishment of specialised law enforcement units to deal with women-related crimes.
5. To strengthen the education of men on patriarchy, sexism and misogyny.
6. To engage custodians of tradition, faith leaders and other cultural practitioners to collectively find means to combat the oppression of women.
7. That 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 and heavy penalties to the withdrawal of trading licences in the case of repeat offenders.
8. That 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.

## **On Social Transformation**

Noting that:

The majority of South Africans continue to live in absolute mass poverty – landless, jobless and homeless. For the majority of children born in these families, there is no productive future, or opportunity to participate in any meaningful way in the economy in order to share in the wealth of the country.

The reality is that poverty is worsening under the post-1994 government. This is because, in addition to the empowerment of a few black aspirant capitalists, government actively goes 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.

For the most vulnerable people living in poverty, the money that they receive in the form of a 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 month.

Furthermore, South Africa is facing a crisis of substance abuse, drugs and alcohol. Societal problems as a result of substance abuse cause unimaginable pain to many families, particularly black families in townships and rural areas.

According to a 2017/2018 crime report published by the South African Police Services (SAPS), drug-related crimes have increased by 10,5% compared to the previous years. The reality on the ground is far different from what is reported officially, because many of the drug-related crimes do not end as a case or an arrest.

Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolves that:

1. 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.
2. The Department of Social Development (DSD) serves very little purpose besides facilitating payments of grants. If grants are paid through a state-owned bank, through a network of coordinated 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 to the 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 in school.
3. 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 healthcare. There must be an integration of healthcare visits linked to social grant payment points. In addition, social grant files must be linked to medical and educational information. Other services include efficient adoption, foster care, co-parenting and guardianship services.
4. South Africa's social grant system needs a serious reform to shift from an individualistic focus to being 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 a double grant in December.
5. 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. The South African Police Services (SAPS) have failed to deal with drugs, especially in gang-ridden places. The scourge of drugs persists 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.

## H. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Commission on Pan-Africanism and Progressive Internationalism noted the discussion documents circulated prior to the 2<sup>nd</sup> National People's Assembly and has noted the following with regard to the issues submitted in the discussion document.

Noting that:

1. The EFF's ideological posture is rooted in progressive Pan-Africanism, and that the realisation of the organisation's vision is dependent on the existence of progressive Pan-Africanist movements across the continent.
2. The global balance of forces is dominated by racist, anti-African and anti-socialism forces, requiring a careful and patient cultivation of global and continental alternatives that would nurture and shield progressive movements from attacks by global capitalist forces.
3. The position of South Africa, and the continent of Africa, needs to be constantly evaluated against 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 and the coup against President Morales in Bolivia, imperial attempts to usurp power from progressive forces in Venezuela, the death of the revolutionary generation of Fidel Castro in Cuba, and the imperially induced collapse of the socialist forces around the world.
4. On the African continent, there have been very few 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 Gaddafi.
5. The African Union has remained largely toothless, visionless and without any strong political direction from member states.
6. In the world, there seems to be no firm cooperation amongst Marxist parties. Revolutionary struggles are merely on the basis on nation-states, and there is no true international movement for the advancement of the socialist struggle.

7. 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 corporate capture of the state and political parties, who then dictate state policies, and capture political parties to do their bidding.

The commission, therefore, recommends that the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA resolves and adopts the following:

### **On Pan-Africanism and Parliament**

1. The commission observed that there are institutions in Africa that are still a problem, such as the African Union (AU), especially with the way some of these institutions are designed. Some of them glorify the African borders. The commission supports the idea that the EFF must push for the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) to be an overarching legislative body for the African Union, and it must have areas of exclusive legislation-making for the whole continent. The PAP must enact a legislative policy that will monitor the free movement of Africans from one country to another.
2. The 2nd NPA must resolve on the establishment of the EFF Continental Council in all four African regions in order to have coordinated programmes for the realisation of true Pan-Africanism.
3. The commission further recommends that our Founding Manifesto be the basis on which all EFF structures on the continent should be designed in accordance with what we believe. This will create some element of uniformity on how we approach issues of common interest.
4. We recommend that the continent must have one common African language, at least Kiswahili, to be developed fully and be integrated into school curriculums with the aim of making the language a common language of communication in Africa. This should form part of our identity as Africans.
5. Through the PAP as a legislative body of the continent, the EFF must advocate that the PAP passes legislation that encourages inter-continental trade within the African Continental Free Trade Agreement. The EFF must seek to influence the African Continental Free Trade Agreement as one of the important vehicles towards the economic integration of the continent. With the PAP being a legislative body, we propose that this conference concludes with a clear mandate that within this term of office, the EFF must have exerted pressure in ensuring treaties are duly implemented. The EFF must monitor if countries are complying as required and intervene where necessary.

6. Pillar 6 of our Founding Manifesto puts more emphasis on massive investment in the development of the African economy. We propose that 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. 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. Investing in the African economy would assist in the development of the country and the economic development of the African continent and would ease the influx caused by economic reasons.
7. In our quest to stimulate economic growth on the African continent, the PAP as a legislative body should pass legislation that will increase tariffs for all imported goods not produced in AFRICA.
8. In order for the continent to be self-sufficient and grow economically, we need to rid ourselves of global institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and systems administration programmes.
9. The leadership that is elected at this 2nd NPA must agitate for the complete unification of the African continent, which would include one currency for all the countries of the continent, one Reserve Bank, which will be empowered to formulate and implement monetary policy, promote financial stability, issue banknotes, and provide banking services to governments.
10. This NPA should move for the EFF to agitate for a united African continent, with one federal government, a federal army, and affirm the higher authority of the PAP as the ultimate legislative body for continental matters.
11. The EFF, as a brand, must play a leading role to ensure that the exclusive legislative authority of the PAP includes continent-wide defence laws, intra-continental trade, and regulates continent-wide laws governing the movement of people.
12. This Assembly must resolve that the EFF push for the PAP to have the authority to ratify which government is legitimate and which one is not, and this will give the PAP and the African Union power to refuse the participation in African Union and PAP affairs of unelected governments, and governments that assumed power through violence.
13. The EFF supports the PAP to work with all the electoral commissions on the continent, and be in a position to declare fraudulent elections null and void.
14. The EFF to mandate its deployees, who serve within the PAP, to move for the adoption of membership of the PAP to exclusively be opened to democratically elected parliaments and to countries that have ratified and are compliant to 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.

## **On the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights**

15. The commission proposes that this 2nd NPA mandates the leadership to lobby other African countries that 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. 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.
16. In ensuring that the court becomes a legitimate African judicial institution, 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. Decisions of the African Court must be binding on all countries, and countries who defy the decision of the African Court must be isolated.
17. The EFF must advocate for the withdrawal of all African member states from the International Criminal Court.

## **On Standby African Military Force**

18. The commission agrees and proposes that the EFF must agitate for the establishment of a permanent African Defence Force, to replace the 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). No foreign military forces must be allowed to intervene in the affairs of the African continent. Their intervention would confirm the narrative that Africans are unable to rule themselves and would always depend on foreign colonial and imperial forces hell-bent on recolonising the continent.
19. This military force, though drawn up from member states, must account only to the African Union, to ensure its relative independence from member states.
20. The commission fully agrees that this force must be deployed to defend the continent against outside interference from imperial forces; to be deployed to remove undemocratic governments from power on the African continent; and to be deployed to quickly quell unjustified insurrections by terrorist groups and sponsored groups seeking to destabilise the continent.
21. The conference must resolve for the expansion of the United Nations Security Council, to ensure that it is more 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.
22. The commission must advocate for the PAP to enact legislation that will make it illegal and expel all foreign imperialists who have military bases in Africa.

## **On the United States of America's Military Presence in Africa, the UN and Global Peace**

23. The Economic Freedom Fighters rejects the USA's military presence in Africa and should particularly campaign for the discontinuation of the US military bases in various parts of the African continent.
24. This comes from the recognition that wherever there is a US military presence, the purpose of that presence is only to advance US imperial interests, and to subjugate people and undermine the sovereignty of nations. The removal of US military bases will also ensure the economic sovereignty of African nations.
25. The EFF must oppose any senseless wars and war provocations led by established forces in the world. This must emanate from the realisation that any war, or provocations of war, only serve to cement the dominance of imperial forces, who have amassed to themselves immense military power to advance their economic aspirations.
26. In this regard, the EFF must view the US war provocations in Iran, and the continuing dehumanisation of the people of Palestine by the apartheid Israeli regime, as imperial and neo-colonial attempts at reasserting their power. The EFF must reject these attempts
27. The EFF must, through its participation in the Pan-African Parliament, agitate for the isolation of any African country that still accommodates the US, France, or any western military bases in Africa.
28. The EFF should campaign for the reconfiguration of the United Nations with the purpose of, amongst others, the removal of veto powers by few countries, and demand AFRICA'S permanent representation in the SECURITY COUNCIL.
29. The EFF must actively agitate for the withdrawal of all African nations from the Rome Statute which established the International Criminal Court. This must be replaced by the strengthening of the African Court for Human Rights, as the ultimate court for resolving African matters.
30. The EFF recognises that there is no possibility of guaranteeing global peace without the eradication of the exploitation of one race by another, one nation by another, and one ideology by another. The key to global peace, therefore, must be the recognition of mutual and independent coexistence of all nations.
31. The EFF, in the national and provincial legislatures, and in its political programmes, must fight against any attempts at recolonising Africa through trade deals and bilateral agreements that seek to impose imperial control over South Africa and the continent at large.
32. The NPA resolved to condemn the US-sponsored right-wing coups in Venezuela and call on all the forces in Latin America to support Venezuela. The conference also categorically condemned the right-wing and racist coup in Bolivia, and call on forces to rally behind Evo Morales, who since taking power, has improved the lives of ordinary Bolivians.

33. The National People's Assembly condemns the trade embargo on Cuba and highlights the fact that the suppression of Cuba is directed at suppression of its superior pharmaceutical and medical capacity. The pharmaceutical cartels in the world know that if Cubans were allowed to freely trade their medicines, in particular vaccinations, to the rest of the world, the burden of diseases in the world will be significantly reduced.
34. Condemn the automatic criminalisation of black people in many parts of the world, particularly in the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, which equates blackness to automatic criminality.
35. Call for an end to the occupation of PALESTINE by apartheid Israel and call for complete isolation of Israel by SOUTH AFRICA and in all international bodies. Apartheid Israel should not be allowed to participate in INTERNATIONAL SPORTING PLATFORMS such as the WORLD CUP, the OLYMPICS and all INTERNATIONAL SPORTING BODIES.
36. Call for the total liberation of WESTERN SAHARA. We should engage in a campaign to put pressure on MOROCCO from all continental programmes. The colonial occupation of WESTERN SAHARA should be declared a crime against humanity.
37. We condemn the despotic and unjustifiable absolute monarchy of Swaziland and demand that there must be true democratisation in Swaziland. The King of Swaziland must not be allowed to use the country's finances as his personal purse where he lives in absolute luxury, while ordinary people live in absolute poverty.
38. Call for an end to sanctions in Zimbabwe, and demand that the current government must not suppress political dissent. We call for freedom for the people of Cameroon and demand an end to the suppression of different political expressions. We call for an end to suppression of different political voices in Uganda and call on the youth to reject Uganda's return to dictatorship. We re-emphasise our call for an end to xenophobia and xenophobic attacks, which are directed at Africans. Africa, we are one people and we should embrace each other.

### **On the EFF's Socialist Character**

39. Over and above these, the commission urges the EFF and this NPA to commit to being in a position to provide leadership to the global left, and support all progressive forces around the world working for socialism.
40. The commission further believes that underpinning this principle must be the acknowledgement that socialism will never work if it is still confined to nation states – that the true impact of socialism will only be felt if its character is international. We believe the EFF has a responsibility to marshal all socialist forces within the continent to embrace this socialist character, and all leftist African countries who share the same vision as us, must visit socialist countries to learn how things are done.

41. The EFF must unashamedly be in solidarity with all revolutionary socialist forces, and support attempts to overthrow imperial regimes and usher in progressive governments.
42. The EFF should establish the African Youth Command.
43. The EFF should establish an EFF council which will be made up of all African EFF bodies. The EFF council of Africa should be situated at the EFF headquarters in South Africa, but with 3 regional offices in West Africa, North Africa and Central Africa.
44. All EFF African leaders should be known as presidents across the board and one CIC will head the EFF council of Africa
45. The EFF should support other EFF structures in Africa during presidential and parliamentary elections.
46. The EFF should promote peace and the rule of law in Africa.
47. Swaziland should isolate the monarch, King Mswati.

## **I. JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES**

Noting that:

1. The transformation of the criminal justice system is a Complementary Pillar in the Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters (Cardinal Pillar 13).
2. In addressing the transformation of the criminal justice and correctional services system, the Founding Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters provides that:
  - 2.1. South Africa needs to transform the criminal justice system to be more accessible to and also representative of and cater for South African demographics.
  - 2.2. Access to high courts and all other courts should not be the privilege of those with money.
  - 2.3. Economic justice courts should also be established to adjudicate civil matters involving individuals and corporations in order to acquire maximum justice for those who are not treated lawfully by corporations.
  - 2.4. Private corporations that fix prices and collude should be banned from operating in South Africa and their directors should be prosecuted for doing so.
  - 2.5. The correctional services system should also be corrective, not only punitive. The levels of re-arrests in South Africa are very high, because the country's correctional services system is not corrective. Further, the correctional services system should be transformed to include compulsory education and skilling for all inmates. This should also be followed by scrapping the criminal record statuses of ex-inmates who were convicted of certain schedules of crime, depending on the seriousness of the crimes they committed.

Believing that:

1. The judiciary remains an instrument of capitalist rule and the capitalist state, and that only a socialist government can truly transform the judiciary and the justice and correctional services system in a meaningful way to benefit individuals regardless of financial means, class and background.
2. The justice and correctional services system in South Africa should be corrective and rehabilitative rather than punitive.
3. The justice and correctional services system in South Africa is characterised by maladministration and bottle necks.
4. There is a need to transform the South African justice and correctional system to ensure inclusivity, accessibility and fairness with a special focus on gender transformation.
5. There is a need for multidisciplinary and co-operative governance-based solutions to the challenges and limitations of the South African justice and correctional services system.
6. Access to justice entails removing all barriers, including communication and language barriers.
7. Challenges and limitations faced in the criminal justice system are anchored in the patriarchy and some crimes are gender driven.
8. The separation of powers needs to be upheld in terms of the appointment of judges in the Supreme Court of Appeal and the Constitutional Court by the State President.
9. The challenges faced by fighters in the labour context need to be urgently addressed through left-force movements. Furthermore, clarity in relation to the position of the organisation on its trade union affiliation policy is needed.

It is, therefore, resolved that:

1. The correctional services system should be transformed to include compulsory free education and skilling for all inmates with the view of reintegrating and rehabilitating the ex-inmate in society.
2. Whilst there should be a focus on rehabilitation of inmates, the justice and correctional services system must remain strict, security must be tightened, inmates should have no access to cell phones, laptops and other luxuries.
3. Interventions must be made to assist ex-inmates not to live with the association of a criminal record once rehabilitation and reintegration into society has taken place.
4. The bail system should be abolished for minor crimes and better applied for more serious crimes, with a specific emphasis on sexual offences and violent crimes.
5. A separate and specific budget must be established for Chapter 9 institutions in order to allow for the poor to have access to justice and to challenge state abuse and arrogance.

6. There should be better integration between the justice system in general and the SAPS to ensure that once cases are heard in court, they have been properly handled and investigated to allow for justice to take its course, especially in cases of gender-based violence and sexual assault.
7. There should be better protection of victims of sexual assault, as well as state witnesses in such cases.
8. Through collaboration with progressive organisations operating in the sector, the EFF must monitor the activities of law firms and universities to ensure there are aggressive programmes to transform the judicial system, the legal profession and the justice and correctional services system.
9. There should be competent and speedy filling up of judicial vacancies.
10. There should be more training of judges, magistrates, prosecutors, interpreters and all law enforcement agencies in handling sexual offenses.
11. More law clinics in rural areas should be established in order to enhance access to justice.
12. In order to transform the legal profession, the arbitrary requirements for employment placed on candidate attorneys in order to complete practical legal training should be prohibited (e.g. requirement to have a vehicle, requirement to be fluent in Afrikaans)
13. The state must enable the administration of justice and the communication of the law in any home language.
14. The EFF should strive to ensure that there is a gender-based office in all municipalities in South Africa.
15. There must be a concerted effort to cater for and include disabled/differently abled individuals in the judiciary and the justice and correctional services system.
16. The EFF must explore the possibility of the formation of, or alternatively the affiliation process with, a leftist trade movement to address the plights of workers, and further consider establishing workplace branches in all provinces.
17. A permanent legal unit with capacity should be established in all provinces and regions to deal the large volume of legal enquiries and concerns in relation to legal challenges faced in the course of executing revolutionary tasks.

# SECTION 5: EFF DECLARATION OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup> NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

## 2ND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

NASREC EXPO CENTRE - JOHANNESBURG

13-16 DECEMBER 2019



**2ND NATIONAL  
PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY**  
NASREC EXPO CENTRE - JOHANNESBURG



# DECLARATION

We the delegates from all across the length and breadth of South Africa's towns, townships, informal settlements and rural areas, workplaces and campuses, gathered at the NASREC EXPO CENTRE in Johannesburg, Gauteng from the 13th to the 16th of December 2019 at the Economic Freedom Fighters historic 2<sup>nd</sup> National People's Assembly representing more than 730 000 members.

We gathered as Economic Emancipation Movement of South African and the African continent under the theme of 'Consolidating the ground towards socialist power', in the interests of the people who are unemployed, landless, homeless, youth, women, children, cleaners, domestic workers, security guards, miners, construction workers, farm workers, petrol attendants, civil servants, and professionals, in particular black professionals, to consolidate across all classes, races and geographic spread for people's power for economic freedom in our lifetime.

We commit to working with all progressive working-class organisations in South Africa to oppose the greedy capitalist establishment, which seek to privatise State Owned Companies. We are opposed to the privatization of ESKOM, TRANSNET, DENEL, SAA and all other key assets of the State. We reject the NEO liberal policies of the current government, which ignores scientific evidence that austerity measures and free markets are not solution to the economic crisis that define South Africa.

We gathered at the 2<sup>nd</sup> National People's Assembly as disciplined delegates. We collectively demonstrated the ability and readiness of the EFF to govern as we witnessed a well-coordinated and organised National People's Assembly in a way that has never been seen or done in South Africa post 1994, and possibly in the whole of Southern Africa.

All delegates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> NPA had a definite and unequivocal mandate from constitutional structures of the Economic Freedom Fighters, and reflected on the ideals of the organisation, subjective and objective challenges. We assessed our progress, deliberated maximally on our successes and failures.

We re-affirm and recommit to our generational mission which we committed when we adopted the Founding Manifesto and the 1st NPA resolution, encored by the seven none-negotiable pillars which express our socialist revolutionary vision in the immediate, expressed in our primary programme, the EFF Founding Manifesto:

- A. Expropriation of South Africa’s land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
- B. Nationalization of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensations.
- C. Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.
- D. Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
- E. 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.
- F. Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.
- G. Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

We were encouraged by the effort and the success of the Economic Freedom Fighters to bring back the land question to the public discourse as attempts at resolving the land question through technocratic, neoliberal methods) since 1994 have failed. We resolved that The CCT and EFF members of parliament must intensify the work geared towards the amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution. This amendment must emphasize the abolishment of private ownership of land, and the transfer of the land as a whole to the people, and that the State must hold this land in custody on behalf of the people as a whole.

We reaffirm our commitment to Pan-Africanism that is rooted in the belief that African people everywhere in the world are rejected and hated simply because of the colour of their skin, and welcome all messages of support from EFF Liberia, EFF Malawi, EFF Zimbabwe, EFF Lesotho, and EFF in Ghana, People’s United Democratic Movement, PUDEMO from Swaziland. Among key resolution on international relations, we resolved to continue to agitate for the complete unification of the African continent, which would include one currency for all the countries of the continent, one Reserve Bank, which will be empowered to include formulating and implementing monetary policy, promoting financial stability, issuing banknotes, and providing banking services to governments, as one of the key resolutions in international relations.

We pay tribute and salute the FEES MUST FALL generation, which confronted the regime in a militant and uncompromising way, and call on the generation of students now to fight until free quality and Decolonised education is a reality in all universities. We resolved to continue the call for complete free quality decolonised education for all. We further resolved to champion decolonisation of the curriculum that prioritize the African experience in science, mathematics, music and social and medical sciences.

The national people's assembly noted the phenomenon of femicide, rape, sexual harassment, misogyny, and patriarchy in general. We call on all of society to consistently engage and participate in campaigns that raise awareness on all of these issues. We as delegates of the 2ND NPA resolved, among others, to continue to call men out on their thrashy personalities that continue to kill women and girl children, strong intervention by the state on education, policing and representation of women ownership of means of production and participation in strategic sectors of the economy.

South Africa is facing a scourge of drugs, and many of our young people are dying on a daily basis. We deliberated and will advocate for strong focus on the corrupt relationship between the police gangsterism, the relationship between poverty, unemployment and homelessness and drug abuse. We noted how the deployment of South African Defence Force in Cape Flats in Cape Town has failed as people continue to kill. Each other. We resolved to call for a deployment of special task team must be deployed to deal with gangsterism and drugs in places such as the Cape Flats in Cape Town.

We noted the trend of foreign take-over of South Africa major companies in the recent past, including South African Breweries, and the move by the major corporations to relocate and invest in the West. We further noted the current deal to sell South Africa's largest food company, Pioneer Foods, that produces flour, maize meal, cereals and seeds. This take over will further threaten South Africa's food security as we are a country that is food secure but millions live in hunger. We resolved that the EFF must reject and campaign against the takeover of Pioneer Foods by PEPSI, and we will advocate for establishment of a state-food company that will take over Pioneer Foods to ensure food security.

We take note of the false excitement over the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Its pursuit to replace the majority of the workers of the world with intelligent machines, reflects the self-destructiveness of capitalism against human development. Under the Fourth Industrial Revolution, intelligent machines will produce goods and services that the majority of the people cannot buy because they have no wages due to massive unemployment. This means technological development, as long as it is under capitalist rule, it is not safe and will only lead to more inequality, poverty and indignity.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution, if successful in the current conditions, will lead to another global economic crisis, it will produce more debt, and more debt will lead to the collapse of many economies. We resolved that the EFF must agitate for a move from production for profit, to production for people, and maximum benefit of Fourth Industrial Revolution should necessarily benefit all people, workers, women and children, and the poor.

We leave this NPA with full determination and commitment to go to the ground to build functional and activist branches that will lead community struggles and increase the EFF capacity to win Ward Elections. Our approach and single objective to the 2021 local government elections and the 2024 general elections is to win and take over government.

We pledge solidarity with the people of Cuba and call for an end to the economic and social blockade and embargo imposed on Cuba by the United States. We call for the total decolonization of Western Sahara. We call for opening of political space and Democratic elections in Swaziland. We condemn apartheid Israel for its continued occupation of Palestine. We condemn the coups de tat in Bolivia and destabilization of Latin American countries. We condemn the dictatorship state of Uganda, and encourage the youth of Uganda to fearlessly fight against the regime.

There was maximum participation by all the delegates and we resolved on further issues on justice, on basic education and early childhood, health and we will communicate all the resolutions by all communications. With the resolution on organisational redesign and adoption of constitutional amendments, which include amongst others additions of the Central Command Team, we will go and ensure implementation of the historic 2ND NPA resolutions. We are a generation of economic freedom fighters and well shall overcome. Aluta Contua!



# SECTION 6: CLOSING REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND CIC JULIUS MALEMA



# CLOSING REMARKS

**Commissar Veronica Mente:** Over to you President.

**CIC JULIUS MALEMA:** Amandla. Amandla. Viva EFF viva. Ae gole EFF Ae gole. Thatha EFF Thatha. Siyabonga, thank you very much. Our newly elected National Chairperson. Let me take this opportunity to also congratulate the newly elected officials and the Central Command Team. We also want to take this opportunity to congratulate the delegates to the Second National People's Assembly for having produced quality leadership and quality resolutions which are going to change the lives of our people.

This journey of renewing our revolutionary mandate and revising our policies is important to ensure that we live forever. I was very happy to see the participation of our delegates both in the commissions and the plenary. But not only just participating, the quality contributions which you are making in the commissions and also here in the plenary. Inspiring and giving us confidence that indeed the future of the EFF looks bright. Comrades, I'm more particularly impressed with the resolutions that allow our fellow African brothers and sisters in the continent and in the diaspora to join the EFF. We are the first organization in South Africa that will practically implement the unity of African people.

Comrades, this meeting was a very historic meeting, because it was conducted in a manner that was never experienced anywhere in South Africa. Every time when they convene their conferences, they will be making reference to this EFF conference. For this we want to take the opportunity to thank the former Secretary-General, the former National Chairperson and the former Treasure General who have not made it back into the leadership but continued to work for the success of this organization and this conference. I also want to thank former members of the Central Command Team, who have not made it into the new leadership.

This is the exemplary leadership that we require moving forward. An understanding that positions in the EFF are contested. Ideas in the EFF are contested. Therefore, when we contest each other, we are not enemies. We do this because there are some amongst us who think that Dali Mpofu can make a better Deputy President than Floyd Shivambu and it is their right to think so. No one should take away their right to think so.

Fighters I want to reassure everyone here, that no one will lose his or her position in Parliament or in the legislature on the basis that they're not elected into the Central Command Team. If there is anyone who got elected into the Central Command Team with the hope that he or she will become a member of Parliament, hard luck because there are no vacancies. Unless you are earmarking the position of Marshal in Parliament because Marshal is going to that shack called EFF Head Office in Braamfontein. So, there will be a vacancy there for one person.

So, if you came into the Central Command Team with the hope that you'll go to Parliament, then that is your own baby to feed because there's no such an opportunity.

Comrades, we are coming to an end of this conference and we are impressed with the discipline shown by you delegates and our guests. You will find that sometimes the delegates can behave, but you find guests were unruly and involved in the business of the conference. You will find guests who somehow even try to influence the decisions of such a conference. Thankfully we never had any rumour or any complaints that our guests are interfering with the business of our conference. So, I'm happy that we had well-behaved guests including our media.

Except ENCA, but generally, all media houses who confirmed their participation here behaved very well. We never had a situation where there was a complaint that the journalists are forcing their way, are disrespectful of the protocols or the rules of the conference.

Continue to report the way you want to report about us. It is your right to call us all types of names. It is your right to write anything you want to write about this NPA, but it is equally our right to disagree with you. That right must never be taken away from us. We will protect your right to disagree with us, but you must protect our right to disagree with you, because they are all important rights.

Fighters this morning I missed a telephone call from the President of the Republic of South Africa. I returned his call and he asked me to send a message to you. He has learned a lot from how you organized your conference.

He also congratulated me and said, I see you're elected unopposed, and it is something I wish for myself, but is practically impossible with the type of arrangement I have.

But I became more excited when the President told me that Khaya Cekeshe will be going home. I got excited when the President told me, that King Dalindyebo will be going home. I got more excited when the President said; he will be releasing them with other prisoners, but those prisoners who are arrested for rape, for domestic violence, for killing women and all those types of related crimes when it comes to issues of women, they will not be released.

So, we are sending a very strong message to all those who continue to abuse women. That you don't have a space to co-exist with our communities because you belong to prison as animals.

Fighters when the President speaks about Khaya Cekeshe he says, this young man that the EFF has been campaigning for must be released and he will be released. So I thought I must brief you before we announce it because you are the ones who have been championing the release of this young man.

So we thank Ramaphosa for an early Christmas because we've been wanting to co-exist and learn from people like Khaya Cekeshe and King Dalindyebo. We still hope that all of those who have criminal records emanating from FeesMustFall, will have their criminal records cancelled. We hope they too will continue to enjoy their freedoms because they were fighting for a just cause.

Comrades, when we leave here, we must go and protect the State-owned companies which the same Ramaphosa and Jamnadas want to sell to their friends.

So Ramaphosa I want to tell you now, that even if you release Khaya Cekeshe, you are not our friend because of what you did to the people of Marikana. You are not our friend because you want to sell the asset of the people. That ESKOM belongs to our people. That SAA belongs to our people. That TRANSNET belongs to our people. DENELL belongs to our people. It does not belong to Rupert and the Oppenheimer's. And if you want to sell our assets to the Rupert's and the Oppenheimer's, we'll defend our assets with everything including our bodies.

We will occupy the picket lines in defence of our properties. We want to say to NUMSA, to SAFTU to AMCU, to all progressive left forces, let us unite in defence of the property that belongs to our people. Let us confront the enemy agents. They want to steal from our people. Therefore, it is only a unity of the left which can defend the property of our people. Comrades, next year before the end of January, we shall occupy the premises of ESKOM to demand a reliable supply of electricity to our people. We shall also be sending a message to all those who want to sell ESKOM to their friends. That you will never do that in our name. No one will privatize ESKOM.

Comrades, we must confront the banks in South Africa and the financial sector in general. They are too powerful. We cannot have any sector of the economy to be more powerful than the people of South Africa. We need to send a strong message. To ABSA, to FNB, to Nedbank and a very soft message to Standard Bank. Because Standard Bank is a bit progressive, because of the Chinese Government as a shareholder in that Standard Bank. But the rest of these Rupert related banks must be confronted and they must be told that they cannot do as they wish. When you disagree with Rupert, he closes your bank account. When you disagree with Rupert and mention Rupert's name in the second National People's Assembly, he withdraws his cameras from ENCA.

There is no ENCA which is in solidarity with AmaBhungane and Scorpio. The ENCA withdrew from this conference because we spoke about Rupert. Because ENCA is owned by the Ruperts and you can't criticize them on their platform. They are censoring us. Yet they call themselves the democrats. The people who protect the best constitution in the world. But when you disagree with them, they close their cameras. But when they criticize us and call us all types of things, we must listen to them.

It was ENCA, the channel of Rupert that said as a title, Julius Malema the owner of the EFF. They gave me a new title and those are the people that when you relate with them you must treat them nicely. When they use their platforms to haul insults and because you don't have a TV channel, you can't say anything to them.

The least we can do is to protect ourselves from such criminals. Who reduce the People's Organization into an entity of an individual. What an insult to the poor masses of our people who have formed this organization. Today it is belonging and owned by Julius Malema.

ENCA must know that we will fight them to the grave, the same way we did with ANN7. We don't need their coverage. We don't exist because of the ENCA. They have got less than five hundred thousand viewership. My twitter followers are bigger than ENCA. The EFF got more votes than the viewers of the ENCA. So, we don't need the ENCA. SABC, we need you, relax. ENCA we don't need.

405, if you are going to continue the way you have been covering here, you'll become the best alternative. You are hard, you are attacking, but you do that with humility and with respect. Because we are Africans. It doesn't matter how robust we want to be, there should be a limit, because as African people, we always treat each other with respect. JJ can scream at us the way he likes, he's more than welcome. He's an African brother who knows that his screaming requires answers on behalf of our people.

We're not scared of any questions. We are never scared of questions. We entertain even the most, the most unsettling questions, we entertain them. Not these arrivalists who claim to have questions. You must ask Debora Patta. We paralyzed her and finished her career. She thought she was very powerful. So, we have no problem with any form of a question. We have no problem with any form of media. Just don't declare us an enemy. Because when you declare us an enemy, we shall treat you as an enemy.

Fighters the banks of South Africa are an enemy of our people. The financial sector is the enemy of our people. The mothers in Natal had to carry a dead body to Old Mutual for their policies to pay because those are the enemies of our people. Who makes people to take the dead body to their offices? Because they don't believe that a person is dead. Why? Because this dirty person is a Black person. They can never be trusted even when they are dead.

The financial sector must be fought. 2020 it's a war against the financial sector and against the banks of South Africa. We need them to know that no one is above the power of the people.

Comrades, we can achieve all of this if we have activist public representatives. If we have activist Commissars, activist PCT's, activist RCT's, activist BCT's. Not armchair politicians. Not people who see positions of deployment as a personal achievement.

I want to emphasize that because some chance takers are criticizing me for having said that. Don't go to church and thank God for these positions. They are not yours. Thank God for your degree. Thank God for your masters and thank God for the EFF. Not for the EFF position. Once you do that, you are personalizing it. It belongs to you.

That is why the day we ask back of our chair, you cry like a little baby. Because in your imagination, it was given to you by "Papa". Don't do that. Don't claim EFF positions as an achievement. I don't care who did that. I don't care whether it's a male cadre or a female cadre, I really do not care. Never celebrate an election in the EFF.

These ones here, if they leave here to through a party in their homes and their villages, and slaughter goats and sheep to thank their ancestors, they must know that their problems have started that day. Their problems have started that day. What are you celebrating? You defeated Dali Mpofu? Where? Which Dali Mpofu did you defeat? There's no Dali Mpofu that was defeated here. There's no one who was defeated here. There's no one who won here. The EFF won this conference. There's no individual who must claim victory on positions of the EFF.

That's why yesterday, there was a party for everyone. It ended yesterday. Ho fedile no more party, no more. Congratulations for what? There's nothing more to celebrate, there is more to work now. We are going to the ground, we are going to work.

I say this comrade Dali because we shouldn't start this organization with wrong tendencies, of thanking Bishop, of thanking Papa, of thanking my ancestors, slaughtering a white chicken. You are personalizing these positions. You're personalizing these positions and you're going to create problems.

That's why when Mandisa Mashego doesn't make a threshold, you can stand in front of her and say, "hey, hey", like a fanatic. Ja, Pirates, Pirates have scored, there's no difference between a revolutionary and a fanatic in a stadium when you celebrate that Mandisa doesn't get a threshold. And I look at this, I'm like, what is this? Who's this person that you're celebrating that she didn't get a threshold? What are we here? How do we see each other? Because we must see each other as brothers and sisters who have each other's back.

Why are you celebrating another comrade who didn't get a threshold? You stand on chairs, you celebrate like a fanatic. Those are the types of people we don't want in the EFF. We don't want fanatics here. We are building an organization based on principles of collective leadership that the pain of my fighter, is my pain. That I will die next to you. If they shoot you in the trenches, they will have to shoot me because I will kill them, for having killed you. I shall drag you, your dead body, I will pull it, run with it because I have to go and account in the village as to what happened to this comrade. If I can't carry this body, I have to die next to it, because this is my comrade, I'm not going to leave him in the trenches, I'm going to die next to my comrade. We ought to die next to each other, we have to protect each other, we must go to prison together, we must go into exile together, we must fight the enemy together. This is a collective war. It's a war that we must be prepared to fight until the grave.

We will never fight it until the grave if we celebrate each other not getting a threshold. The question shall be, can I trust this fighter? You ought to ask that question. The one sitting next to me, can I trust this fighter? Or do I have to carry my water with me when I go to a toilet because of the way you celebrated when I didn't get a threshold, it was like I'm your enemy. Should I trust you? Who are we? What have we become? We have a problem here, and we have to deal with it. So you celebrate like that because you personalized it.

You go to churches about it. You go home about it. You slaughter about it. You go to traditional healers about it because you personalized it. I don't care what you say about me in your Twitter lines. I've not joined a political party of people who personalize politics. We must talk to each other in an open and frank manner because when we leave here, if we don't condemn certain behavior, it will become part of our culture and our tradition because we are still at a formative stage.

Comrades, we need to unite Africa. These Africans belong to us, we belong to them. There's no South Africa without Africa. Let's go and defend them in the streets and any fighter who's found wearing a Beret and a t-shirt during xenophobic attacks, that fighter has defined himself outside the organization. Because we are for Africans. Comrades, when Africans are attacked, we must give them safe homes. We must say to them, come and stay in here, in my home. If they want to kill you, they will have to kill all of us in this home because we're not going to allow that, not under our watch.

The unity of this continent is very important. Let me tell you, if the unity of Africans was not threatening White capital and imperialist forces, they would have said Julius Malema is the best. But when you speak about the unity of Africa, look at the reaction of the enemy forces. Once you see them criticizing and attacking, you must know you're on the right path. They don't want to see us united. That's why they divided us into Bantustans here in South Africa. Others as Venda, as Shangaan, as a Pedi, as a Zulu, as Xhosa. We don't see each other as beings.

That's why we say, don't attack Africans because when you finish with Africans, you're going to go for each other. Africans are going to be beaten, Africans will leave South Africa. We won't have jobs. Then the new theory will start. The Shangaan's, the Venda's, the Zulu's. You see these ones of Zulus must go back to Natal. Because there will not be jobs even after Africans are gone. White capital has kept liquid cash in the banks, trillions of Rands, and refuses to invest it into the economy of South Africa.

There won't be jobs even when African are gone. Stop misleading yourself. Africans are here, they've got nowhere to go.

They have never stopped you from going to Nigeria. I was saying to the TG now, that when these people say to you, you must buy property, you must invest in farms, you must not only look into South Africa. There are good opportunities in Mozambique. There are good opportunities in Angola. And worse when you want to invest here in South Africa, in the economy that is owned by Whites, all types of names are going to be attached to us. "Hey, they are corrupt, hey, they are working with so and so." The best and safe environment for EFF to invest is in the African continent.

We must take you to go and work in Africa. Because you go around loitering as unemployed, we're unemployed, but none of you have ever gone to look for a job in Nigeria. "Hey, we are qualified. We've got a qualification. Hey, what's happening? What is the problem? There are no jobs in South Africa", but there is Africa. Why are you not going to look in Africa? Why do you say, South Africa? You don't know that there is a continent called Africa because Whites have told us, there is only South Africa and the rest are useless.

Let me tell you. Go to Nigeria, they trade with dollars. They own their banks. You get into a bank, first floor to the last floor, you will never meet a single White person. Yet they're running successful banks. They are a lot we can learn from each other as Africans. But also, you don't travel. Bonginkosi. You don't travel. From prison, you just went to DUT. You don't travel, you don't even have a passport for sure. Hey, you hear what, he says he's poor. Passport has nothing to do with being poor. Get a passport. Travel the continent and see how beautiful this continent is.

And realize so many opportunities that are there in the African continent. So, comrades, let us defend the African brothers because they are our brothers and sisters. We are one thing and we're not doing them a favour and they don't us a favour.

The NPA has proposed that we should form a continental body of the EFF which will be seized with organizing EFF in Africa. Let me tell you, the officials just agreed that it is a very important body which is going to be headed by Godrich Gardee as we continue building the EFF in the African continent. So, Godrich Gardee will be leading the body that is going to coordinate on a fulltime basis, this continent of Africa.

Comrades, we no longer talk about HIV and Aids. Aids continues to kill our people. Yes, I agree that Cancer is more fashionable now, but there's very little we can do with Cancer. Except that our people must go and test from time to time so that there are earlier detections and we can start treating it. But the problem of HIV and Aids is as a result of people refusing to be responsible. We ought to be responsible. That's why we give you condoms here in this NPA, because we are concerned that when people meet like this, anything is possible. You must use a condom. Some people think the condom will protect them from the bag. As long as it's the school bag next to the bed, it's enough, they don't use it.

Let us use a condom. The children must abstain from sex because they are not ready. Those of you who are married and have fulltime partners, Floyd Shivambu, be faithful, please. Let's be faithful and stick to one partner. Let us defeat this Aids because they think it will kill all of us. And when we don't act responsibly, we are making our enemies happy because we will die. But equally, those who are already HIV positive, we must not isolate them. We must embrace them and those of us who have food to share with, we must share with them. And we must encourage them to take their medication.

Because anyone who dies out of Aids today is an irresponsible person. If you are HIV positive, you will no longer die from HIV/Aids, the medication is there, take your medication. Please, we don't want to lose you, we love you. We don't care whether you are HIV positive or not, you are one of us. Continue to take your medication. Our scientists are fighting, let's hope they'll find a solution before anything happens to you.

The Cuban's; Deputy President, they're almost there with finding a solution. That's why Americans don't like Cubans. Because they're extremely advanced when it comes to issues of medicine.

So, we have to be responsible with the hope that one day we'll find a solution.

Fighters, the issue of women and the killing of women, is a personal issue that you have to reconcile with it. We can scream, we can say whatever we want to say. If you are not prepared to change your behaviour, then this society is doomed with people like you. Let us find it in our hearts not to fight women not to beat women, rape women and kill them. It has even become worst and scary. Where a nineteen-year-old boy rapes a sixteen-year-old and burn the body. What have we become? Are we really animals as the way we're being described by White people? Are you confirming to White people that we are animals? That we cannot conduct ourselves in a manner that is befitting of a human being? What type of people have we become? What happened to our conscious? You sit there, the body of a person is burning, burnt by you.

We cannot have such a man amongst us. These women have not done anything. There's nothing women can do to stop their abuse because they are not abusing themselves. We must do something. Women, there's very little they can do. Very little. You can't say, she provoked me. At all material times, it's us who provoke them.

I went to a funeral, there was a guy being buried, and all those people who spoke, spoke about their relationship with this guy. This guy was married, and they never mentioned what the wife did for this guy when this guy was sick. This guy, he went to this hospital and that hospital. Hey, I went to check him, everyone says that, but they don't say when we checked him the wife was there.

So, When I left there, I was very angry. This wife, why is she not anywhere? And then I went to tell my wife here there where we went, that wife, they didn't even say anything about her. It's clear that she didn't take care of that man. My wife said eh huh, you see that man who died, should have done something extremely bad to that woman. There's no way that women can just turn against a man, a sick man.

So, it means when the chief was still in a proper position to do things for himself, he neglected her. And then when he collapsed the wife said ehe. Those ones who you were spending time with at Taboo, must come and bath you now. Akere you were leaving me here, thinking wena o se ja banna. Now when you are weak, I must come and take responsibility. When you were stronger, you didn't care about us. Then we're all going to jump into conclusion. Ja, she didn't care, when the man was sick, she didn't care.

Comrades when we say, the issue of abuse of women is actually in our DNA. I went to the funeral of a church. This person was a churchgoer. Throughout women and men were saying, women must respect their men. Women must respect their men. Don't talk back when the man talks. In a church, and the people were clapping. And I knew that we had a big problem. It was in KZN. They were saying it in Zulu Marshal, "ungathethisi indoda, ungakhulumisi indoda". Kere Mbuyiseni are you listening? Are "hey it's scary here Chief".

Why are we not confronting any culture, religious practices that discriminate against women? If we're genuine, why are we not having a huge March in the Eastern Cape against Ukuthwala practice which is still there, where young kids are being abducted in the name of culture? We protect our culture, we support our culture, but any cultural practices that violate the rights of any human being must never be protected by revolutionaries.

We shouldn't allow that. Let young girls grow up and choose men of their own choice. If they want to choose women, let them choose women. This is their own right, they must decide who they want to marry to. Not some big belly person. What if these kids want a six-pack? You deny them that opportunity. So, let us take the battles everywhere where this nonsensical practice of discrimination against women is still there.

Let the church to come to the party by embracing women as equal. So that the young children grow up knowing that there is no place for women, there is no place for man, there is a place for humanity. We are all human beings. That's where it starts. So, comrades, let us in the EFF punish those who want to undermine the woman of the EFF. We are happy that this second NPA gave us more than what the constitution said on women. Because we're not just talking in the EFF, we practice what we're talking about.

So, we have women from the top six until the last additional member . Let us go back and defend women and be led by women, as long as we know our place. If you suffer from low self-esteem and you don't know your place, you'll be threatened by women. But if you know your place and you're confident, you don't care who leads. All you want is ideas. That is the type of society we need to produce.

Comrades, January we must make sure that every child who deserves to go to school, goes to school. There is no single branch which must just relax and not go and help kids when we go back to school in January. From early childhood development to tertiary level, February when it comes, the EFF Student Command, you must kick the doors that are closed. Open them by force, allow our children to walk into those universities, they must be registered whether they've got money or the don't have money. What must earn you a seat in the university, it must be your marks. Eh, o bereke. O ska nyaka go kenna University ka 30%. The marks must earn you a seat in the university. Your marks must earn you a seat in the TVET College.

No child, a deserving child, must be returned back because this child does not have money, even when the results are saying this child qualifies to be in this TVET College, qualifies to be in this university. We must not be told that there is not enough space. That is not our problem, it is the problem of universities, it's the problem of Government. They said we must go to school, we've responded to their call. Now they can't make it our problem. We are hungry for education. A decolonized education that will be taught by people who look like us. Not some people who look differently.

We want to see ourselves in the curriculum. When we speak about mathematics when we speak about medicine. In medicine, we must find ourselves there. The traditional herbs must be taught in the university. We must not be told, this is backwardness. Everything that looks African, let it be taught in the university. We're not saying exclude Europe we are internationalists, but we cannot be bombarded with Europe as if we don't have our own medicine here in Africa. Let education look like us.

We want to see ourselves reflected in philosophy. Let African philosophers be celebrated. We must not be told that philosophy is a European thing, it has got nothing to do with us. Comrades, I want us to build a school, not a political education school. We must build a school that is owned by the EFF. A private school. And it must be judged with the same standards as Crawford and that one that Vuyani went to. Curro. [Vuyani], St. David's, all of them. We are going to build a school in the next five years. We are going to build a school. And we're going to hire highly qualified teachers, and the children are going to go to that school for free of charge. And they're going to be children of poor people. Their mothers, it should be children of those who don't have parents as priority, or their parents are dying of HIV and Aids and related diseases. We must go and take the poorest of the poor.

Our leaders, I don't understand why Patrice Motsepe does not have a school. I don't understand why Robert Gumede does not have a school. I don't understand why Sisa Ngebulana does not have a school. But they have all the nice things that are so expensive. Showing and giving us evidence that these people can build a successful school. Why is Ramaphosa not having Shanduka High School paid with the money of Shanduka? So, we want to lead this. Let us build a school that is going to be attended by children of the poor families. The poor of the poorest from all over South Africa.

In the next five years when we come back here, if we've not built that school, don't elect any of us in front here, we are useless. It means we don't know what we want. We are calling upon our brothers and sisters in Africa, in South Africa to support this initiative of building Winnie Mandela School, here in South Africa, preferably in Alexandra where the poorest are found. We go, we don't occupy any land to cause our school trouble. We go and purchase it properly and build a proper school with every facility you can think of. And sign the children of the poor into that school. We don't want any White approval. We'll go to Zimbabwe and go and take our teachers there in Zimbabwe to come and teach here.

If these Whites don't want to teach our children, we'll come to South Africa and take our teachers, highly qualified. Why should Oprah Winfrey come here and build a school here? As if we are a charitable case. We are not a charity. We can do it ourselves. We appreciate our sister building a school, we like her for that. She has shown us the way. You have a conference here of how many days? Four days. You spend thirty-two million. Can you imagine what we can do with thirty-two million? Which we raised for this conference of yours in less than eight months. It means we've got the capacity to raise more.

So, let's go. I want to see the children of the poor flourishing. Why? Because I come from there. I'm the child of a domestic worker. My mother suffered from epilepsy. She couldn't do anything for me. People identified me, gave me an opportunity and they said, there's a potential in this young man. I don't have anything, I have nothing to offer, I can't build a school. But with this leadership and you, we can realize a dream of changing life of the hopeless masses of our people. We stayed in a shack. We slept without food. Once she came out of her bus, my mother has a scar she burnt when she was working for Whites in the domestic, there in town there.

When she comes out of her bus, I used to run to her, because I had hoped she came back with some leftovers. And the White man wants to tell me how to live my life. And tell me that I don't know what poverty does to people. I know what poverty does to people. That's why we must help our people. And we don't care how many people we must help, whether it's one, whether it's two. I know it's possible, we can change young lives. My life changed because someone else said, we can change the life of this young man. I went to my township there, I said to my principal, I want three kids who come from the shacks and I don't want them to come from proper shacks, you know.

I want the ones that when it rains, the rain goes through shack. I want them to be pilots. And then we searched for them. The EFF legacy project we showed you here, we took them to become pilots from shacks. And I said to them, I don't want you to join the EFF or vote for the EFF if you do that you can do that on your own. But I want you when you become pilots to finance other pilots who come from the same background that you come from. So, I don't understand why Vodacom can't build a school. I mean they're monopolizing the network, the data, comrade Kiro. I don't understand why MTN can't build a school, strictly for the most poor people. For the people that are hopeless, and they were told by their teachers, you are nothing else. You are going to end here like those who came before you in your family, you are not going anywhere, this is your end. Those are the people that we must go and identify and help them.

I tell you my history not because I want you to pity me. I don't want any favour from anyone. I don't want anyone to feel sorry for me. This story I'm telling you is not my story alone, it is our story all of us in this hall. It's a story of a Black child. We've all gone through that. So, it shouldn't be easy to align with people who want to destroy a Black child if you know where black children come from. Fighters, we're going to local Government elections. I've outlined what type of leadership we want. In the guidelines that we're going to produce, we are not going to have a PR list. We are only going to have ward candidates. Because in the previous local government elections, we had a problem of hard-working ward candidates losing their wards and the lazy ones on PR list going inside the council on the votes of those who are ward candidates.

So, we're going to register only ward candidates and if we win the wards, the ones who win the wards, go inside. And the ones that are going to follow, are the ones who got the highest votes. Those will be our PR in the councils to deal decisively with the opportunism of laziness. So, if you want to go back to being a councillor, start tomorrow visiting communities. Start working hard so that in 2021 they don't ask you who are you?

So, we don't want people who survive out of the sweat of other people. We must all work hard and work for the EFF to be Government in 2021. We want to take Johannesburg, we want to take Tshwane, we want to take PE. Because of all these coalition Governments, they are telling you that their people are tired of the ANC. eThekweni stop sleeping. The votes you gave us in eThekweni there, those people of eThekweni are saying, we are ready for the EFF. And if you're going to play, we won't get that Municipality.

The ANC is in a serious crisis in that region. With that Umama who's fired now, the situation is worst. Take advantage of that situation and zoom in there and take power. Ekurhuleni, the ANC took the votes from us in 2019 and we even lost the wards we've won in 2016. It means you're sleeping there. in Ekurhuleni. If you know what is good for you, from tomorrow, you will do the right thing. To go and re-gain the votes of the EFF in Ekurhuleni. Otherwise, that Mzwandile is going to win in 2021, and we don't want that. He will win because of the laziness of the people of Ekurhuleni.

Someone must still explain to me why Limpopo province performs the way it does because the people of Limpopo are looking for the EFF. But Limpopo is not giving us what we want. There's a problem there, Deputy President. We may have to zoom in there and go and do, a situation where we look for the best of the best. And we ask the fellows who are leading there in Limpopo to come and join us there in Parliament. We'll give them committees there.

And allow that province to be led by people who are going to give us what that province is supposed to give us. You are not giving us anything. You are not giving us anything. It was not going to be Limpopo that increases vote with one seat you must be ashamed of yourself. You must be extremely ashamed of yourself. You were beaten and defeated by KwaZulu Natal. And Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape, if it got the necessary support and the availability of leadership, Eastern Cape was going to give us more than what they gave us. Even with a lack of support from leadership, they still did well.

But what I like about the increase in Natal and Eastern Cape is the fact that you did away with the myth that seeks to suggest that EFF is a tribalistic organization of Limpopo. You showed them that EFF is the whole of South Africa. So, Limpopo, you must sort out your mess. We want more votes. North West, there's no opposition in North West. North West is defeated by the holy spirit. There's no ANC in North West. Let me tell you, they know. Papiki mamela mo. Is the ANC in North West? Huh? The ANC is not there. You are defeated by a holy spirit.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

I don't understand what is defeating you. There is no ANC in North West. Absolutely not. All ANC councilors in North West, are voting with the EFF. And EFF still loses votes. Ho nale boloi wa nkwishisha. So, North West, Free State, Mpumalanga, Gauteng, these are the provinces that should be making us shine. Which shouldn't be too hard shame on Mpumalanga. We thank you for being an official opposition there. And we thank Limpopo for retaining your status of opposition, the official opposition, and North West. But we need more. We need more.

I'm talking to you now, as your President, openly. So that when you leave here, you understand what we want. But you must look at what the fools are going to write about what I said to you. There's nothing I can do because I won't have any other platform to talk to you without these people being present. Because when I chase them out, they say he's a dictator, he doesn't want the media. So, unfortunately, I have to speak to you in front of them. And there's no Limpopo which is going to be disbanded because these ones when you talk about hard work and pushing people bare is finished, they're gone.

There's no Limpopo that is going to be disbanded. You are going back home there. To go and work very hard. We want you to double the efforts and work very hard. The same thing with Free State, the same thing with Northern Cape. We want you to work very hard. You're not giving us what we want Mandisa there in Free State and Northern Cape. The Western Cape did very well, particularly the Metro. We can do better than we did in the Western Cape.

There's a huge potential in the Western Cape. The comrades must stop being playful and stop your unnecessary squabbling and focus on changing the lives of our people in the Western Cape. Our people in the Western Cape are both Africans and Coloureds. You are all Black, you have similar struggles. Your coexistence should never threaten each other. The unity of purpose amongst Black people in the Western Cape is necessary because the DA only benefits White people. You have to come to those senses and come together and work very hard. The EFF in Western Cape must be at the forefront of fighting gangsterism and the crime which is happening there in the Western Cape.

The high levels of murder in the Western Cape is like you are a country in a war. It has to come to an end. And only the vanguard of the working class, can zoom in there and fight those battles. No army will help you, no task force will help you. You must prevail and say to Black people in the Western Cape, we cannot continue to kill each other. We must stop Black people's hate for each other.

Because it's black people who are dying in the Western Cape. Killed by Black people. Stop killing one another. The Western Cape, the madness of drugs of gangsterism and illegal firearms must come to an end. The EFF must confront without fear, the drug lords of Western Cape and say to them, you do not sell these drugs to White kids, you are destroying our families in Black communities. Yet you are Black. You must conscientize them and make them understand that they're destroying a black nation. We have issues to deal with in communities, yet we don't take the opportunity and lead from the front.

Comrades, I want to thank the President of [PUDEMO] and the former President for spending time with us and thank the leadership of Vodacom, MTN, Cell C, NAFCO. They were here with us throughout. And some of them participated in our commissions and all of that. But there is a, I'm forgetting his name now. Bra Biza, he was here. Bra Biza has been with us here from day one until today. I saw him even this morning and he spends some time in our commissions as an elderly person trying to guide and show us direction. We really appreciate those type of people in our society who have time to come and share wisdom with us.

But I want to thank Dr. Irvin Khoza and Dr. Kaizer Motaung because those two doctors have done very well. Those people ran Black institutions from apartheid time until now. Gape Pirates is not a club, it's an institution. Kaiser Chiefs is not a club, it's an institution. Their contribution, in sports, in Black business without White supervision, is something that we must celebrate. And if you think that your business is not succeeding, you are being troubled, you don't know who to look up to, think of Dr. Kaizer Motaung and Dr. Irvin Khoza. I was telling Commissar Sinawo that they must go, and now I'm telling even the Student Command, you must go and lobby for our universities to give Dr. Kaizer Motaung an honorary doctorate, he deserves it.

Kare mo South Africa mo ho honouriwa di dom kop. How do you honor Zuma and not honour Kaizer Motaung? Dr. Ace Magashule, hey, hey. Mara ela ya Ace nkare it comes from Pick n Pay that one hey. It's not from a university, no, no, no. So, Student Command, next year, Dr. Kaizer Motaung must be honoured.

If he's not honoured it means this Student Command is not playing its role. In the councils there everywhere when you leave here, we're going to mobilize that Dr. Kaiser must be honored. Not a Dr. Bobby Motaung, not Bobby. Don't confuse those two. Bobby still has got a long way to go. We can't honour him now.

So, we must honor these people because they are a true exemplary leadership of what Black people are capable of. Even during the dark days of apartheid, those people were honoured. I mean ke bonna nou ba honourile le bo Winnie Mashaba. Jossey o kae? University of Limpopo, University of Venda, We are SRC at the University of Limpopo. Make the things happen, make the pots for Dr. Kaizer Motaung, let the pots happen. So that these people know that they are led by the EFF. This Government of the ANC can't honour Black excellence. We must honour it, we must fight for it. So, let us not be scared to celebrate our own.

Next year Collen Sidibe, it must not end before we occupy the border of Swaziland and demand the true freedom of the people of Swaziland. Comrades, in Swaziland there is no democracy. People who go to Parliament must be the darlings of the King. Anyone who must be anything strategic in that country, the King must agree. If you want to be a speaker of Parliament and you're not a favourite of the King, the Parliament will not seat to elect you as a speaker, because the King must sanction Parliament to seat, in order to elect the speaker. One man with many wives behaves like he's God, in Swaziland here. We don't have freedom ourselves if the people of Swaziland do not have freedom. We must go and fight for the freedom of our people in Swaziland. When they march, demanding better salaries, they are beaten up. Please, go and check the history of Mario Masuku.

This old man went in and out of prison in Swaziland. Mario Masuku is a Mandela of Swaziland. And they harassed him even old as he is now, he's still a threat to that Kingdom there. Because even when they imprisoned him, when they release him, the same day he goes and joins the protest, they go and arrest him afresh. He has never betrayed the struggles of the suffering people of Swaziland. And the least we can do for this old man is to stand up and support him. Now, comrade President, when you're a President you are forever a President, you see? So, don't worry about those former former things. Dali's former chairperson, he has never been President. Maybe if he comes back and becomes President and then later, he leaves, he will be President forever. So, that's why when these ones ask us about succession, we are not worried because when we leave, we are Presidents.

When they are troubled these chaps when we leave, they will still come to us and come and ask for the wisdom of, what was in your head when you were starting these things? So that we don't do the wrong things. Now, the new treasurer was saying to me, comrade President, that she's going to donate one million into your foundation so that you can continue to do the things that you want to do. Because you fought for the people of Swaziland. Now, you are running your foundation and you came here, you asked for the support, and the treasurer said no, she heard you and she's going to really make sure that you receive that amount of money to start this foundation and continue to make impact in the struggles of our people.

Comrades of the EFF in Africa, we want to support you. We want you to become big organizations where you come from. But we're not going to support a Facebook EFF. We're not going to do that. So, you have to demonstrate that indeed, you are on the ground, you've got the necessary support, you've got the structures. We don't have anything ourselves; we also depends on the support as well. The little we have, we should be able to share it with you, so that you can have an impact and participate in Parliament and use that Parliament to grow the EFF in Liberia, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe and all of that. So, please let's go and work on the ground. Let us not just talk about support without working the ground.

The secret here in South Africa is that we work the ground. We don't talk on Facebook and Twitter and we don't take too many pictures. We take pictures on the ground. We don't want to be celebrities. So, EFF Africa, go and work the ground.

The comrades of Zimbabwe who are in exile and the former Ministers of President Mugabe, you must put aside your egos and come together. We cannot have a situation where you're all in exile. But people are promoting individual campaigns and making t-shirts and all types of things in their names. We will not support individuals. We will support the cause. We are not going to support any individual who thinks that he's bigger than the cause. If you're not going to come together, join forces including joining the EFF Zimbabwe if possible, work together to build a formidable force.

You can defeat Mnangwangwa. But if there's going to be a competition of egos and people declaring themselves Presidents, even before you form an organization, then we'll see you in the commissions. Even addressing here is going to stop DP. I think we must get the organization, proper. Because it looks like comrades are unable to come together. And your inability to come together is a direct betrayal of the legacy of President Mugabe. Because when you disintegrate and work as individuals, those who want to destroy the legacy of President Mugabe, they will be the only legitimate people. Because they will look coherent and they will look like they are progressive. So, please, let's work together.

Fighters we are going back home. It's Christmas time, we are going to share with families that do not have. If you eat, whatever little food you have, share it with your neighbour. Let us make sure we are safe on the roads. Let us not drink and drive. Let us not get too much excited and we become casualties of a festive season. So, all of us, the revolution needs us next year. Let us all of us go back home and spend some time with our families. Because next year, from January we'll be working until we deliver victory for the EFF in the Municipalities. So make sure you spend enough time with your family.

Comrades, you are very important in your communities. People look at the red beret and they see their future in that red beret. Don't disappoint, don't become useless drunkards during this festive season. Enjoy and enjoy responsibly. Love yourself first before you can love others. If you have a self-love, you will never find it difficult to love the next person. So, please let us love ourselves as Black people so that we can love our neighbours and love fellow fighters. We are a family. We are not a political party. We are one thing and we're going to die next to each other. All of the best comrades. Thank you very much.





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