



THE COMING REVOLUTION

FOREWORD BY DALI MPOFU



JULIUS MALEMA and the FIGHT for ECONOMIC FREEDOM

EDITED by FLOYD SHIVAMBU
INTERVIEW with JULIUS MALEMA by JANET SMITH

The Coming Revolution

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For Heath and Kei, and thanks to Lynne Stead – Janet Smith

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FOREWORD

TO THE NAKED EYE, EVEN TO TALK about history in reference to an organisation like the EFF, which is hardly a year old, may sound presumptuous. That approach, however, would be taking a very narrow and linear view of history. In truth, the history of the EFF did not begin in July 2013 in Soweto nor in October 2013 at its launch rally in Marikana. In proper perspective, the history of the EFF began in April 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck ostensibly to set up a vegetable garden and a refreshment station en route to trade in the East.

It is no coincidence or irony that the Dutch East India Company, under whose auspices Van Riebeeck operated, performed its first action by taking a small piece of land in present-day Cape Town and, as the saying goes, the rest is history. That the EFF champions above all the return of the land clearly demonstrates the connectedness of two events that happened some 361 years apart, the arrival of Van Riebeeck's crew and the advent of the EFF.

Secondly, Van Riebeeck's journey was no joy ride. It was in pursuit of what we refer to today as "*globalisation*" – the idea that capitalist interests are free to roam around the globe to exploit, for profit, the natural and human resources of other lands, conquered either militarily or economically, or both.

The present-day similar exploitation of the mineral resources of South Africa by multinational companies, as well as the concomitant exploitation of predominantly African labour power in the process, can also be traced directly to the same or similar intentions of the Dutch East India Company, without which South African history would certainly have turned out differently and there would have been no EFF as we now know it.

There is one history, connected at different points, or, as Marx and Engels aptly put it in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles."

An appreciation of the above provides a short-cut to the understanding of both the class character of any revolution, as well as its internationalist

dimensions. Hence, there can be no such thing as socialism in one country! These insights should give a different and broader perspective to the significance of this relatively short book.

Thus, the history of the EFF, or any revolutionary movement for that matter, can really be traced even further back than 1652: from prehistoric times, some millennia BC, through the Bronze Age, the Ancient Empires, European Feudalism and the first wave of Bourgeois Revolutions in Europe. These stages were followed by the rise of Industrial Capitalism and Imperialism until the more modern eras of World Wars and the Cold War, which preceded the recent rise of neoliberalism under the stewardship of Reagan and Thatcher, which was in turn only brought to a halt by the crisis of capitalism in 2007–9. (The latter has brought back some sanity about the role of the state, with even the most ardent neoliberals grudgingly revising their anti-statist dogma.)

All these events and epochs have a direct relevance to the present stage of capitalism in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. Indeed, they similarly have a direct bearing on the state of socialism in South Africa and the world! The South African revolution is embedded in that reality. Arguably, not by coincidence, the attainment of political freedom in South Africa, led by the ruling African National Congress, took place within the context of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc countries and the largely Stalinist regimes that governed them.

This led directly to the abandonment of the two-stage theory in terms of which the ultimate destination was a socialist system anchored on nationalisation, the return of the land and the like, in favour of the more fashionable neoliberal ideological outlook. The rest is history.

In the ensuing 20 years, capitalism itself suffered its own actual or near collapse, ironically being rescued by large doses of state intervention and effective nationalisation of the banking sector.

It is a sign of the failure of the South African ruling elite to read the signs of the current times that they have chosen the politically suicidal route of clinging to right-wing neoliberal dogma in the face of contradicting evidence and the growing suffering of the working class and the poor.

As before, there can be no arresting the wheels of history. The oppressed class will ultimately triumph. No amount of military and police brutality or other forms of repression can defeat an idea whose time has come.

Understanding the emergence of the EFF, in collaboration with like-minded revolutionary forces of the Left, as a direct response to this historical mission, will put your reading of this book in its proper perspective.

This does not pretend to be any more definitive than a particular perspective of history. History is, by its nature, and properly so, contested terrain, even within the EFF itself. This should be encouraged as any fresh or different perspectives, provided they are genuinely and honestly held, can only enrich the never-ending search for the tools of comprehensive analysis that ought to be the constant preoccupation of all those who call themselves revolutionaries.

Happy reading.

Dali Mpofu

EFF: Commissar for Justice and Special Projects

7 March 2014

INTRODUCTION

ANY REFLECTION ON SOUTH AFRICAN politics in the past five years which ignores the contribution of Julius Malema and the generation of economic freedom fighters he leads will be incomplete. In the past few years, most reflections that try to do so always miss the point, and rely heavily on distorted media reports and sound bites. It has meant that they inevitably arrive at the wrong conclusions on exactly the content and nature of the politics Julius Malema is in pursuit of, and thus fail to understand the struggle for economic freedom.

It is not always advisable to separate individuals from the struggles they lead, but as Lenin argued, “personal qualities of political figures – their theoretical preparation, skill, courage and determination can determine the outcome in a given situation. There are critical moments in human history when the quality of the leadership can be the decisive factor that tips the balance one way or another”. Furthermore, it is correct that “although individuals cannot determine the development of society by the force of the will alone, yet the role of the subjective factor is ultimately decisive in human history”. ¹ -

We isolate Commander-in-Chief Julius Malema in this book, not because we believe in the cult of personality, nor in turning leaders of the revolution into demigods. We do so because it is important to understand the contribution Julius Malema has made in the struggle for economic freedom. And as is evident in the following chapters, Julius Malema does not exist in isolation; he is grounded in and organically connected to the struggles of the working class and the poor in South Africa. Even in instances where he holds tremendous organisational influence, he always seeks guidance from the people, and from the democratic processes of organisations within which he exists.

Many newspaper articles, opinion pieces, book chapters, books, theses, and dissertations have been written to reflect on the role played by Julius Malema and the generation of economic freedom fighters. In most of these

and particularly in the liberal media, his role is dismissed, and he is portrayed as a controversial figure who will upset the economy of South Africa and drive white people into the sea. In specific developments, particularly Marikana, some commentators and writers would argue that all he was pursuing is a self-seeking agenda designed to boost his ego.

In 2011, *Forbes* magazine listed Julius Malema as one of the 10 most powerful young people in Africa and, amongst the 10, he was the youngest. *The Economist* magazine, which is a mouthpiece of global neoliberalism, said that “despite his famed ‘G’ – a dismally low grade for his woodwork exam in his school leaving matriculation, Mr Malema is no fool. He has proved himself a master at politics ...” (*The Economist*, June 2011).

In 2013, the *New African* magazine listed Julius Malema as one of the 100 most influential Africans: “Julius Malema seems indestructible. After his expulsion from the ruling party ... Malema is back as the Commander-in-Chief of a new political party: the Economic Freedom Fighters, which is founded on socialist ideals, fighting for equal distribution of wealth and enjoying grassroots support, especially among the youth” (*New African*, December 2013, Issue Number 534).

In the book *Rethinking the South African Crisis*, Gillian Hart (2013) argues that “much attention and public commentary has focused on the controversial and flamboyant figure of Malema, who was dismissed from the ANC in April 2012 and faces fraud, corruption and tax evasion charges. Yet there is uneasy recognition that the anger and alienation of large and growing numbers of young men and women rendered ‘surplus’ to the requirements of capital will continue to burgeon even if Malema disappears” (Hart, 2013: 4).

Analysing the tensions within the ANC in the book *South Africa’s Suspended Revolution*, Professor Adam Habib, the Vice-Chancellor of Wits University, correctly observes that “the expulsion of Julius Malema and the increasingly strained relations between the ANC Youth League and its parent body have further consolidated the image of a ruling party paralysed by internal fissures” (Habib, 2013). While this is a correct analysis and observation, it ignores the ideological character and side of the paralysis that define the ANC, and *The Coming Revolution* assists in providing this.

Almost all books written about political developments in South Africa since 2009 have had something to say about Julius Malema and the struggle for economic freedom. In most instances they were written without having

clear information and understanding of the context. This book, *The Coming Revolution: Julius Malema and the fight for economic freedom*, brings an end to speculation and the baseless attacks that came from a position of ignorance. Like the Son of Man, we forgive them for they knew not what they were doing.

South Africa has not yet witnessed a thorough and proper reflection on the politics of Julius Malema and the struggle for economic freedom, mainly because of narrow class and racial prejudices. In this book we wish to set the record straight and to delve into the politics and developments around Julius Malema in a manner never done before. This is important to do because it will fly in the face of stereotypes, misinformed comment and lies that have been spread. This should be done because it will help to locate what he represents and why, and how the struggle of which he is at the forefront has attracted so much attention, both in South Africa and the world over.

This book will not be exhaustive nor will it be neutral, because neutrality does not exist in politics and class struggle. An attempt to be neutral is in itself not neutral because an absolute majority of the so-called neutral analyses are class-biased perspectives aimed at reinforcing misinterpretations and misinformation about individuals and the class struggle for economic freedom. Even authors who were granted access to the inner workings of the struggle for economic freedom in order to record the political and personal development of Julius Malema, failed to properly identify and understand the politics he upholds, and chose to write utter drivel, with no examination of the struggle of which he is in pursuit. This book aims to present the other side of the story.

More than anything, those of us who have worked with Julius Malema know that he is a revolutionary activist of principle and substance, and a leader who refuses to be swayed by trends that sweep through political movements. Those of us who have worked with him know that he is a leader who refused to back down on his principles, even when he knew that selfsame consistency would lose him friends and make him vulnerable to political persecution and rubbishing by reactionary elements. We know that Julius Malema is a reliable economic freedom fighter who will lead South Africa and inspire many struggles all over the African continent and the world, in the same way Lenin, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Thomas Sankara and Hugo Chavez did.

This book presents an opportunity for all South Africans, Africans and world citizens to understand the politics of Julius Malema, and, importantly, help them to understand the struggle for economic freedom. This book is the primary source of information relating to the EFF, material which has previously only been filtered through easy sound bites and bias.

The book is for all South Africans who wish to understand the nature and consider the future of South Africa. The book is for economic freedom fighters inside and outside the EFF, who wish to upgrade and improve their understanding of the struggle for economic freedom. The book is for revolutionary activists, organisers, volunteers, commissars, and fighters who carry the responsibility to fight for economic freedom. The book is for investors who seek certainty of policy and direction in respect of South African politics. The book is for students and teachers of politics, economics, sociology, history, and all subjects who seek to understand the future of South Africa. The book is for journalists and news editors who will report about the rise and rise of the EFF, and who continue to express shock over the emergence of this force.

With the publication of this book, it can no longer be claimed that the struggle for economic freedom is a mystery, and no one can claim that they do not understand Julius Malema, because here we present to the people of South Africa the clearest and most candid reflection of the Commander-in-Chief of Economic Freedom Fighters and the fight for economic freedom in South Africa.

Revolutionary regards,
Nyiko Floyd Shivambu
March 2014, Johannesburg

WHERE DO WE COME FROM?

Political and ideological reflections on the struggle for economic freedom

Introduction

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF) as a revolutionary movement engaged in the struggle for economic liberation has its roots in the struggles of the working class, those who do not own the means of production, inclusive of the unemployed, underemployed and the poor in South Africa. Any political formation or individual who believes that they hold the copyright to the struggle for economic emancipation is disingenuous, disrespectful and misleading, and also misreads the dynamic and dialectical nature and character of political struggles. The struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime predates the formation of EFF as a movement that seeks to fight for the economic emancipation of the oppressed people of South Africa, the African continent and the world.

The struggle for economic freedom is a political struggle, the primary mission of which is to ensure that all the people of South Africa equitably share in the natural and economic resources of our country. In the contemporary context, this means that all people should have access to adequate basic services such as shelter, food, security, healthcare and, importantly, quality educational opportunities to harness and enhance their livelihoods. This is a struggle that should be located within the reality of centuries of colonial conquest, which culminated in previously held African land merged into a whites-only Union of South Africa in 1910. Consequently the black majority, and Africans in particular, are an economically conquered people.

While political conquest and subjugation has been partially lifted through the inclusive political processes that began with South Africa's first democratic election on 27 April 1994, the vast majority of the people are

still trapped in that same economic subjugation and domination that defined the pre-1994 period. Now that South Africa is celebrating the 20th anniversary of political emancipation, we can safely observe that the 1994 election produced only relative political freedom; and that economic freedom has not been won. This is despite the struggle for emancipation in South Africa being primarily the struggle against land dispossession, and the struggle for an equal share in the natural and economic resources of South Africa.

Many generations of South Africans have fought the struggle against land and resource dispossession. Some battles were won but the war for economic emancipation rages on. Those who won the struggle for political emancipation officially in 1994 sometimes believe that the struggle for our freedom is over, and that we are in a state of *A Luta DisContinua*! This notion is misleading and will reverse the gains of political freedom because, as Kwame Nkrumah, the founding father of Africa's emancipation, said, 'political freedom without economic freedom is meaningless'.

In the following paragraphs, we illustrate how the struggle for economic freedom predated the birth of EFF and correctly took organisational form when the National Assembly on 'What is to be Done' resolved on 26 and 27 July 2013 in Soweto that this struggle requires a militant, radical and determined organisational form. The reason provided by the delegates to the National Assembly was that if this drive was not organised, the struggle for economic freedom would dwindle into insignificance.

In his address at the official launch of EFF in Marikana on 13 October 2013, the Commander-in-Chief (CiC), Julius Malema, stated that we are not the founders of the struggle for economic freedom, but that we are taking the baton from generations of freedom fighters that came before us. In the address, the Commander-in-Chief paid tribute to those early freedom fighters:

“We salute HINTSA, SHAKA, MOSHOESHOE, SEKHUKHUNE, NGHUNGHUNYANI, MAKHADO (TSHILWAVHUSIKU), MAKHAZA, DINGAAN, BAMBATHA and their generation. We salute JOHN DUBE, SEFAKO MAKGATHO, J.T. GUMEDE, REVEREND MAHABANE, JOHN TENGO JABAVU, PIXLEY KA ISAKA SEME, Z.K. MATTHEWS.

We salute Mxolisi Majombozi, William Nkomo, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Robert Resha, Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe AND THEIR GENERATION.

We salute Chris Hani, Thami Zulu, Lawrence Phokanoka, and those who suffered and were killed in the hands of the ANC in the camps for questioning leadership and its lack of urgency to confront the establishment. We salute Steve Biko, Solomon Mahlangu, Monty Motlounge, Hector Pieterse, Mbuyisa Makhubu, Tsietshi Mashinini, Ongkopotse Tiro, Andrew Zondo, and Peter Mokaba.

These are the people who represent generations of Freedom Fighters, who fought and won some battles, but still have not won the war.

Winning the battle for political power does not mean that we have won the war to equally share in the country's wealth. In the war for economic freedom, the black majority and Africans in particular are still a conquered nation.”¹-

The CiC was paying tribute to earlier generations who fought battles in the war, a war fought for the restitution of South African land to the rightful owners, the people of South Africa. Over the years this struggle took many forms: the wars of resistance, the formation of political parties in the early 20th century, mass protests, military struggle, the rendering of the apartheid state ungovernable, and apartheid machinery unworkable. The aim was always to restore the dignity of the people of South Africa.

There are liberal interpretations of what economic freedom means and what the struggle for economic freedom is. Our interpretation and definition calls for total ownership, control and maximisation of natural and economic resources by the previously oppressed, colonised, conquered and exploited majority, which will ensure sustainable livelihoods with access to quality education and all other basic services.

Economic freedom results when the people's rights and freedom enable them to decide how to allocate their own economic resources for the development and upliftment of their own lives. The goal of economic emancipation means the development of the productive forces through massive sustainable industrial development and expansion. The goal is to place South Africa on the cutting edge of technological production and innovation, industrial expansion, growth and development of science and

technology, which would seek to improve the living conditions of our people. A key goal of economic freedom is the sustainable delivery of food security to all South Africans, Africans and people of the world. The goal is to create sustainable jobs for all people in South Africa, southern Africa and the African continent as a whole.

As we have argued, for South Africa to achieve all these noble aspirations, the imbalances of the past need redress. Central amongst the things that are the *sine qua non* of a sustainable developmental vision and programme for South Africa is equal redistribution of land. Land ownership in South Africa is terribly skewed. The ownership and control of arable land in South Africa is not only a black and white issue (which it vividly appears to be), but a class reality where less than 2% of the white population are in ownership and control of vast tracts of South Africa's land. In South Africa we still have millions of white South Africans who do not own land, because the lion's share is in the hands of a few white individuals. Without equitable access to land, we cannot and will not be able to develop and advance the South African economy. Even for technological expansion and innovation we need land.

In order to understand the context within which the EFF is the organisation it is today, the following key political and then ideological reflections need to be addressed:

- a) Economic freedom struggle in the ANC
- b) Great march for economic freedom
- c) Marikana as a turning point
- d) What is to be done?
- e) EFF as a political party and movement
- f) Ideological questions and developments
- g) EFF approach to alliances
- h) The significance of the red beret
- i) Conclusion

This will help to locate the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime and clarify the confusion, misinformation and misunderstandings that pervade various sections of society. Some ANC and ANC Youth League members claim that the struggle for economic freedom as championed by the EFF is in fact their struggle. They claim copyright to the struggle for

economic freedom in the same way that sections of working-class formations claim exclusive rights to the struggle for socialism.

It should be said at the outset, like Karl Marx did, that the reflections here do not arise out of a mere sentimental or visceral attachment to the working class and the poor, but arise out of a thorough understanding of the South African political economy and history. And any person free from private interest, class prejudices and bias would necessarily reach the same conclusions if they thoroughly study South African history, Marxism-Leninism, and the political economy.

Economic freedom struggle in the ANC

“There was greater consensus in the commission on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy.”²-

It is understandable that many people associate the struggle for economic freedom with the ANC Youth League leadership collective as elected at its 23rd National Congress in 2008 under the leadership of Julius Malema. After all, it was on that platform that the most vigorous campaign for economic freedom in our lifetime emerged. When we were still in the ANC Youth League, we appreciated that the struggle for economic freedom was not just a struggle for the ANC Youth League and the ex-liberation movement ANC, but involved many other activists who were not members of the ANC or any of its allied formations.

We understood economic freedom fighters to be all people who were fighting for an equal share in the economy of South Africa. We understood economic freedom fighters to be the informal settlement dwellers, workers, communities and activists who would challenge the system every day with the aim of benefiting from the country's natural and economic resources. Comrade Julius Malema was referred to as the Commander-in-Chief of Economic Freedom Fighters when we were still in the leadership of the ANC Youth League because we understood the struggle for economic freedom to be a struggle that involved all people, beyond the organisational confines of the ANC Youth League.

That Comrade Julius Malema is the Commander-in-Chief for the Economic Freedom Fighters recognises that the generation of which he is at

the forefront is actively and fully engaged in a mission to realise economic freedom in our lifetime. Various generations that came before us had their struggle representatives: the Mandela generation where Mandela was a Volunteer in Chief in the Defiance Campaign in the early 1950s, the Steve Biko generation which occupied the political space after liberation movements were banned, the Tsietsi Mashinini generation that led the 1976 students' uprising in Soweto, the Solomon Mahlangu generation that physically confronted the apartheid regime in commemoration of the 1976 generation, and the Peter Mokaba generation that rendered apartheid unworkable and its machinery ungovernable in the 1980s.

These generations and many others played their role through various eras in the struggle for total freedom and emancipation. The recognition of the people who were at the forefront of these struggles does not preclude recognition and acknowledgement of other people in other organisations, communities and geographies who played a role in the struggle; it is an affirmation that their participation in the struggle was significant. The generation of economic freedom fighters under the leadership of Comrade Julius Malema deserves to be counted in history because this is a generation that will lead and take the struggle to its logical conclusion: attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime.

It was on the platform of the ANC Youth League that the struggle for economic freedom took practical and coherent shape and content. This does not mean that the ANC Youth League holds exclusive rights to the struggle for economic freedom, yet for contemporary historical reflections it is important to clarify what happened at that historical juncture. Reflecting on the ANC Youth League platform is not an exercise in nostalgia on our part, and does not mean that we miss or yearn for the ANC Youth League. The ANC Youth League has, after all, been captured by a corrupt ANC faction and has been mutated into a lapdog, waiting for its master's next instruction.

This is not ahistorical because, at formation, the ANC Youth League was a platform where militant and radical youth such as Nelson Mandela, Mxolisi Majombozi, William Nkomo, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe, and A.P. Mda proclaimed *Freedom in Our Lifetime* and fought on that platform to radicalise the ANC-led national liberation movement. There have been times where the ANC Youth League was turned into a formation of toothless young lions, particularly under its erstwhile careerist president

Malusi Gigaba, whose slogans were seizing the opportunities of democracy when, in fact, opportunity and democracy were non-existent.

Inspired by the founding generation, the ANC Youth League's 23rd National Congress leadership, elected in 2008, made its first public call for the nationalisation of mines as a key demand in the struggle for economic freedom. In a political school convened in June/July 2009 to prepare the leadership structures of the ANC Youth League for many battles ahead, the then ANC Youth League president Julius Malema said:

We should particularly emphasise and remind ourselves that **“no government [and, we add, no leadership of a liberation movement] can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people”**.

At this moment in time, when the imperialist forces are realising and accepting the failure of capitalism, we should ask whether the time has not arrived for the government of South Africa under the ANC to make sure that the State owns the Mines and Banks as called for in the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter unites us in recognition of the fact that for genuine liberation, **“the mineral wealth beneath the soil, monopoly industry and banks should be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole”**.

The truth is that the main vehicle to transform and better the living conditions of our people is through the transfer of wealth from the few to the majority, and we should do that with determination.

We have to accept that the implementation of the Freedom Charter will not please everyone. Our responsibility and obligation is to please the majority of our people, so we should not be worried that there will be problems when the Freedom Charter is

implemented. It should be implemented.³-

This was inspired by the ANC Youth League's 23rd National Congress resolution in 2008, which says:

The State should control and be in ownership of strategic sectors of the South African economy, including the extraction, production and

trade of petroleum and mineral resources, metals, iron ore, steel,
coal, water, marine resources and land.⁴-

Thus the struggle for economic freedom was placed firmly on the agenda, drawing massive public attention, both in condemnation and sympathy. As part of the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime, our generation of ANC Youth League leaders took many practical steps and engaged in revolutionary programmes in order to expose the many myths, fallacies and half-truths that have formed the basis of faulty content on class, ideology and political discourse since 1994.

The call for nationalisation of mines was a clarion call for economic freedom and was squarely located within the struggle for fundamental change in property relations in South Africa. The observation was that there seems to be no fundamental change in the economic conditions among the poorest 50% of South Africa and the government is recurrently failing to create jobs and deal with unemployment. The inability to address unemployment was mainly due to the fact that the post-1994 government was not in control and ownership of the strategic sectors of the economy.

Despite the freedom that South Africans are supposed to celebrate every 27 April, the youth still face brutal conditions, high levels of unemployment, lack of access to quality education, poverty and hopelessness. We knew that something was wrong with the manner in which South Africa's foundation was aligned since 1994 because the structural levels of unemployment and poverty lay in the fact that there were unequal property relations that resembled the apartheid property relations.

South Africa's wealth and economic resources still remain in the hands of those who owned them before 1994, and the land remains in their control. We know that South Africa is one of the richest territories in the world in respect of mineral wealth. We know that instead of improving the livelihoods of our people, the mineral wealth in South Africa was a major cause of environmental degradation, underemployment (creation of the working poor), impoverishment, and the reduction of life-expectancy among mineworkers. This inspired the call to ensure that all benefit from the country's mineral and natural resources.

We understood that the struggle for economic freedom is complex, and should not be limited to organisational confines. To win a struggle for

economic freedom, we have to mobilise the whole of society, particularly directly affected constituencies, to be their own liberators. The struggle for economic freedom is far bigger than any of the organisations that pursue the agenda. Organisations have limited lifespans and individuals who lead organisations can be banished, isolated, or even assassinated, but a struggle for real economic freedom should last until the war for total economic emancipation is won.

While the call for nationalisation of mines was an important pillar of our struggle for economic freedom, and a rallying call, the struggle for economic freedom was broadened to include other key demands and programmes. Amongst these was the call for land expropriation without compensation, a demand that was partially embraced in the ANC through a mitigated commitment of rejecting the willing-buyer willing-seller principle, which had been the ANC government's policy position since 1994. In the ANC, no concrete and coherent policy perspective has been decided upon, despite the acknowledgement that the willing-buyer willing-seller methodology has not worked.

It is of concern that the ANC, which calls itself the liberator of the people, fighting for over a century, with its activists killed, its leaders imprisoned, families separated, and people tortured, buys land from those who stole it, often through the application of brute force. It is a reality that the settlers who occupy more than 80% of South Africa's land did not bring it with them from Europe, nor did they buy it from anyone, yet the so-called liberator of the people has at the core of its policy principles a programme to buy land from settlers (and their descendants) who occupy it today. Billions of rands have been spent by the ANC-led government buying land from colonial settlers.

The struggle for economic freedom also encapsulated the demand for the provision of free, quality education for all until undergraduate level, because we understand and accept the reality that education is essential for economic freedom. An emphasis in this regard was placed on the expansion of post-secondary education and training capacity to absorb all young people who seek to pursue education and training. The immediate victory in this regard was won by the ANC Youth League generation at the 23rd National Congress, which persuaded the ANC to adopt a resolution to build universities in the Mpumalanga and Northern Cape provinces. This demand had existed in the student movement for many years but only took practical

coherence and form when our generation made it an ANC resolution through political and ideological persuasion.

During Comrade Julius Malema's leadership of the ANC Youth League, we understood that the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime was not exclusively our struggle. We acknowledged that the struggle was a struggle of the people of South Africa, and a generational battle that should conclude the war for the total emancipation of the conquered, oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. We drew inspiration from the founding generation of the ANC Youth League, which claimed the need for *Freedom in Our Lifetime* and the need to fight tirelessly until this freedom was achieved.

The generation that founded the ANC Youth League (Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, William Nkomo, Mxolisi Majombozi, Anton Lembede, and Congress Mbatha) made that promise in 1944 and 50 years later, in 1994, they were the generation who ushered in political freedom to the African majority. Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, who were the founders of the ANC Youth League, were at the forefront of ushering in political freedom in South Africa.

Through practical struggles and actual involvement in the struggles of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa, Comrade Julius Malema earned the title of the Commander-in-Chief of the economic freedom fighters when he was still president of the ANC Youth League, in recognition that the struggle for economic freedom does not have organisational boundaries and confines.

This is an important point to note, because when they took away the title and responsibility of president of the ANC Youth League from Comrade Malema, they did not take away the reality that the people of South Africa, Africa and the world acknowledged Comrade Julius Malema as a leader of the struggle for economic emancipation, in effect, the Commander-in-Chief of economic freedom fighters. On various platforms during his leadership of the ANC Youth League, he said, "You can take away the position of president of the ANC Youth League, but you will never take away the reality that we are at the forefront of the struggles for the emancipation of our people."

We also acknowledged that there was an absence of ideological and political leadership committed to the struggle for economic freedom in our

lifetime. In his political report to the ANC Youth League's 24th National Congress, Comrade Malema said:

In the absence of a vanguard of the working class politically, ideologically and organisationally, the ANC Youth League should assume the role of the vanguard of the working class. Nature does not allow a vacuum, and once a vacuum is created, it will be occupied by something else, in this instance a more better positioned something else is the Youth League. Ideologically and politically, the ANC Youth League has been at the forefront of working class struggles, which seek to change property relations and transfer wealth from the minority to the majority.

Politically and organisationally, the ANC Youth League has openly associated with and supported struggles of the working class and workers, even in instances where workers were confronting the democratic government of the ANC. We are not apologetic about this character because that is who we are.⁵-

In the ANC Youth League and the ANC, the former liberation movement, the struggle for economic freedom had to be conducted within the confines of the Freedom Charter, a fundamental policy document of the ANC. We operated within the Freedom Charter because in our conviction the Freedom Charter was the nerve and lifeblood of the African National Congress and entire ANC-led National Liberation Movement. When adopting the Freedom Charter in 1955, the ANC said that it would not be a patchwork of reforms, but a revolutionary programme, a beacon of hope for the people of South Africa.

During the ANC Youth League Lekgotla in 2012, Comrade Malema said:

As much as the Nelson Mandela generation led the struggle for attainment of political freedom for the majority of our people, we have made it our responsibility and dedicated focus that economic freedom is realised in South Africa. Economic Freedom should come through the realisation and actualisation of the Freedom Charter clause that reads that the Mineral Wealth beneath the soil,

monopoly industry and banks should be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

The Nelson Mandela generation of the ANC Youth League changed history and did everything in their power to ensure that the cause for struggle is never betrayed, nor compromised for anything below the sky. The founding generation dedicated their lives to the cause for freedom and were prepared to sacrifice their lives so that we can all live in freedom. Their battle cry was FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME, underpinned by the dedication to attain Freedom or Die. Our battle cry as this generation of youth is attainment of ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME. Like Nelson Mandela, we will do everything in our power to realise economic freedom in our lifetime.⁶-

The ideological and political tool used in the ANC to fight for economic freedom was and is the Freedom Charter. It says:

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people; the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people; all people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.⁷-

There are of course semantic objections to the Freedom Charter's call that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, mainly based on the understandable perspective that South Africa does not belong to settlers, because settlers are on our land as a result of violent colonial conquest and dispossession of the black majority and Africans in particular. This is a genuine objection, which we often approached with a view that South Africa's belonging to all who live in it should be reflected in the ownership and control of its economic resources. Currently, settlers own our country. This should, however, never make us lose sight of the fundamental non-racial character of the struggle for economic emancipation. More than anything it is a political struggle for class emancipation.

The ANC Youth League we led produced a document on the nationalisation of mines, and it argued why that should happen as soon as possible. All the issues raised in the ANC Youth League discussion document continue to dominate not only newspaper headlines, but boardrooms, newsrooms and platforms all over South Africa, Africa and the world. Never in the history of youth movements has an issue been so widely discussed, as the issue of economic freedom in our lifetime tabled by our generation of the ANC Youth League. It heralded in seminars, conferences, panel discussions, study tours, research and many other programmes and thought leadership activities on the notion of the nationalisation of mines.

Through thorough ideological and political work, the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime gained momentum in the ANC, and the platform where this happened most convincingly was the ANC National General Council (NGC) of June 2011 in Durban. In that NGC, the ideological and political dominance of the ANC Youth League generation of economic freedom fighters took centre stage and influenced the following council resolution:

The NGC re-affirms the ANC's approach that the transformation of the South African economy should always be holistic and comprehensive, covering all sectors of the economy. In this regard, the ANC should ensure greater state involvement and control of strategic sectors of the economy, such as mining, energy, the financial sector and others.⁸-

It noted further that:

There was greater consensus in the commission on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy. The NGC therefore mandated the NEC to ensure further work be done, including research, study tours and discussions, and to report to the Policy Conference for decision at National Conference in 2012.⁹-

This resolution was taken by the economic transformation commission, which, for the first time in the history of ANC conferences, was attended by

more than 70% of NGC delegates. This was because in the NGC, the ideological leadership of senior leaders of the ANC was roundly rejected. In particular, these leaders were rejected: President Jacob Zuma, Gwede Mantashe, Trevor Manuel, Pravin Gordhan, Jeremy Cronin, Frans Baleni, Cyril Ramaphosa, Enoch Godongwana, Ebrahim Patel, Rob Davies, Lesetja Kganyago, and Jeff Radebe. An absolute majority of delegates endorsed the resolution on the nationalisation of mines.

Before the ANC NGC, ANC President Jacob Zuma had just returned from London, where he made the official commitment and assurance to investors there that there will never be talk of the nationalisation of mines within the ANC. The Minister of Mineral Resources, Susan Shabangu, also made a commitment to mining capital on various occasions that the nationalisation of mines will not happen in her lifetime. Almost all leaders of the ANC made such commitments, unaware of the economic freedom wave that was sweeping across all ANC formations and its allies.

The Economic Transformation Commission, the biggest commission in the NGC, was dominated by those who agreed with nationalisation of mines. Amongst those who agreed were Comrade Irvin Jim, the General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), who stood to contradict the General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), who had argued that the Freedom Charter demands were already met and were covered by the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA). Those agreeing with nationalisation of mines also included Chris Malikane, Bheki Mtolo, Magdalene Moonsamy, and Comrade David Masekela, who had arrived at the NGC from the US where he was doing his PhD in political studies. Opposition to nationalisation came from less than 10% of the Commission delegates, hence the resolution emphasis that “there was greater consensus on nationalisation of mines”.

In the resolutions committee, where the ANC Youth League was represented, ANC leaders Trevor Manuel, Jeremy Cronin, and Jesse Duarte tried to change the resolution with the aim of misleading the plenary session. These individuals removed a section of the resolution which read “there was greater consensus on nationalisation of mines”. This was averted by ANC Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, who emphatically said that it was not in the tradition or the rules of the ANC to alter resolutions that have been taken by commissions, because the plenary session still has to discuss and endorse such resolutions.

In the plenary session that dealt with all reports from commissions, all provinces of the ANC agreed with the economic transformation resolution of the commission, and all fraternal organisations and leagues of the ANC endorsed the resolution regarding the nationalisation of mines. This included the ANC Women's League, ANC Veterans' League (represented by Ben Turok in plenary), South African Students' Congress (SASCO), Congress of South African Students (COSAS), Congress of South African Traditional Leaders Association (CONTRALESA), and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). A representative of the South African Communist Party (SACP) who stood to speak on its behalf was unclear and incoherent in his commentary.

What was particularly noteworthy was that for the first time in its history the ANC has officially endorsed a resolution that says, "there was greater consensus on nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy". This happened in the context whereby almost all members of the South African Cabinet and those deployed to various sectors of the economy and businessmen such as Cyril Ramaphosa argued against nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy. Ordinary members of the ANC endorsed the resolution proposed by the ANC Youth League that mines and other strategic sectors of the economy should be nationalised.

All the political formations and allies of the ANC were given an opportunity in a plenary session presided over by Jeff Radebe to express an opinion on the resolution and all agreed with the resolution, except the SACP, which failed to clearly articulate its position, and basically waffled. Despite this, Radebe tried to change the meaning of the resolution. Jeff Radebe tried to disrupt a session he was presiding over by throwing confusing 'yea' or 'nay' reactions from the NGC. This action resulted in the leadership of the ANC Youth League approaching the podium to confer with leadership on what was now a disrupted NGC. Approaching the podium in a conference without being asked to is often treated as invasion, barging, or intrusion with conference business, and dealt with harshly by the Conference Steering Committee.

Despite this, the leadership of the ANC Youth League approached the podium to insist that a proper resolution should be adopted. The coincidence of this development is that the first two people on the podium to fight for the proper articulation and adoption of the "greater consensus on

nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy” were Comrades Julius Malema and Floyd Shivambu, who were later joined by other ANC Youth League leaders and provincial leaders, particularly Vuyiswa Tulelo, Fikile Mbalula, Paul Mashatile, Zweli Mkhize, Sihle Zikalala, Saki Mofokeng, and Professor Chris Malikane. After altercations and exchanges, a resolution was taken in the manner the commission agreed, and the NGC burst into song about nationalisation of mines, which was a variation of a well-known ANC song, but now with the lyrics “*ku yoba mnandi, masi nationalise di mine kaofela, South Africa*” (it will be nice when mines have all been nationalised in South Africa).

Immediately after the resolution, the ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe called a meeting of the Steering Committee, which comprised members of the ANC National Committee and Provincial Secretaries. In the steering committee, a proposal was made by Gwede Mantashe that the delegation of the ANC Youth League should be expelled from the NGC, and formal charges should be conferred on those who approached the stage. This was rejected by the Steering Committee.

After the NGC, the Secretary General of the ANC made the same proposal to the National Executive Committee of the ANC and this was also rejected by the NEC. It was within that context that we realised that the leadership of the ANC had resolved to banish and expel those who were at the forefront of the call for the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy. This did not dampen our fighting spirit; we continued to make the calls and participated in the research process commissioned by the ANC.

We were very aware that with the kind of policy positions we advocated in the ANC, most of which found resonance within the structures, we faced possible extinction. Various factions of business always called on the ANC leadership to rein in the ANC Youth League, and one of the business magnates, Johann Rupert, said, “the ANC Youth League is like a mosquito in one’s tent”.¹⁰—

We did not foresee the ANC leadership degenerating into using internal administrative processes to isolate and banish us from the ANC, but we knew that they were baying for our blood because they had lost an ideological and political battle. This was worsened by our public and internal determination and approach to only support leaders who were agreeing with the call for nationalisation of mines and other strategic

sectors of the economy. On various platforms, the ANC Youth League which we led said we would only support leaders for re-election at the ANC's 53rd National Conference if they support economic freedom, particularly the clarion call of nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy.

Post-NGC, the ANC set up a research team led by Paul Jordan, a white ANC veteran who had been involved in the ANC policy-making process during the transition from apartheid, to action the NGC proposals. As the ANC Youth League, we were initially involved in the research reference team, and we seconded David Monyae, an employee of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), as part of the Research Team, and Phindile Kunene as a research assistant. Yet these people were not invited to meetings and were largely ignored.

The ANC Youth League wrote an official letter to the ANC officials, objecting to the research team on the basis that its terms of reference were not what the NGC stipulated. We objected to the inclusion of Paul Jordan on the basis of his biased ideological orientation against nationalisation. The only response was from the ANC Secretary General, who alleged that the ANC Youth League's objection to Paul Jordan was on the basis of his colour. This was not the case.

The ANC Youth League released the following statement:

The ANC Youth League particularly objects to the inclusion of Paul Jordan as one of the researchers because he has publicly pronounced his opposition to Nationalisation of Mines. The ANC Youth League believes that Paul Jordan's inclusion in the research team will altogether undermine the integrity of the research process. We call on the ANC to reconsider his inclusion in the research team because he is prejudiced and his contribution will forever be questionable, because his views contradict the Freedom Charter.¹¹—

The research team led by Paul Jordan ignored all the guidelines of the NGC and engaged in a process they called State Involvement in the Minerals Industry (SIMS) and produced a report that recommended exactly what Paul Jordan had argued in his articles in the ANC journal, *Umrabulo*. The position of Paul Jordan was that the nationalisation of the mines would be too costly, and should not be pursued. This was in direct defiance of the

NGC instruction that the research should investigate the best way through which nationalisation should be conducted. At a colloquium on Marikana at Wits University in 2013, Paul Jordan could not justify the argument of costly nationalisation when challenged by Professor Ben Fine; because to him, this was a mere ideological proclamation, not a research outcome.

The 24th National Congress of the ANC Youth League took place amidst these dynamics in June 2011 and was convened under the theme “Youth Action for Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime”. That conference was attended by more than 5 000 elected delegates from all branches of the ANC Youth League, making it the biggest delegated conference in the history of the entire Congress Movement. This congress discussed and adopted the ANC Youth League’s clarion call to economic freedom fighters, the programme of action for economic freedom in our lifetime, which was a summation of the political, economic and ideological content of the battles ahead.

The economic transformation commission in the 24th National Congress accounted for more than 65% of Congress delegates, confirming the reality that the youth in the ANC had come to appreciate that the struggle had become an economic struggle. In previous congresses the Economic Transformation Commission would have very few delegates, often less than 5% of delegates. The Congress took an elaborate resolution on the nationalisation of mines and land expropriation without compensation.

This happened despite the ANC leadership mobilising the delegates and provinces to remove the leadership of the ANC Youth League from office. In Mpumalanga, for instance, the Provincial Chairperson of the ANC, David Mabuza, called the provincial leadership of the ANC Youth League and instructed them not to support Comrade Julius Malema because he was perceived to be against President Jacob Zuma. The Mpumalanga leadership rejected this notion and, except for one region, Ehlanzeni, unanimously supported the re-election of Comrade Malema as President of the ANC Youth League.

Because we are revolutionaries who utilise proper and correct tools of analysis to analyse society and as a guide to action, we had predicted that with the kind of success and revolutionary spirit that defined our 24th National Congress in June 2011, we were heading straight into conflict with the leadership of the ANC. When he closed the 24th National Congress in

June 2011, long before charges were laid, newly re-elected President of the ANC Youth League Comrade Malema said, “by the way things are turning up, me and you Floyd are not safe in the ANC”, and went on to say: “We need the ANC to declare in December 2012 that we are in an economic struggle – that is the terrain in which we find ourselves. Once that declaration has been made by the ANC, everybody will work towards economic emancipation.”

Representatives of big business, particularly the Chamber of Mines and the Free Market Foundation, started to run campaigns against the nationalisation of mines, and lobbied ANC leaders to reject the view on nationalisation despite the resolution. The Chamber of Mines also offered to finance the research processes of the ANC led by Paul Jordan, called the State Interventions in the Minerals Sector (SIMS), with the hope of determining the content and outcome.

Notably, Andile Mngxitama, an activist who assembled activists mainly with a black consciousness background, wrote that the pronouncements and actions of the ANC Youth League would lead to the expulsion of the leadership collective because the ANC would never accede to such demands. History proved him correct because part of the aggravating evidence presented in the ANC National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals (NDCA) in 2012 was the video footage of the 2010 ANC NGC in Durban where Comrades Malema and Shivambu approached the podium for an altercation with Jeff Radebe that led to the resolution on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy.

The ANC prosecutions team argued in the NDCA, which was chaired by Cyril Ramaphosa and included Jeff Radebe and Trevor Manuel, that the sentence of Comrade Julius Malema should be aggravated into an expulsion instead of the five years suspension recommended by the National Disciplinary Committee, and that the two years’ suspension of Comrade Floyd Shivambu should be made five years. It was upon this aggravation that the NDCA expelled Comrade Julius Malema and suspended Comrade Floyd Shivambu for three years from the ANC.

The expulsion and suspension did not deter the struggle for economic freedom, because as activists we continued being involved in many community battles and struggles of the people. We did so because we understood that the struggle for economic freedom cannot be and was not confined to any organisation. We wrote perspectives, articles and reflections

to educate society that the people who claim to be representatives of the people in the ANC are in the pockets of big business and are in those positions to serve the interests of capital.

One of these articles was published on social networks titled “Cyril Ramaphosa: the Turkey that cannot vote for Christmas” and in that article we argued that Cyril Ramaphosa said openly that he does not agree with nationalisation of mines because he was, as he put it, “a turkey that cannot vote for Christmas” (Shivambu, 2012). Another view was put forward immediately after the ANC National Policy Conference in 2012 by Comrade Julius Malema, where he illustrated that despite banishment from the ANC “The ANC learns from the ANC Youth League, but still lacks the courage”. In the article he argued that despite the efforts to banish the leadership of the ANC Youth League, the ANC now seemed to appreciate the facts of the arguments we presented on land and mines issues, but they lacked the courage to take decisions on them.

We do not know which sins we had committed, but we have our own political observations. The fact the ANC Youth League was able to politically and ideologically persuade the ANC National General Council in December 2010 to establish greater consensus on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy, against attempts by the ANC leadership to suppress the debate internally, is one of the reasons why we were purged.

The fact that the ANC Youth League had publicly and internally observed the directionlessness of government on domestic and international policy options since 2009 could be the reason why we were being persecuted. The fact that we had vowed never to support those who stand accused of corruption, money laundering and fraud for any public office could also be the basis. Whatever the reason, what we said as the ANC Youth League was genuine, and detractors knew that if a proper platform was provided within the ANC to engage on these issues, the economic freedom views of the ANC Youth League would triumph. We were dealing with ideological and political cowards, who could not stand the persuasive power of the youth.

Of course the faction that is leading the ANC today will claim that the expulsion, suspension and ultimate dissolution of all ANC Youth League structures that fought for economic freedom in the ANC were due to ill-discipline and the sowing of division. The reality is that our ideological and

political stand and capacity to persuade ANC structures on a more radical programme for economic transformation was a basis for our isolation and banishment.

The developments in the ANC National Disciplinary Committee (NDC), which should be made public for all to see what truly transpired, will reveal that there was no disciplinary case, but a political case aimed at assuring dominant groups of capitalist interests that talks of a radical programme should be extinguished. The witnesses who came to the NDC on behalf of the ANC always repeated and agreed with the many issues that the ANC Youth League leadership was charged for, and admitted that those were political issues that needed political solutions.

The fact that we rejected Jacob Zuma on the basis of his directionlessness and constant reassurance of big capital, and the reality that ANC structures were beginning to agree with the politics of the ANC, lie in the belly of what led to the banishment. Indeed, Jacob Zuma lacks the necessary sophistication to engage on thorough ideological questions, yet his programme and politics is to keep the status quo, and this was confirmed immediately after his election as President of the ANC in Polokwane where he proclaimed that nothing would change under his leadership of the ANC, meaning that he would continue with the neoliberal programme that defined the post-1994 ANC government.

Due to its relative autonomy, ability to mobilise and speak to the interests of ordinary members of the ANC, the leadership collective of the ANC Youth League under Comrade Julius Malema possessed the necessary power to make sure that reactionary, directionless, and ideologically confused leaders were removed from the ANC at its 53rd National Conference in Mangaung. Upon realising that his future as ANC President was not secured, the current President of the ANC, Mr Jacob Zuma, began processes that led to the isolation and ultimate banishment of the ANC Youth League leadership core that carried the capacity to remove him as President of the ANC.

In doing so, Mr Jacob Zuma formed alliances with ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe to push for suspensions and expulsions before the 53rd National Conference so as to intimidate everyone to agree with them. The alliance between Jacob Zuma and Gwede Mantashe was a convenient one because individually and privately each believes that the other one is responsible for the decline of the ANC. On many occasions and reflections

he makes in the absence of Gwede Mantashe, the ANC president would recurrently say that Gwede Mantashe is a problem because he does not come from ANC structures and does not understand ANC traditions. On the other hand, Gwede Mantashe always complains that Mr Jacob Zuma is a liability to the ANC, and he said this to the ANC Youth League leadership when Zuma was in an infidelity scandal with Sonono Khoza.

Because our leadership of the ANC Youth League rejected both Gwede Mantashe and Jacob Zuma, and because they acknowledged the growing influence of the ANC Youth League and its patently Left political programme, which was shifting dynamics in the ANC, it was convenient for them to form an alliance of convenience and banish us from the ANC.

The banishment of Left perspectives in the ANC is not an ahistorical occurrence. The ANC's 4th President, J.T. Gumede, attended the 10th anniversary celebrations of the great socialist revolution in the Soviet Union in 1927, and when he returned, he said, "I have seen the new world to come, where it has already begun. I have been to the New Jerusalem. I have brought the key which would unlock the door to freedom." It appears that the keys Gumede brought back were the Marxist-Leninist tools of analysis and, due to its conservative character, the ANC rejected Gumede, banished him from leadership and elected Pixley ka Isaka Seme as its 5th President, inaugurating a period of the ANC's degeneration and almost extinction defined by instances of tribalism, factionalism and divisions. The ANC still does not have the real keys to unlock the door to freedom and will be the door-keeper for private capital for the foreseeable future.

In our leadership of the ANC Youth League, we associated with struggles of the workers and working class, particularly the mineworkers, long before the Marikana massacre happened and long before Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) had become a force to be reckoned with in the mining sector. We extended our struggles beyond our leadership of the ANC Youth League, and continued with activism on the ground, even when there was no organisational platform to do so. The following programmes were worked upon:

- 1) Made a Parliamentary submission on the ban of labour brokers to the National Assembly, against the advice of the ANC, and fought in ANC meetings for the banning of labour brokers.

- 2) Support for mineworkers in Sekhukhune Platinum Mines, where we made the call that mine disruptions should be considered as an option for forcing bosses to concede to mineworkers' demands.
- 3) Support for the ex-mineworkers from the Asbestos Community Forum in Maruping, with efforts that resulted in providing lawyers to represent the workers from 2010 onwards; efforts we are continuing with today.
- 4) Support for Impala Platinum workers in Rustenburg with efforts that reinstated more than 24 000 workers (Rock Drill Operators) who were dismissed by the mine bosses.
- 5) Support for the retrenched workers in Aurora Mine, which was owned by the Zuma and Mandela nephews, Khulubuse and the nephew of Nelson Mandela, Zondwa Mandela.
- 6) Led a very aggressive campaign in the ANC on nationalisation of mines that got all Provincial General Councils of the ANC before the 2010 National General Council resolving on nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy.
- 7) Took up the struggles of health practitioners and marched alongside medical doctors who are underpaid in the current system.
- 8) Participated in the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) South African Airways (SAA) strikes, which demanded the resignation of then CEO Khaya Ngqula, and fought within ANC structures that this was made a reality.
- 9) Recurrently engaged with organised workers in COSATU to provide ideological leadership on key questions confronting workers.
- 10) Support for mineworkers in all the goldmines in the West Rand.
- 11) Made the first public call for a new mineworkers' organisation and union in 2010 on the observation that the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was selling out the workers.
- 12) Called on branches of the ANC Youth League to join all workers' struggles because of our firm belief that workers are always correct.
- 13) Refused to retreat on principle issues even when faced with possibilities of expulsion, banishment and political prosecution.
- 14) Generated money to fund children of the working class and poor who could not afford access to schools and who did not have access to wheelchairs in all the rural provinces. The wheelchairs donated to the Ikhwezi Lokusa Special School for children with disabilities

- in the Eastern Cape were priced at more than R500 000, money fundraised for this specific purpose.
- 15) Helped orphanages and places of the poor because we knew they were losing hope.
 - 16) Were at the forefront of the struggles in the ANC to call for the establishment of universities in the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces and, for the first time under our leadership, the ANC has adopted a resolution to establish universities in these provinces. Government has already begun with these efforts, and although we are not satisfied with the pace, we should be happy we won a battle.
 - 17) We made the call for the provision of free sanitary towels and, when we were in the leadership of the ANC Youth League, programmes were announced to provide free sanitary towels to poor females in indigent municipalities. The programme was neglected when we were expelled from the ANC Youth League.

There are many activities and programmes that we were involved in in support of the workers and the working class as a whole, and we frequently engaged in practical programmes and interventions to help ordinary South African citizens. These initiatives and programmes were often treated with disdain by sections of the media, which had a coordinated agenda and programme to trivialise and undermine the revolutionary work being undertaken, and the integrity thereof.

Perhaps an important component of these activities was the official visits to Zimbabwe and Venezuela in 2010. Both visits were led by Comrade Julius Malema and exposed the leadership of the ANC Youth League to the practical dynamics of pursuing revolutionary politics and programmes amidst global hostility. In Zimbabwe, the practical interaction we had with the leadership of ZANU-PF, ordinary people on the ground, the Reserve Bank Governor and President Robert Mugabe made us more determined to achieve equitable land share at home. We saw many people benefiting from the land redistribution policies.

In Zimbabwe, large commercial farms previously owned by a few white people had been broken down into small-scale intensive agricultural production. Zimbabwe was still in a state of recovering from the devastating sanctions, which had brought its economy and financial system

to a total collapse, but its people are determined to fight against imperialist domination and to resist being dictated to. The meeting with President Robert Mugabe was very inspiring, and he gave us an account of his participation in politics, including in the ANC Youth League in Fort Hare University alongside Joe Matthews, one of its former presidents.

During the meeting we held with the Politburo of ZANU-PF, the leadership of ZANU-PF provided clearer context on how the British government under the Labour Party reneged on Zimbabwe's transitional agreements (Lancaster House Agreement) to partake in the long-overdue land reform programme on the basis that those who signed the agreements were no longer in government. This left Zimbabwe with no option but to pursue a radical and immediate land-reform programme that took the land from 4 000 white farmers and distributed it to over 50 000 black farmers. We also discovered that there is a huge portion of land in Zimbabwe owned by one South African family, and when this arose, we solemnly advised President Mugabe to expropriate such land.

During our visit to Zimbabwe, Comrade Julius Malema made it clear that the ANC Youth League does not agree with the reported violence that took place during the land redistribution process. We are aware that, more often, the proportions of violence reported in particularly Western media circles were exaggerated, but we expressed a principled position that when in charge of political power, there is no need to exert violence against ordinary people. This position was largely informed by the reality that we are not and will never be blind followers of any specific leadership style and ethos, and this is sharply articulated in our viewpoint that we do not hold the same homophobic views held by many leaders who have otherwise done well on other critical issues such as land reform, in particular President Robert Mugabe.

In Venezuela, the visit was part of the flag handover as part of South Africa hosting the World Festival of Youth and Students, which would happen in South Africa in 2010. As President of the hosting country, Comrade Julius Malema was assigned to be President of the International Organising Committee of the World Festival of Youth and Students that took place in South Africa in December 2010. As President of the IOC, he dealt with the political preparations and developments, and was not involved in the administrative functions, which, despite a few logistical challenges, was a successful festival of the youth against imperialism.

The administrative functions of the World Festival of Youth and Students were handled by the South African government after a resolution of the government that South Africa should host the festival. The National Youth Development Agency was then mandated with the actual work of transporting, accommodating and feeding all the delegates and for some reason the manner in which this happened received widespread criticism from sections of the media, which reduced the whole festival into a sham. Despite this, the festival was an expression of confidence in the Left character and content of the youth of South Africa by all Left formations of the world.

In Venezuela, the nationalised oil company, Petroleum de Venezuela (PDVSA), accounts for 32% of GDP, 50% of government revenue and 80% of export revenues. The revenue generated is utilised to fund social development programmes, particularly the provision of free quality education for all. Between 2004 and 2010 PDVSA contributed \$61.4 billion to social development funds. What was particularly inspiring about the Venezuelan experience is the reality that the people of Venezuela directly benefit from the country being an oil-producing country. The price of fuel is extremely low and, moreover, the revenue has allowed the people in Venezuela to benefit in areas such as free education and healthcare.

The World Festival happened under the theme “*Let’s defeat imperialism, for a world of peace, solidarity and social transformation*” and was opened by Comrade Julius Malema as President of the International Organising Committee (IOC). In the opening address, he paid tribute to Fidel Castro and to Nelson Mandela, whom the IOC decided to honour. Comrade Malema made a call for the removal of sanctions against Zimbabwe and called for the unity of working class and Left formations across the world.

The administrative and functional components of the World Festival of Youth and Students were handled exclusively by the South African government because cabinet had resolved to host the festival. There were admittedly logistical challenges that occurred, particularly in relation to how the National Youth Development Agency handled some practical implementation issues, but this did not undermine the reality that the working class and progressive youth of the world bestowed on South Africa the right to host the World Festival of Youth and Students, whose primary theme and politics were anti-imperialism.

In the ANC, the determination and resolve to pursue radical economic policies were suppressed and shut down in its 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012. The commission on economic transformation deliberated and reportedly had an overwhelming perspective on pursuit of nationalisation of mines, but this was altered by the leadership and communicated in a media conference by Malusi Gigaba, who said that nationalisation of mines is off the table and will not be ANC policy.

It appears that conference delegates were preparing to discuss what was misnamed a second transition, yet on arrival at the 53rd National Conference they adopted the National Development Plan, which was not part of the conference discussion documentation. The adoption of the NDP by an ANC conference was a reflection that the ANC is now receiving guidance politically and ideologically from government, an anomaly that has led to the collapse of many liberation movements in Africa and throughout the world.

The ANC chose to adopt the National Development Plan (NDP) as its programme, and made meaningless rhetorical commitments to the Freedom Charter. The ANC 53rd National Conference said that “the ANC welcomes and embraces Vision 2030 and the National Development Plan as a critical basis for united action by all South Africans to build a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic prosperous society. In many respects, the NDP accords with the objectives of the ANC and its own elaboration of the second phase of the transition to a National Democratic Society.”¹²

As observed in Shivambu (2013):

South African society will be headed for a developmental disaster because the NDP will not lead to a reduction of the crisis levels of unemployment, poverty and inequalities. Instead, the rapacious political elite will continue to use its political capital to generate economic capital, and continue with self-enrichment and gratification through State tenders and looting of State Owned Enterprises. The NDP is not a solution to South Africa’s developmental problems; it is instead a way of raising false hopes amongst the people that development will come in or before 2030. The ANC has fallen into a trap and will gradually lose integrity because of promises it cannot fulfill. The claim by the Deputy Chairperson of the National Planning Commission (now Deputy

President of the ANC) that most Ministers have read and understand the NDP is even more worrying because it means that they are knowingly leading society to a deeper developmental crisis. There will never be any successful developmental strategy and plan in South Africa that does not demolish the foundations of apartheid capitalist relations and ownership patterns.¹³—

Despite their broad and potentially elastic principles, the Freedom Charter and RDP are not similar to the NDP and there seems to be a laxity on how the ANC deals with vital disparities in principles and policies. The Freedom Charter decidedly speaks about discontinuation of private ownership of banks, mineral resources and monopoly industries, RDP's central theme is growth through redistribution, whilst the NDP is vague in its stance, while seemingly hanging onto the notion of the 'Pursue economic growth and the rest shall follow' doctrine. How the ANC adopted an NDP, which is not a product of its own internal process but instead a product of elite round-table deliberations (excluding the youth), is beyond comprehension. The NDP is not a product of robust internal deliberations of the ANC, but it is the biggest winner out of the conference, even gaining a mention in the appended Foreword of the Strategy & Tactics. In adopting this neoliberal framework, the Freedom Charter is thrown into the equation as if the Freedom Charter speaks of the same things as the NDP. It does not.

The Freedom Charter is not the NDP and should never be dragged into neoliberal strategies with the aim of hoodwinking the people in the same manner that the overtly neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was imposed on the ANC. The Freedom Charter says that the national wealth beneath the soil, monopoly industry and banks shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole, and further says that all other trade and industry shall be controlled (regulated) for the benefit of the people as a whole. The NDP does not say this. Instead it misdiagnoses the structural challenges to the South African economy and claims that "the fragility of South Africa's economy lies in the distorted pattern of ownership and economic exclusion created by apartheid policies. The effects of decades of racial exclusion are still evident in both employment levels and income differentials. The fault lines of these differentials are principally racially defined but also include skill levels, gender and

location.”¹⁴— The NDP completely misses the point, for obvious ideological reasons.

The task of the ANC after its 53rd National Conference was then the purging of remnants of economic freedom fighters from within its ranks, an act which was confirmed by the dissolution of the 24th National Congress National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League. In its first meeting after the 53rd National Conference, the ANC dissolved the NEC of the ANC Youth League and installed in its place a task team whose tasks would be extinction of anything that was associated with the struggle for economic freedom. The task team, led by Mzwandile Masina and Magasela Mzobe, dissolved all provincial and regional executive committees of the ANC Youth League, and started a new path whose programme would not include the struggle for economic freedom.

On 22 April 2013, the Co-ordinator of the ANC Youth League Task Team, Magasela Mzobe, said: “What we are saying is that the NDP was adopted in Mangaung [at the ANC National Conference] by the delegates of the ANC. So we expect all the leaders of the ANC elected in Mangaung to stand up and defend the NDP that is always under attack. It must not only be the responsibility of Comrade Trevor Manuel, Comrade Gwede Mantashe and President Jacob Zuma. All 86 NEC members elected in Mangaung must stop being cowards and they must stand up and defend the NDP.”¹⁵—

Determined to please those who appointed him, Mzobe went on to say, “We will not be silent and just watch the leadership of trade unions insulting the leadership of the ANC, like Irvin Jim is doing. We will not keep quiet when the ANC adopts policies in Mangaung only to have union leaders insulting the ANC just to appear on TV”.¹⁶— With this affirmation, the ANC Youth League’s fighting spirit and resilience was drowning in a deep sea of opportunism and careerism, making younger leaders favour political convenience and expedience over principle.

On 14 June 2013 edition of the *Mail & Guardian*, the Convener of the ANC Youth League Task Team, Mzwandile Masina, was asked the following question: “What does the issue of ‘economic freedom in our lifetime’ mean to you? Are you still going to push for the nationalisation of mines and land expropriation without compensation?”

Mr Mzwandile Masina responded on behalf of the ANC Youth League and said the following: “The youth league does not have a policy like that. We make proposals to the ANC. Some see the light of day, others don’t. Ours is to be the body of opinion by infusing new ideas.” This was a clear illustration that the ANC Youth League 24th National Congress resolution on Nationalisation of Mines and Land reform has been abandoned by the ANC Youth League. The ANC Youth League was then confirmed as a transmitter belt of Zuma’s confusion and the capitalist, neoliberal and reactionary National Development Plan (NDP).

The continued distortions of *Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime* further justified the need for discourse on the legitimacy of the ANC as a vehicle to carry forward the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. This is an ideological and political battle and selling out the determination of this generation will never be allowed to happen. The people of South Africa, the militant and radical youth, had to guide Economic Freedom Fighters on the question of what is to be done.

Such guidance had to happen because, individually and collectively, we had exhausted internal mechanisms and avenues to avert the continued degeneration of the ANC-led liberation movement. We even wrote an official appeal letter to the 53rd National Conference requesting the conference to examine what had transpired, and all those efforts were ignored. Because what is important are revolutionary struggles and pursuit of economic freedom, we had no other option but to ask the question of what is to be done.

The question of what is to be done arose because all of us appreciated the reality that we had been deprived of an opportunity to revolutionise the ANC in a similar way to how the founding generation of the ANC Youth League did. The decision to mobilise society outside the ANC was not an easy one, but it had to be considered because a faction that is keen on continuing with the neoliberal project, immensely and systemically corrupt, ideologically directionless and confused, has captured the ANC, and its followers are unassuming sheep following the masters to nowhere. Various models of engagement had to be revoked to make society aware that change is needed.

The Great March for Economic Freedom

Appreciating the reality that the fight for economic freedom could not just be confined to the ANC, the ANC Youth League leadership took a resolution to organise a protest action for economic freedom on 27 October 2011, the birthday of former ANC President Oliver Tambo and a day on which the ANC Youth League traditionally accommodates the rallies to celebrate the anniversaries of the ANC Youth League. Previous congresses of the ANC Youth League resolved that while the actual birthday of the ANC Youth League is 10 September, its anniversary rallies should happen on 27 October in successive years in honour of its first Secretary General and former President of the ANC, Oliver Reginald Tambo.

In 2011, the ANC Youth League National Executive Committee chose to celebrate the birthday of the organisation with ordinary people in Scwetla, an informal settlement in Alexandra, on 10 September. The idea was to make the ANC Youth League an organisation of the people, and tool of mobilisation of the downtrodden behind the call for economic freedom. The date, 27 October, was then reserved, not for the official rally but for a march for economic freedom, in what we called the Great Economic Freedom March. The march was to happen from Johannesburg and proceed to the Chamber of Mines in Marshall Street, Johannesburg, to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange 20 kilometres from Johannesburg in Sandton, and then to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, 70 kilometres from Johannesburg.

The march for economic freedom, we believe, was the longest protest march in the history of protests in the whole world because there has never been a protest action where thousands of people walked for 70 kilometres to present memoranda. The protest action was attended by more than 25 000 people, mainly youth, who walked for economic freedom from Johannesburg to Pretoria between 27 and 28 October 2011.

The Great March for Economic Freedom requires specific mention because it is a historic march and one that will go down in history as part of the set of protest actions that propelled the coming revolution. The following memoranda were presented as part of the economic freedom march:

Memorandum to Chamber of Mines – 27 October 2011

We, the youth of South Africa, the unemployed, marginalised, homeless, the economically downtrodden, and all of us who wish to have access to quality

free education, housing, electricity, and sustainable livelihoods demand urgent economic freedom in our lifetime. Economic freedom in our lifetime means total achievement of Freedom Charter objectives, particularly on the transfer of wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole.

The Chamber of Mines is a recipient of Economic Freedom Mass Action because of its role in the history of racialised economic development of South Africa. This includes, but is not limited to, development of an exclusively white mining capital with massive influence and contribution to legislation that subjugated, excluded, oppressed and super-exploited blacks and Africans in the entire Mining value.

We come here as Economic Freedom Fighters carrying the burden of the millions of the economically excluded, subjugated, oppressed, exploited and depressed South Africans in the Economic Freedom Mass Action under the leadership of the ANC Youth League to make the following demands:

To the Chamber of Mines we demand the following:

1. Nationalisation of South Africa's Mines. The State should own and control a minimum of 60% of South Africa's Mines.
2. Local beneficiation and industrialisation of a minimum of 60% of the minerals extracted from beneath South Africa's soil. The beneficiation should happen in the communities where Mining happens.
3. Provision of education, skills and expertise to South African youth in order to capacitate them to play a meaningful role in the entire mining value-chain.
4. Betterment of working conditions in all Mines to prevent avoidable fatalities and diseases.
5. Better salaries and wages for all Mineworkers, and provision of full employment for workers currently employed as contract workers.
6. An end to import-parity pricing on the South Africa minerals to boost the manufacturing, industrialisation and infrastructure development.
7. Active involvement of Mining corporations in the development of Mining communities, particularly on the construction and maintenance of roads, health facilities, schools, technical training colleges, and other public infrastructure.

8. Local manufacturing of supplies and other necessities required for mining, including beneficiation and industrialisation.
9. Development of a concrete social and labour development model, which will ensure that communities around the Mines are developed out of the proceeds of Mining.
10. Re-alignment of South Africa's Industrial Policy and action plan around to consider the reality that the State will be in control and ownership of Mines and mineral resources, so as to guide a concrete plan on minerals' beneficiation and industrialisation.
11. Amendment of Section 25 of South Africa's Constitution to empower the State to expropriate in the public interest with or without compensation.
12. Cessation of threats of disinvestment by Mining Capital.
13. Compensation of Mining communities that continue to suffer diseases and infections as a result of Mining and mineral extraction, particularly the asbestos communities.

We expect urgent action plans and programmes on these demands, on the view that non-concession to these demands will lead to social instability due to continued economic exclusion of the black majority and Africans in particular. We will never allow Mining business to continue to extract and massively benefit from South Africa's minerals whilst our communities are left with diseases, deeper poverty and degradation of infrastructure, rivers and environment.

These demands are genuine and should be acceded to with immediate effect, because we cannot afford to wait any longer.¹⁷— To the Johannesburg Stock Exchange the following memorandum was presented:

Memorandum to the Johannesburg Stock of Exchange – 27 October 2011

We, the youth of South Africa, the unemployed, marginalised, homeless, the economically downtrodden, and all of us who wish to have access to quality free education, housing, electricity, and

sustainable livelihoods demand urgent economic freedom in our lifetime. Economic freedom in our lifetime means total achievement of Freedom Charter objectives, particularly on the transfer of wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole.

The Johannesburg Stock of Exchange is recipient of the Economic Freedom Mass Action because it houses substantial majority of Capital in South Africa. The JSE's ownership and control patterns are in no way reflective of South Africa's population. It is a fact that less than 10% of South Africa's black and African population, which is more than 90% of the population of South Africa, has real and direct ownership and control of shares in the JSE. Historically, businesses and corporations represented in the JSE played a role in the economic exclusion, suppression and subjugation of colonial and apartheid white supremacy. The JSE therefore carries an obligation to undo the injustices of the past.

We come here as Economic Freedom Fighters carrying the burden of the millions of the economically excluded, subjugated, oppressed, exploited and depressed South Africans in the Economic Freedom Mass Action under the leadership of the ANC Youth League to make the following demands:

To the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, we demand the following:

1. Urgent action plans and programmes which will lead to the transfer of wealth to the ownership and control of historically disadvantaged individuals. By 2019, the ownership and control of companies and corporations doing business in South Africa should reflect the demographics of South Africa.
2. Urgent action plans and programmes from all companies and corporations in the JSE on how to increase and sustain the labour-absorptive capacity of their companies. This should be accompanied by thoroughly drafted human resources, skills transfer, training, and education provision with sustainable care programmes. This should happen within two years.
3. Urgent action plans on how to decentralise South Africa's economic development from the existing centres of

economic development to other parts of the country. This is vital and should be incentivised through massive public infrastructure investments and tax incentives for corporations with practical plans to increase their labour absorptive capacity to a minimum of 5 000 within 2 years in new areas of economic development.

4. Urgent action plans and programmes to employ workers directly with proper payments and benefits and NOT through labour brokers.
5. Urgent development and implementation of Corporate Social Investment plans, which will bring real value and benefit to communities where business operations happen.
6. End to expatriation of the profits to developed countries such as New York, Paris and London.

The JSE is instructed to play a role in the transformation and transfer of South Africa's wealth. The economic subjugation, oppression and exploitation of the black majority and Africans in particular happened under the stewardship and with approval of big Capital. To redress these injustices, big capital should play a role.

These demands are genuine and should be acceded to with immediate effect, because we cannot afford to wait any longer.—¹⁸

At the Union Buildings on 28 October 2011, the following memorandum was presented:

Memorandum to the Executive at the Union Buildings – 28 October 2011

We, the youth of South Africa, the unemployed, marginalised, homeless, the economically downtrodden, and all of us who wish to have access to quality free education, housing, electricity, and sustainable livelihoods demand urgent economic freedom in our lifetime. Economic freedom in our lifetime means total achievement of Freedom Charter objectives, particularly on the transfer of wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole.

The South African government whose executive authority is at the Union Building is where political power resides. The attainment

of political power meant that it should be deliberately and decisively utilised to redress the imbalances of the past, build a democratic developmental state, and ensure sustainable political, social and economic emancipation of those oppressed, excluded, exploited and subjugated by colonial and apartheid white supremacy. Together with Parliament, the Executive carries power and weight to radically transform society for the better.

We come here as Economic Freedom Fighters carrying the burden of the millions of the economically excluded, subjugated, oppressed, exploited and depressed South Africans in the Economic Freedom Mass Action under the leadership of the ANC Youth League to make the following demands:

To the Executive at the Union Buildings we demand the following:

1. Amendment of section 25 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa to make provision for the expropriation without compensation of property, particularly land, for equitable redistribution in the public interest and for public purpose.
2. Urgent enactment of a policy framework and programme which will focus on the food economy and empowerment of communities to produce food for themselves and food for their immediate schools, hospitals, prisons and other public and private institutions that consume food.
3. The South African government and all State institutions should by 2014 be buying a minimum of 40% of food for hospitals, schools and prisons from small scale farmers and agricultural practitioners.
4. All productive land must be nationalised, and provided on lease-basis as opposed to freehold to those interested in utilising the land in line with our national priorities.
5. Nationalisation of strategic sectors and the commanding heights of the economy to realise the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the people shall share in the country's wealth. As per the dictates of the Freedom Charter such strategic sectors must include "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry". The state must

also have greater ownership and control of SASOL, Arcelor-Mittal, the Cement Industry, and creation of a reliable, consistent State Oil company.

6. Establishment of a State Bank, which will have direct relationship with the Reserve Bank and be used to finance rural development and industrialisation, mortgage and vehicle finance and financing of small and medium enterprises and businesses.
7. Increased funding for the National Youth Development Agency.
8. Urgent prioritisation of eradication of informal settlements across the country. The Ministry of Finance should dedicate all resources to the eradication of informal settlements, instead of subsidisation of established corporations and companies.
9. Urgent electrification of neighbourhoods and settlements with no electricity, and re-connection of electricity cut off by Municipalities.
10. Urgent provision of water and sanitation to all communities which do not have access to these services.
11. Urgent prioritisation of provision of skills and free quality education to all students until attainment of the first post-tertiary qualifications. This should include speeding up the establishment of Universities in the Provinces of Mpumalanga and Northern Cape.
12. Immediate banning of Labour Brokers and illegalisation of all Labour brokering process.
13. Urgent filling of all vacancies in all spheres of government and public service. The State should relax experience requirements for young employees, particularly at employment entrance levels with clear programme to transfer skills and empower new and younger employees in all spheres with employment generation potential and capacity.
14. Immediate development and adoption of a spatial development framework which will lead to development of

new economic centres and cities in other parts of South Africa.

15. Development and adoption of an industrial strategy which will lead to promotion of exportation of finished goods and services and import substitution.
16. Creation of a Sovereign Wealth Fund whose proceeds will be directed to investments in the development and growth of the African economy.
17. Adoption of a more progressive foreign policy which will lead to South Africa prioritising trade, political, economic and social relations with countries that share the same values with what guides the National Liberation Movement. This should include active isolation of countries that openly embrace imperialism and threatening Africa's security.
18. Building of a strong State capacity to fulfil its functions, particularly in the delivery of services in order to substitute the practice of the State tendering, outsourcing and contracting the provision of services and construction of vital infrastructure and settlements.
19. Demand that the South African government desists from renting buildings for state accommodation purposes but rather construct and/or own all buildings where it is accommodated in all spheres of government.
20. Establishment of a bursary scheme which will fund a minimum of 10 000 students every year studying in the best Universities across the world.
21. All forms of economic planning and allocation of resources in South Africa should consider the reality of socio-economic migration, both legal and illegal migration. The labour rights of immigrants should be protected within the labour laws of the country.
22. Establishment of new industrial development zones as part of a conscious and deliberate strategy to uplift the economies of rural communities and begin to abolish the rural/urban divide.

Further demand the following from the South African government:

1. Nationalisation of South Africa's Mines. The State should own and control a minimum of 60% of South Africa's Mines.
2. Local beneficiation and industrialisation of a minimum of 60% of the minerals extracted from beneath South Africa's soil. The beneficiation should happen in the communities where Mining happens.
3. Provision of education, skills and expertise to South African youth in order to capacitate them to play a meaningful role in the entire mining value-chain.
4. Betterment of working conditions in all Mines to prevent avoidable fatalities and diseases.
5. Better salaries and wages for all Mineworkers, and provision of full employment for workers currently employed as contract workers.
6. An end to import-parity pricing on the South Africa minerals to boost the manufacturing, industrialisation and infrastructure development.
7. Active involvement of Mining corporations in the development of Mining communities, particularly in the construction and maintenance of roads, health facilities, schools, technical training colleges, and other public infrastructure.
8. Local manufacturing of supplies and other necessities required for mining, including beneficiation and industrialisation.
9. Development of a concrete social and labour development model, which will ensure that communities around the Mines are developed out of the proceeds of Mining,
10. Re-alignment of South Africa's Industrial Policy and action plan around to consider the reality that the State will be in control and ownership of Mines and mineral resources, so as to guide a concrete plan on minerals' beneficiation and industrialisation.
11. Amendment of Section 25 of South Africa's Constitution to empower the State to expropriate in the public interest with

or without compensation.

12. Cessation of threats of disinvestment by Mining Capital.
13. Compensation of Mining communities that continue to suffer diseases and infections as a result of Mining and minerals' extraction, particularly the asbestos communities.
14. Urgent action plans and programmes from all private corporations which will lead to the transfer of wealth to the ownership and control of historically disadvantaged individuals. By 2019, the ownership and control of companies and corporations doing business in South Africa should reflect the demographics of South Africa.
15. Urgent action plans and programmes from all companies and corporations in the JSE on how to increase and sustain the labour-absorptive capacity of their companies. This should be accompanied by thoroughly drafted human resources, skills transfer, training, and education provision with sustainable care programmes. This should happen within two years.
16. Urgent action plans from all private corporations on how to decentralise South Africa's economic development from the existing centres of economic development to other parts of the country. This is vital and should be incentivised through massive public infrastructure investments and tax incentives for corporations with practical plans to increase their labour absorptive capacity to a minimum of 5 000 within 2 years in new areas of economic development.
17. Urgent action plans and programmes from all private corporations to employ workers directly with proper payments and benefits and NOT through labour brokers.
18. Urgent development and implementation of Corporate Social Investment plans, which will bring real value and benefit to communities where business operations happen.
19. End to expatriation of the profits to developed countries such as New York, Paris and London.

The demands to the South African government are not only urgent, but can be realised sooner because government holds the political

power to change society for the better. It is through political and mass power that the South African State and particularly government can transform society into a better society inspired by the Freedom Charter programme and aspirations.

These demands are genuine and should be acceded to with immediate effect, because we cannot afford to wait any longer.¹⁹—

None of these memoranda received a response from the institutions visited because generally the Johannesburg Stock of Exchange, the Chamber of Mines and the Union Buildings are institutions that regard themselves as omnipotent, accountable to no one. The Chamber of Mines is historically responsible for the many racial laws and atrocities that have defined mining and minerals extraction in the territories that became South Africa from 1910 onwards.

The Union Buildings is a representative of the whites-only unity against black people and for continued super-exploitation of black and particularly African labourers. While political power was partially transferred after the 1994 elections, the unity of whites in continued exploitation of the black majority was not discontinued and the Union Buildings represent the continued suppression and exploitation of the black majority by a government which is supposed to liberate them.

The JSE represents and is symbolic of the unequal property relations that continue to shape contemporary South Africa. Very few black people hold real power in the JSE, which has mutated into a “gambling space” for international finance capital, which predominantly invests in speculative capital, which does not contribute to the health and expansion of the South African economy or job creation. The sweat, commitment, energy and effort of the youth who walked for 70 kilometres to make the demands mentioned here need to be acknowledged and recorded and will be realised through the different organisational forms expressed here.

Marikana – a turning point

The culmination of our continued involvement with the struggles of the people was Marikana. During the course of the strike for the R12 500 monthly wage, mineworkers kept calling for us to join the strike because they knew that our earlier involvement in the Impala Platinum strike led to

the reinstatement of more than 20 000 Rock Drill Operatives (RDOs) who had been fired by the mine management for participating in the strike.

Mineworkers well beyond Marikana always sought Comrade Julius Malema's attention and participation in their struggles. In August 2012, Comrade Julius Malema was already expelled from the ANC, yet this did not stop mineworkers and the working-class formations and activists from all over South Africa calling on him to be part of their battles because they appreciated that he is a true economic freedom fighter.

The relevance and influence of Comrade Julius Malema in particular in the struggles of mineworkers was recently unveiled in the Marikana Commission of Inquiry, set up to investigate the massacre of mineworkers on 16 August 2012. In the commission of inquiry, it emerged that one of the police generals said that the strike in Marikana had to be stopped before Malema gained mileage in the same way he did in the Impala Platinum strikes.

A *Mail & Guardian* report on 4 February 2014 captured the developments in the Marikana Commission thus:

Evidence leaders' head Geoff Budlender SC, questioned North West provincial police commissioner Lieutenant General Zukiswa Mbombo about a transcript of a meeting between her and Lonmin mine executives, including Barnard Mokwena and Jomo Kwadi, on August 14 2012, two days before the shooting.

Mbombo was recorded as saying: "At Impala [mine], Malema came with our [North West] premier and spoke to those people, and ourselves, as the police, we managed to manage the situation after Malema came ... Our discussion with the national commissioner was around this thing now happening, to say again, Malema come and defuse this thing. It becomes as if Malema has taken charge of the mining, the mine. Mbombo hinted at Malema's campaign to nationalise South Africa's mines. She said the Marikana stand-off had to be defused by "moving in to kill it".²⁰—

In August 2012, we could not immediately respond to the Marikana mineworkers' invitation because of the many other developments that characterised that period, particularly the impending pursuit of Comrade Malema by the National Prosecuting Authority and the South African

Revenue Service (SARS). We had addressed the Impala Platinum Mine strike and successfully presided over that strike and persuaded the mining bosses to re-employ the mineworkers who had been fired for participating in what was called an illegal strike. We then agreed with the leaders of the strike to visit on 18 August 2012.

On 16 August 2012, the police killed 34 mineworkers in what appears to be a premeditated massacre of the strikers with the intention of ending it or as part of “moving in to kill it”. In the morning of 17 August, Comrade Sindiso Magaqa, who was suspended from the ANC with Comrade Anda Bici, an activist who was part of Friends of the ANC Youth League, and Comrade Floyd Shivambu arrived in Marikana to meet with the workers on what would be the start of a long-lasting relationship with the mineworkers of Marikana.

The first meeting of workers after the massacre took place on the morning of 17 August 2012 and was convened by Xolani Nzuza and was addressed by Comrades Bici and Floyd Shivambu, and an agreement was reached with the workers that Comrade Julius Malema would arrive at Marikana on 18 August. The courage then was derived mainly from the many revolutionary struggles of the past generations, notably Comrade Chris Hani, who was never afraid to associate with and be among the people. At this meeting, mineworkers made it very clear that they did not want ANC people or ANC paraphernalia. They saw the ANC as having killed their colleagues, and they wished any engagement to happen without the ANC.

When Comrade Julius Malema arrived in Marikana on 18 August, the police stopped him, saying that he should not go to the workers because those workers are criminals and dangerous. He refused and they offered to accompany him. He refused to be accompanied by the police. The police instead came and parked a police Nyala a few metres away from where the meeting with workers was taking place.

Mineworkers objected to the presence of the police in the vicinity and Comrade Julius Malema approached the police and asked them to leave in order for the meeting to continue. We held various meetings with the workers, and they alerted us to the arrest of 79 workers. Comrade Julius Malema addressed the workers and exhorted them never to retreat. This was after we listened to the mineworkers speaking about their conditions and suffering.

During our engagement and meeting with the mineworkers, there were other activists, notably Rehad Desai, who later made a documentary on the Marikana massacre, Trevor Ngwane, a prominent Left activist from Soweto, and Peter Alexander, a Left academic from the University of Johannesburg. During our interaction with the mineworkers and our efforts to help the mineworkers with all they were doing, these activists were in the vicinity and possibly involved, because they were keen to be part of the workers' struggle, but initially did not play a significant and leading role.

We immediately assigned Andries Nkome, an attorney who had previously helped us with ex-mineworkers in Kuruman in the Northern Cape, to assist the arrested mineworkers. Nkome went to all the police stations where the mineworkers were held and got an official mandate from the workers to represent them. The first appearance of the mineworkers of Marikana was in Garankuwa and the magistrate denied them bail on the basis that their addresses were not confirmed and postponed the appearance to a week later.

The workers in Marikana then advised that we should open an official police case against the police who had killed the 34 mineworkers. On 30 August 2012, Comrades Julius Malema, Sindiso Magaqa, Anda Bici, and Floyd Shivambu, alongside mineworkers who were eyewitnesses to the massacre of 34 mineworkers, opened a case at the Marikana police station against the police who committed murder. The Marikana police station opened a docket with case numbers 167/08/2012 and 168/08/2012. This police case was not followed up because the Presidency announced a commission of inquiry, which is supposed to make recommendations even on criminal charges that should be pursued. The commission of inquiry is under way but, as the EFF, we remain sceptical about the process.

We continued to interact with and help the mineworkers in Marikana. Mineworkers in Marikana embraced the attorney Andries Nkome and Advocate Dali Mpfu because they understood that they were true fighters who were not interested in money to represent them. When the State decided to pay the legal representatives of the police in the Commission of Inquiry, it was the mineworkers who demanded that their legal representatives be paid as well. This took a long time and was subsequently resolved through a court process because the State was refusing to pay the legal representatives of the mineworkers.

We then convened a larger legal team that would work to help the mineworkers in Marikana. We requested Advocate Dali Mpofu to lead the legal team that would help the Marikana mineworkers, and he was immediately available to do so at no cost to the mineworkers. Advocate Mpofu engaged in legal processes which led to the release of all the mineworkers who were arrested and the provisional withdrawal of the murder charge that was laid on the mineworkers.

The consistent message from the mineworkers in Marikana was that they were organised as workers, and not affiliated either with the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which they largely saw as a sell-out union, or with AMCU. Our relationship with the Marikana mineworkers was consolidated on the ground and involved consistent interactions and briefings on the next plan of action. Part of what was being discussed was a possibility of a nation-wide strike to demand the R12 500 minimum wage for all mineworkers.

Comrade Malema referred to the NUM as NUM Pty Ltd, alluding to the relationship between the union, big businesses and its compromised leadership, which no longer appears to care for the working class. This is true because the NUM is not a credible organisation. While it claims victories in the mining sector, the conditions of mineworkers do not reflect any sense of representation by any union. The fact that the founding leaders of NUM, Cyril Ramaphosa and James Motlatsi, have been co-opted by big mining capital, while continuing to hold influence over the NUM, is perhaps the reason why the NUM is not a genuine union for workers. The NUM's very founding by a careerist lawyer, Cyril Ramaphosa, who had close links with big capital through his leadership of the Oppenheimer-and Rupert-founded Urban Foundation brings into question whether the union was for workers or for the mine owners.

During that period, mineworkers from many other mines called and requested that Comrade Julius Malema come and listen to their concerns and, between August and September 2012, we visited many mines in the West Rand, East Rand, Rustenburg, and in Limpopo. We began to talk about the possibility of convening a nation-wide strike to demand a minimum salary of R12 500 for all mineworkers. Everywhere we went, we were told of how NUM had betrayed the workers. In one instance in the West Rand Goldfields Mine, a worker tried to shout Viva NUM and was shouted down.

On the Thursday after the massacre, we organised an official memorial service for the mineworkers who were killed by the ANC government. On the other side, government tried to organise a memorial service and erected a huge stage and sound equipment with the hope that workers would come to their memorial service and listen to government lies and justifications. We worked with religious communities and leaders, in particular Bishop Seoka of the SACC, who had been in Marikana even before the massacre happened.

On Thursday morning, mineworkers and all the church leaders came to the memorial service that we had organised. Government ministers came in their numbers. Present were Minister of Intelligence Siyabonga Cwele, Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa, Health Minister Aaron Motsoaledi, Presidency Minister Collins Chabane, Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, Minerals Minister Susan Shabangu, Public Service Minister Richard Baloyi, and other senior government bureaucrats.

When we arrived at the venue, we told the ministers that none of them could speak at the memorial service, considering they represented a murderous regime. We told them to sit down and listen to us as we properly and respectfully mourned the victims of the state-sponsored massacre. We drafted the programme together with the workers' committee and agreed to include General Bantu Holomisa, Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) President Joseph Mathunjwa, and a local councillor who had good relations with the Lonmin mineworkers.

The Commander-in-Chief Julius Malema gave the official keynote address at the memorial service, and after he finished, workers singing and carrying sticks approached the podium where the ministers sat. The ministers disappeared, one by one, claiming a security threat in the venue. The first to disappear was Nathi Mthethwa, followed by Siyabonga Cwele, followed by Collins Chabane and then the rest.

The SABC had planned to carry a live broadcast of the proceedings, but immediately changed their minds when they realised that government was not in charge of the memorial service. We feel the SABC has, since the ascendance of Zuma into government, become a partisan state broadcaster with no sense of objectivity and impartiality. The memorial service went on as planned and families of the deceased appreciated our involvement, particularly Comrade Julius Malema's role in organising the memorial service and not allowing government to abuse and hijack the space. We

could not allow crocodile tears of the murderous regime pretending that they care about the people, while they really do not care.

The president deployed the military during that period and argued that the military should be on stand-by. The police increased their presence in Marikana and prevented workers from gathering. In one visit to Marikana, the police physically prevented Comrade Malema from addressing workers, claiming that the gathering was illegal. During the physical altercations, one of the police officers said that the police should isolate Comrade Julius Malema from the workers and shoot him. This led to a confrontation and altercations with the police, who were physically preventing Comrade Julius Malema from meeting with the workers who had waited for him.

It came to our attention during this period that senior government officials met in Cape Town to discuss the possibility of laying criminal charges against Comrade Julius Malema for what they said was “inciting violence”. The advocate who was tasked with investigating the possibility of laying charges found nothing that would stand in a court of law. In the same meeting, a South African Revenue Service (SARS) representative was asked how SARS was doing in its investigation of Comrade Malema. Government officials argued that he was becoming a nuisance to South Africa.

At the same meeting, a representative of the National Prosecuting Authority was asked how far they had got in laying criminal charges against Comrade Malema for what they said were fraud and corruption practices in the Limpopo provincial government. The charges were later lodged, and Comrade Julius Malema was subjected to humiliation and harassment by the police and SARS, developments that led to the repossession of his houses in Sandton and Polokwane. The criminal charges led to the repossession of a farm by the Asset Forfeiture Unit, even before the criminal case had been heard and finalised.

The Limpopo provincial government was placed under administration and declared the most corrupt government by the national government, not because of its internal administrative difficulties, but because those in charge believed that the Limpopo government was a source of income for Comrade Julius Malema. Services were cut, service providers were not paid, and contracts were cancelled because of the perception, paranoia and distrust that anyone from Limpopo who had some sort of relationship with government would have had links with Comrade Malema. The ANC

Provincial Executive Committee in Limpopo was dissolved on the basis that it was linked to Comrade Malema.

The legal battles that Comrade Julius Malema currently faces arose in the context of the Marikana massacre, and senior cabinet officials, including Jeff Radebe and Nkoane Maite-Mashabane, were part of a meeting where instructions were issued that there should be action against Comrade Julius Malema. These are issues raised by the legal team of Comrade Julius Malema in the case that is repeatedly postponed in the Polokwane magistrate's court on the basis that the State was not ready to proceed with the trial.

The relationship with Marikana workers continues and their struggles and battle cries occupy a central space in the EFF. We then took the struggles of the mineworkers in Marikana to a different level, and made it a real political struggle for the entire working class in the mining sectors. Since Marikana, we have been to almost all corners of South Africa, spreading the word of economic emancipation.

The Marikana mineworkers, fearless, determined and solid forces, inspired us when we decided to ask all South Africans "What is to be done?" We all knew that the ANC was not the platform to fight for economic freedom, but we needed guidance and direction from the people of South Africa and they indeed provided that guidance and direction.

Despite these developments, there was still hope that those at the forefront of the political prosecution and persecution were not the true ANC, and that one day the ANC would realise that its leaders are leading it into a permanent crisis. This is the basis upon which an official letter of appeal was written to the 53rd National Conference by those expelled and suspended from the ANC. None of the delegates at that conference had the courage to stand up and question the leadership of the ANC on the political developments, including on key ideological questions and the letter we had written to the Conference.

The delegates even re-elected Jacob Zuma as president, and elected Cyril Ramaphosa as Deputy President, despite our consideration as the EFF that these two men must take ultimate responsibility for the massacre of Marikana workers.

The ideological confusion and directionlessness of the ANC, its systemic corruption and disregard for the people, are an organisational phenomenon, one which cannot just be reduced to one person. The entire

ANC is responsible for the sins it is committing. Only those who can be exonerated from the ANC's degeneration are those who have the courage to stand up and confront the rot that characterises the current ANC. This should be emphasised because there is a frequent claim that the ANC is not responsible for its degeneration and lack of direction, reducing this to a problem with the incumbent president, which creates a distorted picture and amplifies the organisation's total lack of accountability.

The adoption of the National Development Plan, and marginalisation of key Freedom Charter demands, particularly nationalisation of mines, took place at an ANC Conference, with delegates present from all branches. Jacob Zuma seems to lack the cognitive acumen to construct a rightwing, neoliberal programme and is a mere pawn in the ideological rightward degeneration of the ANC. For this reason, the ANC should be removed from power by forces of the Left committed to radical, militant and socialist transformation of South Africa.

The resolutions of the 53rd National Conference of the ANC confirmed that it is not capable of taking the political freedom gained in 1994 into economic freedom. And political freedom without economic freedom is meaningless. There was hope that the ANC could be a terrain upon which the struggle for economic freedom could be fought, but that hope has been snuffed out. The ANC has become a vehicle of self-enrichment. At 102 years old, the ANC has gone as far as it can, and sentimental attachment to the name and its history will not emancipate the people of South Africa.

Although we knew that there was a decision and intention to expel and suspend us from the ANC, we believed that we would be able to mobilise structures of the ANC to remove the factional and neoliberal leadership from the ANC. When still in the ANC, during the 53rd National Conference we were able to draw a broader perspective and consensus from most provinces, excluding Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal, that there is a need for change of policy and leadership in the ANC. This unity of forces of change was destroyed when we left the ANC, and with no organisational machinery to fight within, the forces of change were weakened and could not recoup the ANC from the Zuma-led faction that is currently dominant.

What is to be done?

Despite calls from the people that we should start an organisation to contest elections, we refused to do so because we understood that an organisation

should be founded by the people, not by ourselves as individuals. On many occasions, people made calls for an alternative platform on which to continue the struggle for economic freedom.

It was on this basis that on 11 June 2013 we issued a clarion call to economic freedom fighters, entitled “What is to be done?” It read as follows:

***A CLARION CALL TO ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS
AND ALL SOUTH AFRICANS TO STAND UP AND BE
COUNTED***

11 June 2013

Since our election into the national leadership of the ANC Youth League 2008, we spoke about and pushed for radical economic transformation in the African National Congress (ANC). We did so guided by the Freedom Charter principles and clarion call that the “People shall share in the country’s wealth”. During our time, we were able to mobilise structures and members of the ANC to develop “greater consensus of Nationalisation of Mines and other strategic sectors of the economy” and persuaded the ANC to abandon the willing buyer, willing seller principle in terms of land redistribution, affirmed by the ANC 3rd National General Council in 2010 and National Policy Conference in 2012.

The Policy outcomes of the ANC 53rd National Conference however have demonstrated in the clearest terms that the ANC is committed to a rightwing, neoliberal and capitalist agenda which has kept the majority of our people on the margins of South Africa’s economy. As we speak, unemployment levels are approaching 40% with no sign of recovery in the immediate future, the economy is not growing, inequalities are rising, and poverty deepening.

The ANC went further to adopt a neoliberal, rightwing and reactionary policy framework called the National Development Plan (NDP), which will only worsen South Africa’s socio-economic problems because it does not speak to change of ownership of the economy.

As things stand, and based on the outcomes of the ANC 53rd National Conference, we can boldly say that the following observations are true:

1. *The ANC will never be a sustainable solution to South Africa developmental problems in the foreseeable future, due to its ideological zigzags, and open dominance of neoliberal and rightwing politics.*
2. *The ANC integrity and credibility will gradually decline because it will not address the many massive developmental challenges confronting society in the current conjecture. Poverty, unemployment and inequalities will worsen under ANC leadership.*
3. *Opposition political parties to the ANC oppose it on superficial issues, because all the major political formations in parliament carry the same neoliberal, capitalist and free-market programme as the ANC.*
4. *The South African Communist Party has been swallowed into reform politics of patronage and will never regain integrity to pursue real working class struggles anytime soon.*
5. *COSATU will soon be swallowed into same politics of reforms, and all those who push for a radical agenda will be isolated, banished and portrayed as anti-ANC. The dominant ANC/SACP faction in COSATU will rid it of progressive independent leaders.*
6. *Independent Trade Unions, like AMCU, will continue to emerge and grow bigger because COSATU unions will gradually fail to represent workers.*
7. *Majority of the people in the informal settlements, townships, villages and other poor communities will disengage from mainstream politics and not vote in successive elections.*
8. *The ANC Youth League has been turned into a lap dog and sent around to repeat what the ANC leadership says and puppet Youth League leaders rewarded with cabinet posts and other perks to sustain their puppet status.*
9. *Victimization of those who are suspected of forming political alternatives in the ANC will increase with threats of arrests and possible manipulation of the justice system until imprisonment.*
10. *The middle class will further drift away from the ANC and now beef up the DA votes, which are inevitably going to increase in the next general elections.*
11. *Service delivery protests will intensify and workplace stoppages in the Mines and Farms will also continue in higher volumes than*

- before, thus worsening the economic crisis South Africa is undergoing.
12. Social movements will remain on the margins of mainstream politics and only mobilize on sector-based issues which will not relate to mainstream electoral and power politics.
 13. Any form of generalized uprising will be harshly suppressed by the State machinery and will never escalate to a level where a sitting government can be toppled.
 14. The youth will become more disgruntled under the leadership of the ANC.
 15. South Africa will be turned into a Kleptocracy, with government leaders openly looting State resources and pursuing self-enrichment, and classifying reports and processes that seek to expose such callous behaviour. Those around President Jacob Zuma will get richer and more corrupt because they will know that, like him, they are immune from prosecution.

It is on these bases and observations that as Economic Freedom Fighters we believe that South Africans should **STAND UP AND BE COUNTED**. As Economic Freedom Fighters, we call on all South Africans committed to real change to submit their names, contact details and current political affiliation to the economicfreedomstruggle@gmail.com. We will be holding consultative forums and platforms across South Africa to discuss **WHAT IS TO BE DONE?**

Those interested should know that the base principles for these consultations are the following:

1. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution.
2. Nationalisation of Mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy.
3. Building State and government capacity, which will lead to abolishment of Tenders.
4. Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
5. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs.

6. Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice.
7. Open, accountable government and society without fear of victimisation by State police.

Those who uphold these principles should join Economic Freedom Fighters in defining the mission of what is to be done. We call for submissions via email, on Facebook and Twitter on WHAT IS TO BE DONE? We call for submissions on what can be fundraising mechanisms for this platform because we do not have money, and lack of money cannot stop us from expressing our democratic rights. We will soon coordinate platforms across South Africa to interact with the people to hear solutions on WHAT IS TO BE DONE, and details will be communicated.

ISSUED BY JULIUS MALEMA ON BEHALF OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

As part of this initiative, we received more than 10 000 volunteers in the first two days following the call from young people and activists willing to be part of a new future. We received incessant communications arguing that there should be an independent platform. Despite this, we still maintained that the decision to form a political party should be taken by the people.

It is important to highlight that this call genuinely sought guidance from the people. We believe that political organisations ought to be initiated by the people. The initial thought was that if majority of the people opted for an independent political platform, we should find a name for it, but the massive responses we received from various quarters already said the new movement should be called Economic Freedom Fighters. The name of Economic Freedom Fighters was decided spontaneously by the people, who responded that there should be an independent political formation, and as people who were at the forefront of these discussions, we embraced the name.

On 2 July 2013, we issued a call for a national assembly on the question What is to be done?

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS: TOWARDS THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE

02 July 2013

On the 11th of July 2013, Economic Freedom Fighters made a clarion call to all Activists, Revolutionaries, concerned South Africans and Patriots to begin discussing the question of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? This was informed by the reality that the struggle for economic freedom should be pursued. The three questions asked in relation to WHAT IS TO BE DONE basically boiled down to three fundamental questions:

- 1) Whether Economic Freedom Fighters should remain inside or outside of the ANC advocating for radical change in the hope that one day the ANC will in the immediate future self-correct, and accept this as the only practical way to save society from starvation and declining living conditions of our people?*
- 2) Whether we should constitute an independent political movement not aligned to an electoral political party to advocate for economic freedom in our lifetime, but not contesting elections?*
- 3) Whether we should start an independent political party which will contest the general elections with a manifesto that decidedly speaks to demands for economic freedom in our lifetime?*

Since the clarion call, thousands of youth, workers, traditional leaders, Activists, Movements, Non-Profit organisations, political parties, churches, Intellectuals, Academics, Students, Traditional Chiefs, Headmen and Kings, Independent Councillors, Internationalists, and many others have responded to the clarion call and gave definite answers on WHAT IS TO BE DONE? It is not a secret that an absolute majority of those that responded to the clarion call have chosen one of the three options above.

As organic and democratic Freedom Fighters who do not want to short-cut the impending revolution in South Africa, we are in the process of coordinating all Economic Freedom Fighters across all corners of South Africa to gather in the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE. The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will be the first National Consultative Forum of

delegates from all sub-regions of South Africa, who will meet to discuss and take the official decision on WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

Economic Freedom Fighters know and appreciate the essence of what the majority of the people who have responded are saying is to be done, and therefore we are organising a National Consultative Forum that will not only respond to the three questions, but also give detailed, informed, coherent, cogent, radical, militant and necessary policy alternatives to the current political conjecture.

The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE is convened under the theme “INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE FROM POLITICAL FREEDOM TO ECONOMIC FREEDOM”, and will in great detail deal with the following key issues:

- 1. Expropriation of South Africa’s land without compensation for equal redistribution.*
- 2. Nationalisation of Mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy.*
- 3. Building State and government capacity, which will lead to abolishment of Tenders.*
- 4. Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.*
- 5. 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.*
- 6. Massive development of the African economy and advocating a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.*
- 7. Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by State police.*

The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will also adopt the Constitution, Founding Manifesto and Principles of Economic Freedom Fighters, which will give guidance on the ideological orientation, political programme, nature and character of Economic Freedom Fighters. The logo, colours, signals, paraphernalia, website, etc. of Economic Freedom Fighters will also be decided and unveiled on this platform, based on the decision and guidance of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

REPRESENTATION AND DELEGATION TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE

- *Each Sub-region/Local Municipality in South Africa will send a maximum of 5 delegates each, preferably from different localities.*
- *Each Region/Metropolitan Municipality will send 10 delegates each, preferably from different municipalities.*
- *Independent political parties with representation in a Local Municipality will send 2 delegates each.*
- *Independent political parties with representation in a District Municipality will send 3 delegates each.*
- *Independent Councillors, not affiliated to any political party, can send an application to attend the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE, and should specify which Municipality they are from and the Ward they are representing in each Council.*
- *Councillors, Members of Provincial Legislatures, Members of Parliament currently representing registered political parties in Local/District Municipalities, Provincial Legislatures, and National Assembly respectively, can apply to attend the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE.*
- *Non-Profit organisations, Community based organisations, Trade Unions, Student organisations, Research institutions, and Traditional Authorities will each be granted 2 delegates, based on the application they should submit to the Coordinating Committee.*

DETAILS:

• **DATE 26 TO 27 JULY 2013**

• **VENUE: Soweto**

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The work that ensued from that point concentrated on the establishment of interim structures of activists. On 10 July 2013, we convened a national policy dialogue meeting, which had representatives from all provinces, to discuss the way forward. The outcome of the policy dialogue is this statement:

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS CENTRAL COMMAND PRESS STATEMENT

11 July 2013

The Central Command Team of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) held its 1st representative meeting at the 17 Shaft Conference Centre in Johannesburg on the 10th of July 2013. The meeting had representatives from all the 9 Provinces of South Africa, fraternal organisations and progressive Activists who associate with the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. We are addressing the media here at Constitution Hill, which is a symbol of South Africa's political emancipation, which we as Economic Freedom Fighters believe should be elevated through concrete programmes to economic emancipation.

The meeting is a result of the clarion call we made on the 11th of June 2013 that all Economic Freedom Fighters should stand up to answer the question of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Since the clarion call, thousands of progressive Economic Freedom Fighters, Nongovernmental organisations, youth, workers, traditional leaders, Activists, Movements, Non-Profit organisations, political parties, churches, Intellectuals, Academics, Students, Traditional Chiefs, Headmen and Kings, Independent Councillors, Internationalists, and many others have responded to the clarion call and gave definite answers on WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

It is no secret that an absolute majority of all those who have responded are saying that Economic Freedom Fighters should be a radical, Left, and anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist Movement with an internationalist outlook that should contest elections in South Africa. Because Economic Freedom Fighters is led by organic and democratic revolutionary foot soldiers, Volunteers and Organisers, we took a decision that a decision to found a political Movement that will contest elections cannot and should not be taken by a few individuals in a haphazard way.

We have since the clarion call on WHAT IS TO BE DONE? constituted Provincial Central Command teams whose role and focus will be the constitution of regional, sub-regional and ward-based central command structures in preparation for a NATIONAL

ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE. The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will be the platform that takes the decision and resolves on the option of founding a Movement that will contest elections, agree on the Constitution, the Colours, Logo, and adopt a Founding Manifesto, which will be the core of the politics and programmes of EFF towards the 2014 general elections. Membership forms, the website, paraphernalia and physical addresses of Economic Freedom Fighters will be unleashed and announced immediately after the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

The character of Economic Freedom Fighters will be that of a radical, Left, and anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist Movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles. EFF will be the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa, and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws. EFF also embrace the radical (not the neoliberal) interpretation of the Freedom Charter, which says South Africa should belong to all who live in it through equal distribution of South Africa's wealth and heritage.

Economic Freedom Fighters also embrace the following values and principles:

- Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.*
- Non-racialism and non-sexism.*
- Universal adult suffrage, a national common voters' roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.*

The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will happen on the 26th and 27th of July 2013 in Soweto, and all Provinces will be represented with delegations selected from all regions, sub-regions, and wards of EFF. The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will also be attended by progressive formations from across South Africa, NGOs, and independent political parties at local and provincial levels. We call

all Economic Freedom Fighters from the African continent, the African Diaspora and progressive internationalists who wish to attend the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE to bring to our attention the interest to attend.

Draft Policy documents and perspectives towards the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will be made public after the National Policy Dialogue, which will happen on the 19th of July 2013. All South Africans will be afforded an opportunity to make an input on the policies drafted as means to achieve the Pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime. The key non-negotiable Pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime are the following:

- Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution.*
- Nationalisation of Mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.*
- Building State and government capacity, which will lead to abolishment of Tenders.*
- Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.*
- 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.*
- Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.*
- Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by State agencies.*

The NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE will discuss the best models and process of how soon and how best we realise these pillars. All members of society will have access to the draft policy documents before the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE, and deliberations on this platform will be informed by contributions from all people in South Africa, Africa and the world.

We are here to announce the leaders of all Provincial Central Command teams, and the core of the National Command Team

that will lead Economic Freedom Fighters to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE:

EFF CENTRAL COMMAND TEAM:

Commander-in-Chief and National Convenor: Cde Julius Malema

National Coordinator: Cde Mpho Ramakatsa

Members of the National Central Command Team:

- 1. Floyd Shivambu*
- 2. Andile Mngxitama*
- 3. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi*
- 4. Sam Tshabalala*
- 5. Fana Mokoena*
- 6. Leigh Ann Mathys*
- 7. Pabane Moteke*
- 8. Hlayiseka Chawane*
- 9. Sipho Mbatha*
- 10. Kenny Kunene*
- 11. Mandisa Makesini*
- 12. Hlengiwe Hlophe*

13. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi

Provincial Central Command Teams:

1. Gauteng

- a. Convenor—Pule Matshithse*
- b. Coordinators—Parks Khaiyane and Lufuno Gogoro*

2. KwaZulu-Natal

- a. Convenor—Reggie Ngcobo*
- b. Coordinator—Nathi Phewu*

3. Free State

- a. Convenor—Sam Matiase*
- b. Coordinator—Willy Tshabalala*

4. Northern Cape

- a. Convenor—Mbuyiselo Matebus*
- b. Coordinator—Adri Noble*

5. Limpopo

- a. Convenor—Michael Mathebe*
- b. Coordinator—George Raphela*

6. Western Cape

- a. Convenor—Gcobani Nozongana*
- b. Coordinator—Lephallo Mahoto*

7. Eastern Cape

- a. Convenor—Themba Kiro*
- b. Coordinator—Pumza Ntobongwana*

8. Mpumalanga

- a. Convenor—Ayanda Tshabalala*
- b. Coordinator—Dumisani Ncongwane*

9. North West

- a. Convenor—Alfred Motsi*
- b. Coordinator—Papiki Babuile*

All these Convenors and Coordinators are operating within a collective of Provincial Command Teams of 10 members each. These are comrades and Fighters whose immediate task is establishment of Regional Command Teams, Sub-regional command teams, Ward command teams and selection of representative delegates to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

On Saturday, the 13th of July, EFF will hold Consultative Mass Meetings in the Vaal and in Sasolburg. Details in this regard will be communicated on a separate statement.

On Monday, the 15th of July, EFF will officially announce the National Spokesperson and head of communications, who will handle all media enquiries and communication concerning EFF matters. Volunteers who have responded via social media and email addresses will be contacted by their respective Provincial leadership collectives. Mass rallies and meetings will happen in all communities until the 2014 General Elections and beyond.

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It is important to note that the policy dialogue meeting did not take the decision to launch a political party to contest elections, because such a decision could only be taken by a representative body with delegations from the entire country.

Discussions on the National Assembly meeting included a consultation with the September National Imbizo (SNI), a platform led by Andile Mngxitama, and one which is truly concerned about the future and direction of South African politics. As part of its objectives, the SNI emphasises that it is “committed to giving our country another possibility and a new hope! The main objective of the SNI is to dialogue around the challenges facing our people and to make proposals for a way forward. To present our people with a discussion forum as a mechanism to claim back our country from politicians and self-enriching elites; we want a democracy that works for the majority.”²¹

The SNI is inspired by black consciousness, and connects this to the reality that black consciousness should be about the seizure of political power and of the state for radical economic transformation. The SNI’s main

areas of focus in its consideration of political power is in its commitment to the Sankara Oath. This perspective holds that public representatives should use public services. This is largely influenced by Thomas Sankara, a revolutionary leader from Burkina Faso, whose revolutionary ethos meant that he lived an ordinary life and did not fall into the temptations and luxuries that often come with the occupation of political office.

The Sankara values are admirable and something which the EFF Founding Manifesto encapsulates. A significant and critical component of EFF is activists from SNI with very sharp black consciousness thoughts and beliefs, which complement the struggle for economic freedom in South Africa. Black consciousness found a proper home in the EFF and is expressed through its Fanonian character, which the Founding National Assembly embraced as the Marxist-Leninist Fanonian character of the EFF.

Amongst those who played a critical role in the preparations for the National Assembly were Commissar Mpho Ramakatsa, a former Robben Island prisoner and soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Commissar Ramakatsa is a freedom fighter from the Free State Province, who has stood for economic justice and freedom his entire life. In the Free State, he was part of that group of ANC activists who believed that the ANC could be rescued from within. He mobilised ANC activists in the run-up to the Provincial Congress to reject the leadership of the ANC in the Free State because it was rigged in their favour.

During that time, Commissar Ramakatsa took the ANC to the High Court and subsequently to the Constitutional Court for rigging the congress. In the Constitutional Court, where the isolated ANC branches were represented by Advocate Dali Mpofu, the case was ruled in favour of the comrades led by Comrade Ramakatsa. This happened on the eve of the ANC 53rd National Conference in Bloemfontein. The verdict of the Constitutional Court reversed the Free State Conference and said the officials of the Free State ANC should not vote in the 53rd National Conference because they were illegally elected. The Constitutional Court decision meant that the ANC Conference in the Free State had to be rerun, yet this still did not bring about fair internal processes. Comrade Ramakatsa brought organisational experience and played a critical role in the formative stages of EFF.

Another important contribution in the formative stages of EFF came from Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, an activist from Gauteng province and a PhD

student in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Comrade Mbuyiseni Ndlozi's contribution deserves mentioning as he convened a process that drafted the founding constitution of the EFF. Ndlozi's ability to immediately elevate a new sense of organisational identity for the EFF, with new songs and a new ethos, is commendable and is a permanent feature of the organisation.

Comrade Mbuyiseni Ndlozi's defence of the struggle for economic freedom began even before the launch of the EFF:

If so assessed, it is no secret that not a single demand of the (Freedom) Charter which has to do with property relations has been implemented or inserted in macroeconomic frameworks post 1994. Further, one can't help but suspect that the real reason why the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) has been disbanded had nothing to do with "disrespect of leadership and consensus" or "undermining democratic centralism" but that the league wanted to advance – with whatever right or wrongful intention of their leadership – the demands, and specifically pertaining to property, of the Freedom Charter.

If the ANCYL was really disbanded for the claimed reasons, imagine how many former ANCYL national executive committee members (NECs) would have met the same fate. Think of Peter Mokaba and the arms question; or Fikile Mbalula and the Zimbabwe question. It seems safe to assume that this NEC faced the worst form of discipline (or silencing) precisely because they were challenging the continuing racial configuration of property relations. To make matters worse, they even proposed a concrete programme of radically altering property relations without the ruling class (whites in particular) being compensated.

The reason, I argue, is because the ANCYL programme and plans would have threatened the legitimacy of the current government amongst white nations and white property owners.

There are many activists who played various roles in the formative stages of the EFF, and those include the following:

1. CiC Julius Malema
2. Floyd Shivambu

3. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi
4. Andile Mngxitama
5. Sam Tshabalala
6. Fana Mokoena
7. Leigh Ann Mathys
8. Pabane Moteka
9. Hlayiseka Chawane
10. Sipho Mbatha
11. Kenny Kunene
12. Mandisa Makesini
13. Hlengiwe Hlophe
14. Marshall Dlamini
15. Mpho Ramakatsa
16. Sam Matias
17. Alfred Motsi
18. Parks Khayane
19. Patrick Sindane

In their various capacities, they did everything in their power to ensure that the National Assembly would happen. Some of the people who played a critical role cannot be mentioned at this juncture for political reasons, but their contributions will be noted in future reflections on the history of the EFF.

EFF as a political party and movement of the people

The EFF National Assembly was convened at Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, Soweto. There, deliberations on the formation of a political party and discussions on its political and ideological outlook and programme were held. The National Assembly was attended by 1200 delegates from all provinces, and a delegation of ex-mineworkers from the Eastern Cape and mineworkers from Marikana led by Xolani Nzuza attended.

In his address to the National Assembly, Xolani Nzuza said, "We will take you to parliament, but never forget us when you are in parliament and behave like the ones who are currently in parliament." Xolani Nzuza was speaking on behalf of the mineworkers of Marikana, and on behalf of those who died in the struggle for a better share in the mineral wealth of our country.

The decision to launch the EFF as a political party was taken at approximately 12:30 on 27 July 2013 in Soweto after lengthy deliberations. It was agreed that the political party should be called Economic Freedom Fighters. The National Assembly adopted a Constitution, which would, in the establishment stages of the EFF, become the guideline and supreme law of the organisation. The National Assembly also endorsed the proposed logo of the Economic Freedom Fighters.

Notably, after the agreement to launch the organisation, the 1200 delegates who attended the National Assembly joined the EFF and adopted the Constitution and the Founding Manifesto, which are the two most essential documents of the EFF. A clear mandate was issued that all activists should be on the ground mobilising the people towards economic freedom in our lifetime.

At the end of the National Assembly, the following declaration was adopted:

***DECLARATION OF THE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE – 26–27
JULY 2013***

27 July 2013

*We the delegates from all across the length and breadth of South Africa gathered in Soweto on the 26th and 27th of July 2013 to discuss and resolve the question of **What is to be Done?** We gather as Economic Freedom Fighters representing nongovernmental organisations, youth, workers, traditional leaders, Activists, Movements, Non-Profit organisations, political parties, churches, Intellectuals, Academics, Students, Traditional Chiefs, Headmen and Kings, Independent Councillors, Internationalists, and many others who have responded to the clarion call and gave definite answers on WHAT IS TO BE DONE?*

All delegates to the National Assembly had a definite and unequivocal mandate from millions of South Africans that Economic Freedom Fighters should be an economic emancipation movement, which should be mass-based, associate and relate constantly with the grassroots and community movements, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and most importantly contest political power. Economic Freedom Fighters will therefore be an independent economic

emancipation movement which will contest political power in all spheres of government.

We gather on the 26th of July 2013 because we are inspired and agitated by the Cuban July 26 Movement, which from the 26th of July 1953 launched a struggle that culminated in the victorious Cuban Revolution, which is still intact despite trade embargoes, isolation, natural disasters and terrorism against the Cuban people. Cuba remains an inspiration because with a very low GDP per capita income. Cuba is amongst the best countries in terms of healthcare, education, low infant mortality rates, life expectancy and other vital social services. This is a sign that the revolution was about the emancipation of the people, not the enrichment of a few individuals who callously and rapaciously redirect State resources for self-enrichment.

We meet in Soweto because we want to draw inspiration in Soweto from Fearless Freedom Fighters who in history have been at the forefront of the revolutionary struggles against apartheid repression and exploitation. Soweto gave birth to many revolutionaries that revolutionised the struggle for political emancipation in the 1940s, Soweto gave birth to the 1976 generation of fearless freedom fighters who dared the apartheid regime and rendered its machinery ungovernable, and now Soweto is giving birth to Economic Freedom Fighters who will carry the struggle to its logical economic emancipation of the people of South Africa.

The EFF is a South African movement with a progressive internationalist outlook, which seeks to engage with global progressive movements. The EFF draws inspiration from the broad Marxist-Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in their analyses of the state, imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keeps the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation.

We believe that the best contribution we can make in the international struggle against global imperialism is to rid our

country of imperialist domination. For the South African struggle, the EFF cardinal pillars for economic emancipation are the following:

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

These cardinal pillars constitute the core of our political programme and election programme for the 2014 general elections and beyond. The nature and character of our struggle will be that of a grassroots movement – a Protest Movement for fundamental change. These cardinal pillars are important because South Africa, like many other former political colonies, is still trapped in the colonial division of labour as supplier of primary commodities to the coloniser nations. This colonial feature cannot and will never be broken by continued economic dominance of private corporations, particularly in the natural and mineral resources sector.

Multinational and private ownership of South Africa's commanding heights of the economy should be discontinued in order to stimulate State-led and -aided industrial development.

After careful thought and a thorough process of consultation with the masses of our people, we came and resolved that South Africa's people's wishes and aspiration must be respected by

launching an organisation which shall fight for, strive for and advance these aspirations unapologetically!

EFF, as a people's movement, shall, in its content, character and outlook, be a true 'weapon of struggle in the hands of the people and a collective effort to solve people's own problems'.

The National Assembly recognises that South Africa is at a cross-roads for all wrong reasons. The hard-won victories over the colonial, racist and apartheid system have been meaningless although necessary due to lack of economic emancipation of the majority, an African majority. As a consequence thereof, the South Africans, through their delegates, spoke overwhelmingly that they, the people, need a new alternative, a radical, militant, fearless movement to serve their interest. We reject the National Development Plan because it does not speak to the fundamental change of property relations in South Africa, and will therefore not be a sustainable solution to the unemployment, poverty and inequality crises confronting South Africa.

Our immediate programme includes registration of Economic Freedom Fighters as a political party that will contest the 2014 election, mobilisation and recruitment of members, establishment of all Regional, Branch and Cell structures and formations of the Movement. Our immediate political programme includes building a strong movement of Community-based workers, youth, students, women, and sectoral formations and organisations that will proclaim economic freedom as their political programme.

Our immediate political programme will include joining in the movement that calls for total banning of labour brokers, total and practical rejection and boycott of eTolls, the fight against corruption, resistance to evictions and protest movement for better services in all communities. In light of the New Credit Act, we believe that all our people who have been blacklisted must be immediately cleared and given a new start.

EFF takes note of the many ex-Mineworkers, particularly in the Northern and Eastern Cape, who due to their work in the Mines have contracted diseases and sickness. The EFF will take up practical programmes to seek economic justice and reparations for ex-mineworkers who are victims of the Mines.

The EFF will also pay particular attention to the marginalised minority, in particular the Coloured population, the Khoi and the San. EFF will particularly fight for the economic right of the Coloured people in the Western Cape to have access to fishing rights. EFF will join in the struggles of Coloured communities in the Northern and Western Cape, who are paid with alcohol for their work in the Wine Farms. EFF does not view and approach the Coloured population as a voting fodder, but as people who should be really integrated in the holistic development of their communities. The Khoi and the San should be recognised as a people and their language included in the Constitution as an official language.

The National Assembly condemns all manifestations of xenophobia and xenophobic attacks in our communities, and by the South African government. The manner in which the State relates to immigrants, particularly from the rest of Africa, is less than satisfactory. EFF will educate society on African unity and solidarity as a way of building a sustainable continent.

EFF will practically mobilise on the question of the remaining colonies in Africa and the Middle East. We call on Morocco to end its occupation and colonisation of Western Sahara. In the same breath, we call on the Apartheid state of Israel to end its racist occupation of Palestinian lands, and join in the call for the international isolation of the Israel through boycotts, divestment and sanctions until they end the occupation. Furthermore, we join the international call for the release of the Cuban Five and lifting of the trade embargo on the Cuba and its people. We also believe that all economic sanctions on Zimbabwe must be lifted and the people of Zimbabwe must be given a chance to enjoy the wealth of nations.

Our commitment to the development of the African continent and its people reclaiming their economic wealth is unwavering. The wind for political liberation in Africa blew from north to south, and the wind for economic emancipation should now blow from the south to the north. This wind should gain momentum in our lifetime and South Africa must be an inspiration to many other African countries to reclaim their wealth and economies from colonial and neo-colonial masters. We are the generation of Economic Freedom

Fighters and our mission is attainment of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime.

**ISSUED BY ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WHAT IS TO BE DONE**

The delegates that came from all provinces understood and appreciated the significance and relevance of launching the EFF, and did not make demands usually associated with delegates to conferences. In the National Assembly that lasted for two days, only two meals were served to each delegate and the accommodation provided could only cater for female delegates, while the rest stayed up around the fire, chanting struggle slogans and readying themselves for the next day of the assembly.

The National Assembly was organised with practically no budget, because the paraphernalia such as T-shirts, berets, conference documents, banners and flags were taken on credit that would later be repaid through the sale of berets. A benevolent and humble entrepreneur whose business is not entirely dependent on tenders was able to rise above and provide all necessary assistance to the EFF, against threats from the ruling party and business associates who had begun to dissociate themselves from economic freedom fighters. The caterers also received payment long after the National Assembly because they understood that this was a platform for poor people who did not have resources. Some of the buses and taxis that had brought delegates to the National Assembly from as far as Port Elizabeth refused to take delegates back, demanding immediate payment, because there was no money to pay for their fuel.

Financial hurdles and difficulties did not dampen our fighting spirit because we understood and accepted that ours is a just cause and a struggle that should never be betrayed. An important highlight of the National Assembly was an official visit to the Hector Pieterse Memorial, 500 metres from where the National Assembly was held. At the memorial, the Commander-in-Chief Julius Malema made a commitment to Hector Pieterse and the 1976 generation of freedom fighters that EFF would pick up their spear and continue the struggle until total emancipation was achieved.

The next task for us was to officially launch the EFF as a political party. An agreement was reached that this would happen at Marikana as a salute and honour to the mineworkers who were killed by the ANC government.

The date of the official public launch was set for 13 October 2013 and immediately our fighters were on the ground mobilising for the official launch.

The rally preparatory committee was presided over by the CiC Julius Malema and consisted of Fighters, Organisers and Commissars from the Central Command Team, the Provincial Command Team, the Regional Command Team and the Ward Command Teams of the surrounding wards. The workers of Marikana also designated representatives who would participate in the preparatory meetings, and the women of Marikana, led by an activist we all refer to as Mama Primrose, also participated in the preparations.

When the rally happened, we had only secured 70 buses which did 107 trips ferrying rally attendants from the Bojanala region of the North West Province. At all the pick-up points, hundreds of people who wished to attend the official public launch were left behind and all other regions and provinces organised their own transport. The rally opened with a prayer from Pastor Ralegolela, in front of more than 25 000 people at the Marikana Koppie.

From Marikana, we all knew that EFF as an organisation was destined for greatness and we were all galvanised in the certain knowledge that the struggle for economic freedom will triumph in our lifetime. The people who attended the launch rally enjoyed the festivities, and were all given food, mainly from the eight cattle we had slaughtered the day before.

What was particularly inspiring about the official launch in Marikana is the reality that the Ward Command Teams in Bojanala region collected an average of 700 names of people who were willing to attend the official launch rally and, because of the lack of money to pay for buses, at every pick-up point several hundred remained behind.

Ideological outlook and character of the EFF

“Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children.” – Amilcar Cabral (1965)

Ideological reflections, character and content of political formations are the subject of constant engagements, and EFF appreciates this value. Constant ideological reflections help the organisation to grow and understand itself and society better, and most importantly, ideological discussions and reflections help in the clarification of tasks ahead. In the EFF, ideological discussions and reflections are always in appreciation of Amilcar Cabral's emphasis to "Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children."²²—

The Constitution of EFF adopted in the National Assembly states:

The basic programme of the EFF is the complete overthrow of the neoliberal anti-black state as well as the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; the establishment of the dictatorship of the people in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the EFF is the realization of socialism through people's power and the establishment of a state that responds to the needs of its people.²³—

The Constitution goes on to say:

The EFF takes socialism as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking and development of its political line and in this respect identifies itself as a MARXIST, LENINIST, and FANONIAN organisation. Members of EFF, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for socialism, must be resolute, fearless and surmount every difficulty to win victory.²⁴—

The following paragraphs derived from the EFF Founding Manifesto define succinctly the nature and character of EFF:

1. The ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS is a radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings

together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers' movements, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and lobby groups under the umbrella of pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation.

2. The EFF is a radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles. The EFF will be the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws.
3. The EFF takes lessons from the notation that "political power without economic emancipation is meaningless". The movement is inspired by ideals that promote the practice of organic forms of political leadership, which appreciate that political leadership at whatever level is service, not an opportunity for self-enrichment and self-gratification.
4. The EFF draws inspiration from the broad **Marxist-Leninist tradition** and Fanonian schools of thought in their analyses of the state, imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in many countries keeps the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation.²⁵—

The EFF adoption of Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian thought as its guiding ideological and philosophical framework completes a historical process of developing revolutionary theory and practice. This development finally brings to rest the bitter ongoing acrimony from the Eurocentric and racist arrogance of the West. It is an arrogance that is not limited to the right wing, but also afflicts the white left globally. The EFF finally liberates Marxism and Leninism from the racist mindset that dictates that the African and black experiences must be viewed from the Western perspective and the

horrors of anti-black racism and colonialism are reduced to a mere epiphenomenon. Bringing Fanon into the great duet of Marx and Lenin completes the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and anti-racist circle that is the only real basis for true liberation.

The triumvirate of Marx, Lenin and Fanon signify a breakthrough of historic significance in the struggle against capitalism and white supremacy; this *ipso facto* places EFF at the forefront of rethinking what it means to be free in the 21st century without abandoning the most important contributions in the battle against capitalism over the ages. There is no debate that Karl Marx is the foremost anti-capitalist theoretician of all times, it's also no secret that Vladimir Lenin is the most accomplished implementer of Marxist thought and a student of state and revolution of the last century. Equally, there is little contest that Frantz Fanon is one of the most important thinkers on the race question.

EFF recognises the reality that to be Marxist-Leninist doesn't insulate one from anti-black racism of itself. The history of Marxist practices in the Communist Parties has been by and large Eurocentric and tended to relegate the race question to the sidelines as not central to the endeavours of liberation and thereby erased the uniqueness of the black experience in the modern world, starting from the nightmare of slavery. Fanon in particular brings to the centre the African and black agenda to the great experience of the anti-capitalism struggle. Marx and Lenin, without Fanon, are Western figures; only the presence of Fanon completes this picture. This EFF ideological rubric does not present a hierarchy and must not be read in a hierarchical fashion; it must, instead, be understood as three equally important moments that constitute a composite whole.

Fanon's most important contribution is not framed by an anti-Marxist ethic as some like to distort his magnificent clarity of thought. Fanon recognised that "Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial issue". Fanon insists correctly that in colonial settings "... the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich." This formulation remains true for post-colonial societies that have chosen the path of neoliberalism. In these societies, such as South Africa, race still defines class by and large.

By adopting Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian thought, EFF is placed in the unique position to articulate black demands without shame or hesitation.

EFF is not hobbled by concerns of what the white section of the anti-capitalist tradition thinks or feels, but it places black liberation at the core of its endeavours while extending an invitation to all peoples and races to participate in the struggle for economic emancipation for all. Accepting the uniqueness of the African experience liberates the language that shapes the demands that the EFF makes and the claims it presses against oppression. The meeting of Marx, Lenin and Fanon is the most wholesome development in the history of struggle against imperialism, capitalism and racism. This gift completing this circle may be recognised by generations of fighters to come as the most important gem of liberation.

The Marxist-Leninist tools of analysis and guide to action dictate that, as a movement, the EFF is fighting for socialism and there is no doubt about that. What we avoided in the founding manifesto was just a proclamation that we are a socialist movement, and chose to do so in the Constitution. We chose to explain in the Founding Manifesto the socialist content and character of our struggle, because the Founding Manifesto is our immediate socialist programme that, without substituting the seven cardinal pillars, will be discussed and reflected upon in the many assemblies of EFF that will follow. The Founding Manifesto's cardinal pillars are a socialist programme. There are many movements in the world, including the Labour Party of Great Britain and the SACP of South Africa, that announce themselves as socialist or even communist while there is nothing that connects them to the programme for socialism.

Socialism is a transition from capitalism to communism, and the character and content of the socialist transition is a subject of debates and reflection in virtually all sections of the Left in South Africa and the world. More often than not, Left formations confuse the revolutionary socialist transition with the communist end point, where the principle will be "from each according to ability and to each according to needs". The socialist transitional stage that the EFF as government will embark on is a complex process and, as a movement, we will be guided by the revolutionary Marxist perspective in our understanding and practice of socialism.

While there are many interpretations and, at times, deliberate distortions of the socialist transition, a phase Marx called the lower phase of communism in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the EFF understands that in this phase there will still be wages and there should necessarily be development of the productive forces. Development of the productive

forces will happen through what EFF defines as one of its cardinal pillars, “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, and to close the apartheid wage gap”.²⁶—

Bringing this notion to coherence, McLellan illustrates that Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Programme* sought to educate the Left forces in Germany that there is a distinction between socialist transition and the communist end stage. McLellan says that Marx “objected to the proposals in the Programme for redistributing the national product. In his view, talk about ‘fair distribution’ and ‘equal rights’ was vague; and proposals that the workers should receive the ‘undiminished proceeds of their labour’ showed a complete disregard for necessary expenditure on capital replacement, administration of social services, poor relief, etc.”²⁷—

Now this is important to highlight because when EFF is in government and implementing a socialist programme, which will include minimum wages, expenditure on social services, poor relief and administration, forces that call themselves socialist will cry foul and demand that we should implement equal wages for all workers, despite their extent and level of contribution. This will be ignorance of basic Marxist principles on socialism, which necessarily should develop the productive forces through massive sustainable industrial development.

It is only in the communist stage, as Marx (1875) argues in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, “when the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly – only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his [and her] ability, to each according to his [and her] needs!” (Marx, 1875). In the socialist transition (lower stage of communism), the principle will be from each according to his (and her) ability, to each according to the work performed (Marx, 1875). Now, that is a socialist principle, which unseasoned Marxists choose to ignore and reduce into insignificance.

Marx deals with the question of the development of the productive forces as essential in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* and says, “In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the

individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly – only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his [and her] ability, to each according to his [and her] needs!"²⁸

In *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels (1880) further addresses the question of what happens with the proletarian revolution. Engels says, “the proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible” (Engels, 1880).

Contrary to misleading propaganda, the EFF's approach to nationalisation does not exclude socialisation of production, but as illustrated here, “the proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property” (Engels, 1880). The view that what should happen is the discontinuation of private ownership of mines and automatically declare them socialised is utopian and an ideological question that honest Left forces should reflect on, and avoid throwing stones that the EFF's call for nationalisation is the be-all and end-all of our political and ideological programme. It is not.

The EFF's call for nationalisation is clarified in the preface to the 2014 elections manifesto by CiC Julius Malema that “Central to our programme is a struggle for democratic ownership and control of the key means of production by the people. Our programme is socialist. As a Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian organisation, we believe that it is only through a socialist transformation programme that we will end the suffering of our people. Key components of this socialist programme are contained in our Election Manifesto” (EFF Elections Manifesto, 2014).

Furthermore, the section of the elections manifesto that deals with nationalisation of mines, banks and strategic sectors of the economy says,

“EFF Government’s approach to nationalisation is that it should result in democratic and socialised ownership and control of the means of production by the workers, to avoid a situation where the state will exclusively own the means of production and suppress workers’ interests and aspirations” (EFF Elections Manifesto, 2014). The manifesto further commits to democratisation and greater workers’ control of the existing state-owned enterprises.

The literal misinterpretation of what Marxism and Marxism-Leninism are and entail, is a calamity that has led to the world’s condemnation of Marxism-Leninism as evil, insensitive, anti-freedom, anti-development, anti-creativity, anti-technological development. Lenin acknowledged the errors in his lifetime and admitted to the errors of forced collectivisation and wholesale nationalisation, which was replaced by the New Economic Policy (NEP). While not eroding the revolutionary content of the socialist revolution, the NEP acknowledged and appreciated from practice that certain things had to be done differently.

In the document published in 1921 titled *The New Economic Policy: and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments*, Lenin says:

At the beginning of 1918 we expected a period in which peaceful construction would be possible. When the Brest peace was signed it seemed that danger had subsided for a time and that it would be possible to start peaceful construction. But we were mistaken, because in 1918 a real military danger overtook us in the shape of the Czechoslovak mutiny and the outbreak of civil war, which dragged on until 1920. Partly owing to the war problems that overwhelmed us and partly owing to the desperate position in which the Republic found itself when the imperialist war ended – **owing to these circumstances, and a number of others, we made the mistake of deciding to go over directly to communist production and distribution.** We thought that under the surplus-food appropriation system the peasants would provide us with the required quantity of grain, which we could distribute among the factories and thus achieve communist production and distribution. —²⁹

This related of course to the Soviet Union, but it is a mistake committed by revolutionary socialist movements all over the world. It is always advisable

to learn from practical socialists who have dealt with the practical questions and realities, and not use Marxism-Leninism as a recipe or dogma. Lenin's contribution to scientific socialism was through his recognition of practical questions and how those had to be programmatically addressed within a revolutionary programme of socialism.

We mention this because, in the pursuit of socialism, we do not want to make the mistakes that were made by socialists all over the world. We aim instead to derive key lessons from the mistakes made, and define a clear programme on how we move forward. We do not plan to impose collectivisation and forced labour amongst workers in the name of building socialism. We also do not want to disregard the rights and interests of workers in the name of building socialism. We also do not want to isolate ourselves from key global developments and opportunities in the name of building socialism.

The EFF does not want to impose what Karl Marx called “barracks communism”, with forced collectivism, disrespect of the individual and an authoritarian state. The socialist project we are in pursuit of does not mean that all people will be wearing the same clothes, walking the same way, and doing exactly the same things on the directives of a powerful bureaucracy that disrespects human rights. The EFF does not subscribe to despotism and will not in the socialist transformation of society cling to a one-party state and cult of personalities, because history has cogently illustrated that this undermines the freedom and rights of the very same people the revolution seeks to liberate.

The 1984 remark by Deng Xiaoping in the Sino-Japanese Council of Nongovernmental Persons seems to have underpinned China's growth and expansion in the last 30 years. In what was subsequently published as “Building Socialism with Chinese characteristics”, Xiaoping said:

What is socialism and what is Marxism? We were not quite clear about this in the past. Marxism attaches utmost importance to developing the productive forces. We have said that socialism is the primary stage of communism and that at the advanced stage the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs will be applied. This calls for highly developed productive forces and an overwhelming abundance of material wealth. Therefore, the fundamental task for the socialist stage is to

develop the productive forces. The superiority of the socialist system is demonstrated, in the final analysis, by faster and greater development of those forces than under the capitalist system. As they develop, the people's material and cultural life will constantly improve. **One of our shortcomings after the founding of the People's Republic was that we didn't pay enough attention to developing the productive forces. Socialism means eliminating poverty. Pauperism is not socialism, still less communism.**³⁰—

The scientific socialism EFF subscribes to should necessarily lead to the development of the productive forces, and ensure greater workers' control of the economy, and we have no hesitation about saying that. There are various interpretations and even distortions of what Deng Xiaoping meant, but an observation he made that "Socialism means eliminating poverty. Pauperism is not socialism, still less communism" is correct. There are also areas where China can make significant progress, particularly on democratic participation of the people in the economy and society, yet its rapid industrial development, agrarian reform, and state-led economic expansion since 1978 are admirable. China moved from being 100th in the world economy in 1978 to the 2nd biggest economy in the world today.

Our aim is to defeat the racial capitalism that began with colonialism in South Africa, and that was consolidated and continued under apartheid oppression. As an anti-capitalist and socialist movement, the EFF is required to thoroughly understand the nature and character of South African capitalism in order to know what kind of an animal we are dealing with in the struggle for socialism.

The nature and character of capitalism in South Africa should be thoroughly understood because political formations that call themselves socialist in South Africa held a view for a very long time that the transition between capitalism and socialism needs a stage called the national democratic revolution. This was largely due to the misunderstanding of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question and what later was the Stalinist approach to the national question.

Our view is not opposed to a national democratic revolution, as long as that national democratic revolution is located within the context of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question. Formations that call themselves socialist or communist in South Africa, including the most

progressive Trade Unions, held these to be the same and believed that there should be a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism. Perhaps we should highlight the key differences.

Now this is what the EFF refers to as the Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question, which is broadly consistent with Marx's view on the Russian question. In an 1881 letter to Zasulich, this is how Marx (1881) dealt with this question:

Theoretically speaking, then, the Russian "rural commune" can preserve itself by developing its basis, the common ownership of land, and by eliminating the principle of private property which it also implies; it can become a direct point of departure for the economic system towards which modern society tends; it can turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide; it can gain possession of the fruits with which capitalist production has enriched mankind, without passing through a capitalist regime, a regime which, considered solely from the point of view of its possible duration, hardly counts in the life of society. But we must descend from pure theory to the Russian reality.³¹—

Now, Marx, Engels and importantly Lenin dealt substantially with the question of what socialism is, and all agreed that it is nothing but a **revolutionary transition** from a capitalist society to a communist one. With regards to colonial and semi-colonial contexts of underdeveloped productive forces, Marxism-Leninism accepted that the revolutionary forces should not wait for capitalism to develop. Under these circumstances, it becomes the role of the Socialist state to develop the productive forces, *i.e.* industrial development.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin dealt with the national and colonial questions in a rather different way and said:

can we accept as correct the idea that the capitalist development of the economy is necessary for those backward peoples who are now liberating themselves and among whom now, following the war, progressive movements have developed? We must not only build cadres and parties in all colonies and backward countries, we

must not only immediately propagate peasants' councils and try to make soviet organisations fit pre-capitalist conditions, but theoretically the Communist International must also declare and explain that with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries the backward countries can arrive at soviet organisation and, through a series of stages, and even avoiding the capitalist system, can arrive at Communism.³²—

Lenin held this view because “a certain understanding has emerged between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often, even perhaps in most cases, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, although they also support national movements, nevertheless fight against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes with a certain degree of understanding and agreement with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is to say together with it”.³³—

This accurate Leninist observation was made by Frantz Fanon who, in 1960, in *The Pitfalls of National Consciousness*, said, “the national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an underdeveloped middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate (or equal) with the bourgeoisie (or capitalists) of the mother country which it hopes to replace. In its woeful narcissism (or selfishness) the national middle class is easily convinced that it can adventurously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied (or hyperactive) appeals for help to the former mother countries.”³⁴—

Frantz Fanon, in the same article, says, “The objective of nationalist parties as from a certain given period is, we have seen, strictly national. They mobilize the people with slogans of independence, and for the rest leave it to future events. When such parties are questioned on the economic programme of the state that they are clamouring for, or on the nature of the regime which they propose to install, they are incapable of replying, because, precisely, they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country.”³⁵—

This therefore calls on us as economic freedom fighters to thoroughly understand the nature and character of capitalism in South Africa, so as to avoid the mishaps of the nationalist parties, which have no sense of what they are dealing with.

To start with, South Africa is a capitalist country, yet the colonial character of South Africa's capitalism entails that the productive forces are not fully developed. South Africa is therefore a semi-colonial capitalist country with relatively underdeveloped productive forces. This means that South Africa does not have adequate industry and economic activity to sustain itself, and instead is forced to rely heavily on the importation of finished goods and services because internally the country cannot produce even enough food to feed the nation. The food aspect is based on a comparison with China, which employs 300 million people in agriculture (20% of the population) out of 1.4 billion against South Africa's 700 000 (less than 2% of the population) of the 52 million citizens.

The emergence of capitalism in South Africa predates the introduction of racial segregation and both of these predate the emergence of apartheid. Apartheid is a socio-political system of racial and racist exclusion, discrimination, suppression, oppression and exploitation of the black and African majority by a set of rules and brutal actions of the white minorities in South Africa. Apartheid was a means to consolidate and continue the racial capitalism that had been definitive of South Africa since the beginning of capitalism in the country.

The notion of apartheid as a consolidation of racial capitalism in the political territory should be understood within the context that the very unity between the four colonies of Transvaal, Orange Free State, Cape and Natal that formed the Union of South Africa in 1910 was another major step to consolidate racial capitalism, which had begun with the arrival of settlers in the 17th century, at the service of and to the benefit of foreign empires. The laws and legislations that were passed by parliaments in this regard were a consolidation of the conquest that had been in place since the battles and wars of dispossession were fought and won by the colonial settlers.

Apartheid was in itself not the beginning of racial capitalism, but the most brutal political, social and economic form of racial capitalism, which had been definitive of South Africa since the emergence of capitalist mode of production. Its segregationist laws, legislations and practices affected

those pre-capitalist sectors, mainly for the continued supply of cheap labour to the mines and farms.

It is important to highlight the fact that South Africa's capitalism emerged, consolidated and triumphed against the backdrop of racial segregation. It was primarily capitalist interests which gave shape and content to the many racial segregation policies that followed colonial conquest and subjugation of the black majority and Africans in particular. Political systems were designed to legitimate the continued exploitation of black labourers, preserve private property and guarantee continued profitability of factions of capitalist interests, mainly centred on the extraction of mineral resources.

After the discovery of mineral resources in South Africa, mining capitalists were the first through the Chamber of Mines to advocate racial segregation. Following the Glen Gray Act of 1894, which compelled Africans to pay taxes and rents as a way of forcing them into wage-labour, particularly in the mines, the Chamber of Mines was the first South African capitalist entity, representing mining capital, to push for legislation that excluded Africans from mainstream economic participation.

Lipton (1986) illustrates that:

the mines, like the white farms, had immense difficulty securing sufficient labour at a price that it was economic for them to pay. Mine owners, like white farmers, therefore tried to find ways of forcing blacks to work for them, and of reducing the competition from higher urban wages. They supported restrictions on black land ownership, as well as taxes to force them to work for cash wages. Cecil Rhodes, leading mine owner and Premier of the Cape Colony, sponsored the 1894 Glen Grey Act ... its land tenure and tax provisions would, he said, act as a "gentle stimulant" to blacks to work and "to remove them from the life of sloth and laziness ... teach them the dignity of labour... and make them give some return for our wise and good government".³⁶—

Furthermore, mine owners supported the 1913 Land Act, and as Lipton (1986) illustrates, the President of Chamber of Mines argued that the 1913 Land Act will ensure that "the surplus of young men, instead of squatting on the land in idleness ... earn their living by working for a wage".³⁷— It is

therefore these capitalist interests that planted the tree of racial capitalism that, when managed by the apartheid government after 1948, became more politically, socially and economically oppressive, brutal and exploitative, eventually drawing international condemnation.

In return, “The state, both pre-war and under apartheid, supported the Chamber of Mines in its monopsonistic recruitment of labour throughout Southern Africa, by making absconding from mining contracts illegal, and by brutally suppressing African trade unions. Even so, the mining industry consistently railed against the job colour bar which restricted skilled jobs for white workers, thereby driving up skilled wages and reducing the room for wage increases for African workers.”³⁸—

What the Chamber of Mines’ declaration meant was that racial segregation was the most suitable system for aggressive capitalist exploitation and guaranteed continued capitalist interests, and needed huge numbers of cheap labourers. This came to define the nature and character of South Africa’s racial capitalism, the continued profitability and sustenance of which relied on a supply of cheap labour and reserves that supported this labour structure.

It has been generally and correctly accepted that apartheid was a system that safeguarded capitalist interests, implemented and buttressed by racist legislation aimed at securing cheap labour, particularly for the agriculture and mining sectors (Alexander 2002). Alexander (2002) correctly argues that “the whole edifice of repressive laws and bureaucratic structures, ranging from ‘native reserves’ and Bantustans at the one end to the ludicrous details of ‘petty apartheid’, such as separate post office queues and cemeteries, is explicable ultimately in terms of a racist logic, the end of which was to guarantee cheap black labour and the continued profitability of ‘maize and gold’.”³⁹—

The notion of apartheid as a consolidation of a racialised capitalist order was accepted and internalised by big business and their representatives who, when confronted with the illegitimacy of apartheid, conceded reforms that would abolish the legalistic and legislated part of apartheid, while retaining economic power and wealth. This allowed the exploitative relationship between capital and labour to remain fundamentally unchanged.

The ANC-led National Liberation Movement (NLM) had accepted that racial domination in South Africa was underpinned by class exploitation, which defined the apartheid economic system. While not steadfast and consistent in its ideological commitments and approach to the South African struggle, the ANC held the perspective that apartheid was primarily class or capitalist exploitation, the destruction of which would end economic exploitation. This view was generally held in the NLM until the period of transition to an inclusive political system.

That was reflected in the ANC Strategy & Tactics document, adopted in the Morogoro Conference in 1969:

In our country – more than in any other part of the oppressed world – it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole. It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy and does not represent even the shadow of liberation.⁴⁰—

The essence of this notion is that racialised capitalism in South Africa predates apartheid, and even predates the Union of South Africa. Apartheid was therefore a political system that sought to consolidate and continue racialised capitalism through laws, legislations and regulations that ossified the exploitation of blacks; a system of subjugation and even bastardisation through forms that would suppress any emergence of a counterforce to overthrow the capitalist system.

While apartheid was racial capitalism, it is important to highlight another aspect of South Africa's unique and specific racialised capitalism. In understanding this, it is helpful to refer to Professor Ben Fine's explanation of the Minerals Energy Complex (MEC):

It is the specifically South African system of accumulation that has been centred on core sectors around, but more wide-ranging than, mining and energy, evolving with a character and dynamic of its own that has shifted over time. Its history and consequences can be traced back to the emergence of mining in the 1870s through to the present day. In the interwar and immediate post-war period, core

MEC sectors drove the economy, furnishing a surplus for the protection and growth and, ultimately, incorporation of Afrikaner capital. State corporations in electricity, steel, transport and so on, represented an accommodation across the economic power of the mining conglomerates and the political power of the Afrikaners, an uneasy compromise of evolving fractions of classes and their interests forged through both state and market.⁴¹—

Giving a more cogent argument on this question, Professor Patrick Bond (2000) illustrates that “the ‘Minerals Energy Complex’ [comprises] the core quarter of the economy since the late 19th century, encompassing gold, coal, petrochemicals, electricity generation, beneficiated metals products, mining machinery and some other, closely-related manufactured outputs – remains South Africa’s economic base”. This indeed is the basis of South Africa’s capitalism and any analysis of the character and content of South African capitalism that ignores this must necessarily be incorrect.

Fine argues that “The MEC is the system of accumulation that was inherited by post-apartheid South Africa, and it has survived more or less intact over the post-apartheid period. This is not to say it has remained unchanged, quite the opposite, just as it has experienced significant change in the past. Unfortunately, those changes have, however, reflected the extent to which South Africa is the exact opposite of a development state and has been driven further away from being so.”⁴²—

This argument resonates in South Africa today because a radical socio-economic redistribution programme should necessarily be about deconstructing the MEC, and not about black economic empowerment.

Deconstruction of the MEC entails economic diversification through industrial development in sectors other than in the minerals and energy sectors. This is important to highlight because if this had happened after 1994 in a thoroughgoing industrial development process that included state leadership and participation of all South Africans, liberal economist Seekings (2012) would be justified in arguing that race no longer structures economic advantage and disadvantage. The very fact that the MEC, as Fine (2012) argues, remains intact means that the economic conditions that prevailed for different races before 1994 are still predominantly present.

The continued dominance of the Minerals Energy Complex is important as it condemns other industrial sectors to insignificance. These are sectors that could create sustainable jobs for the millions of jobless South Africans. The reality that South Africa continues to be an exporter of primarily natural resources in the minerals and energy sector is perfectly illustrated by the table below, which shows the trade relationship between South Africa and China, its biggest trading partner.

This trade relationship is primarily what EFF seeks to change through massive industrial development and expansion; and importantly through beneficiation and industrialisation of natural resources into finished goods and services. Continued exportation of natural resources means that South Africa is still a colonial economy where natural resources are sought for the development of developing and developed economies.

While discussed in theory, no political formation has ever set as its objective the aim of deconstructing the Minerals Energy Complex. A close reading of the EFF's Founding and Elections manifestos sets out how we plan to do so.

	SA exports to China	Form		SA imports from China	Form
1	iron ore	<i>raw</i>	1	cell phones and phone	<i>finished</i>
2	ferro-alloys	<i>raw</i>	2	computers	<i>finished</i>
3	chromium ores	<i>semi-processed</i>	3	printing machines	<i>finished</i>
4	manganesec ore	<i>raw</i>	4	plastic and rubber boots	<i>finished</i>
5	platinum	<i>raw</i>	5	televisions and monitors	<i>finished</i>
6	flat-rolled steel	<i>semi-processed</i>	6	kettles, microwave ovens and toasters	<i>finished</i>
7	wool	<i>raw</i>	7	dresses and women jackets	<i>finished</i>
8	copper waste and scrap	<i>semi-processed</i>	8	suitcases and bags	<i>finished</i>
9	zirconium and vanadium ore	<i>raw</i>	9	sports shoes	<i>finished</i>
10	nickel plates, sheets and foil	<i>semi-processed</i>	10	computer and register parts and accessories	<i>finished</i>

Top ten South African exports to and imports from China as of 2011

An important feature of South African capitalism is that it is concentrated in a few hands, and controlled by relatively few corporations and individuals, some of whom played a critical role in ushering in political reforms which safeguarded their interests and aspirations. Nattrass and Seekings (2010) illustrate that “apartheid produced an almost entirely white business elite. These elites were highly concentrated in terms of corporate ownership and control. In 1994, the giant, mining-based Anglo American controlled 44% of the entire capitalisation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, whilst the top five corporate groups together controlled 84%.”⁴³—

The concentration of capital in a few hands meant that when these owners of the key means of production realised that apartheid was a threat to their businesses and profitability, they had to step in to change the system. The Oppenheimer family and the Rupert family are among the most powerful in this elite group, and all wield tremendous economic power, and had the capacity to mobilise other economic interests behind the notion of ending apartheid.

The EFF aims to deal decisively with capitalist relations. This will happen through the mechanisms of mass support political power, state control, and revision of capitalist property relations that are the basis of massive poverty, and oppression. The current government still believes that socio-economic progress and emancipation can happen under a capitalist system, yet it is evident that capitalism has failed the people of South Africa. It will also fail in the future.

The post-1994 government vested much trust and confidence in the private sector, and adopted macroeconomic policies such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy to create an environment that is conducive for private investors to invest, create jobs and deal decisively with unemployment and poverty. This never happened because global capital focused on speculative investments, which added no value to the real expansion of the economy in a labour absorptive model that could have created jobs. The private sector cannot be entrusted with labour-absorptive industrial development because their focus and interests are instant profit maximisation at the expense of everything developmental, and the wellbeing of ordinary workers.

When the ANC legitimacy is in crisis and the masses rise up against it in the coming revolution, capitalists will try to substitute the ANC with political office-bearers who will protect capitalist interests. All significant political parties in South Africa's parliament today are on the side of protecting capitalist control of South Africa. When the EFF goes to the National Assembly and all Provincial Legislatures after the 2014 general elections, it will not wait and is not waiting to be the substitutes or puppets of capitalist interests. As a movement of the working class, the EFF aims to seize power for the working class and serve their interests in the socialist transformation of South Africa.

The EFF Founding Manifesto says, "The working class, South Africans who do not own the means of production, the dejected masses, the

homeless, hopeless youth, the rural and urban poor, the informal settlement dwellers, the unemployed and underemployed population, the discriminated and undermined professionals of all races, constitute the core component of those whom Economic Freedom Fighters seek to emancipate from economic and social subjugation and oppression”.⁴⁴—

These are the very sections of society which the EFF aims to mobilise so that they may become their own liberators. An unfortunate reality about the South African working class is that it has historically been fractured along racial lines, and the EFF Manifesto makes that acknowledgement in the segmentation of various components of the working class. Historically, the white working class has always sought to exclusively protect its interests against capitalist exploitation, but also to protect their interests from black workers. The slogan of the Communist Party of South Africa during the Rand Rebellion of 1922 was “Workers of the world unite for a white South Africa”.

The EFF aims to emancipate all sections of the working class irrespective of race. This, however, does not blind us to the fact that the oppression of black workers happened with the approval and benefit of the white working class. The white Left in South Africa will ignore this fact and argue that the EFF is fragmenting the working class. This is something that we do not intend to do. This is not unfamiliar because historically the white Left has played a divisive role in the struggle for national liberation and always sought to discourage decisive revolutionary action, sometimes on linguistic and conceptual bases of what constitutes a revolutionary struggle.

The EFF rejects the notion that only a certain section of the working class can carry out a revolutionary socialist programme. Such a notion is not only false but ahistorical if looked at from the points of view of the Russian, Chinese and even Cuban revolutions. These are debates and discussions that all Left and working class formations should honestly reflect on, as ultimately working-class unity will be important for the victory of socialist forces. Also from a theoretical point of view, there is a misreading of the Communist Manifesto’s assertion that, “Of all the classes that stand face-to-face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.”⁴⁵—

Marx (1875) dismisses this notion as “nonsense” and says about this Communist Manifesto proclamation that “the bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class – as the bearer of large-scale industry – relative to the feudal lords and the lower middle class, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of obsolete modes of production. Thus, they do not form together with the bourgeoisie ‘only one reactionary mass’. On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary relative to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the *Manifesto* adds that the ‘lower middle class’ is becoming revolutionary ‘in view of [its] impending transfer to the proletariat’. From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that it, together with the bourgeoisie, and with the feudal lords into the bargain, ‘form only one reactionary mass’ relative to the working class. Has one proclaimed to the artisan, small manufacturers, etc., and peasants during the last elections: Relative to us, you, together with the bourgeoisie and feudal lords, form one reactionary mass?”⁴⁶—

Here, Marx (1875) was dealing with the Gotha Programme proclamation that “the emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, relative to which all other classes are only one reactionary mass”, which was a proclamation of the German socialists who believed that what they were pursuing was in line with socialist principles. EFF has to condemn such notions as “nonsense” too because there seem to be emergent forces, whose political programme is genuine, yet seek to believe that other strata, such as the unemployed youth and informal settlement dwellers, cannot be part of the socialist revolution that will happen in South Africa.

Economic freedom is incomplete unless it manifests in the empowerment of women and the girl child. South African society has earned a reputation as the most unsafe country in the world for women. This kind of situation is only comparable to war-torn societies; the levels of rape, particularly of infants and the elderly, are appalling in South Africa. This means that one of the urgent tasks of economic freedom fighters is the resolution of the precarious and violent conditions faced by women, in a manner that deals with the underlying social ills that give rise to this crisis.

The struggles of the working class in South Africa should include all sections of the working class, because such is a political struggle for mass

power, to win political power, capture the state, transform it, and democratise the economy. All sections of the working class, including the unemployed, the underemployed, and employed working class, should be united in the struggle for socialism and none of these sections of the working class should hold exclusive rights to fight for socialism.

A further interrogation of this problem reveals that most of the violence against women, particularly rape, occurs in poverty-stricken communities and is linked to policing problems as well. Revolutionaries adopt a materialist feminist conception of the gender problem which departs from an emphasis on the patronising liberal discourse of a rights-based approach. This assumes that all we need for the emancipation of women is a set of rights and judicial practices. Also its diagnosis of rape rests on the critique of the libido, an argument which often collapses into discriminatory analyses of the poor as sexual pests or anti-black racist analyses that view black men as unable to control their sexual urges.

The violence suffered by women, which in South Africa results in high levels of rape, is structural and must be approached from that perspective. The approach must be to economically liberate society in ways that empower women to be as independent and self-reliant as possible. This does not mean going on with the business of economic emancipation, hoping it will automatically translate into women's emancipation. Rather, it means setting out from the beginning a clear programme informed by the need to have a focus on women's rights.

The emancipation of women as fully equal counterparts in society no longer rests on passing more and more legislation only, it rests on economic self-sufficiency that allows women to participate in the direction and redirection of the means of safety and security, as well as production.

Our usage of Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian tools of analysis and guides to action constitute an elementary feature of the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. Replacement of these tools of analysis will subject our movement to a shapeless organisation, only obsessed with the attainment of political power and no real transformation of the state and society for the benefit of all.

At Marx's grave, Engels stated that his friend's great discovery was that "mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, and therefore work before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion etc".⁴⁷— Further than this materialistic assertion, Engels presaged that "Marxism is

not just content with understanding how the world works but seeks to give people the ability, collectively, to change it more effectively”; the view expressed by Marx himself. Furthermore, Marxism sets out not to be just a theory, and Engels made a very important acknowledgment thereof, that “Our theory (i.e. Marxism) is not a dogma, but a guide to action”.⁴⁸—

To the EFF, Marxist-Leninist-Fanonian tools of analysis and guides to action are not dogma but ideological instruments that will guarantee our movement political and economic victory over the bourgeoisie. Such will emancipate the people of South Africa from poverty and inspire the people of the oppressed and exploited world to take up the struggle for real economic emancipation, which can only be realised through socialist transformation into a communist society where the principle will be “from each according to his ability to each according to his needs”.

EFF’s approach to alliances

The EFF elections strategy we adopted at the Donkerhoek strategic planning meeting in the North West on 6 October 2013 reports the following about strategic and tactical relations:

“As a Movement, and not a narrow Political Party, EFF’s sustenance, continuity and relevance, the organisation should form both strategic and tactical collaborations with existing organisations, particularly progressive political parties, civil society formations, trade unions, community based organisations, religious organisations, sporting organisations and social clubs.

The principles of STRATEGIC collaborations are that:

- a) The organisations should agree with the 7 cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime.*
- b) Majority of members of such organisations should be willing to join EFF as members and can be invited to strategic internal meetings of the organisation.*
- c) Will not externally condemn EFF and will always use internal platforms to raise issues they have concerns with.*
- d) Will partake in the list processes of EFF and will have some of their members deployed under the discipline and guidance of EFF as public representatives.*

The principles of TACTICAL collaborations are that:

- a) The organisations share common vision and views on some, not all, the strategic issues in the EFF Founding Manifesto.*
- b) Can criticise EFF publicly, but after having raised concerns with EFF before going public.*
- c) Will retain independence and operation as an organisation, while agreeing with some of the key issues promulgated by the organisation” (EFF, 2013d).*

This is the basis of how EFF approaches alliances and relationships, and this explains how we meet and talk with all political formations in our efforts to win political power. As a matter of principle and policy, the EFF would never enter into a strategic alliance with formations that are right-wing and capitalist in nature and character, but for the fulfilment of political consolidation, the organisation will do so.

Our meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) falls within the tactical relations category, and the EFF War Council alongside the Provincial Command Team (PCT) of KwaZulu-Natal met with the National Leadership of the IFP to discuss issues relating to elections and access to areas we could otherwise not have. We agreed to protect each other during elections and we agreed too that the Independent Electoral Commission is not providing a level playing field for free and fair elections. The EFF meeting with the IFP was not a strategic meeting and will not lead to any merger, because of our different ideological perspectives.

EFF will, however, engage with all working-class formations to consolidate working class and Left forces in a programme to seize political power and capture the state to continue with the programme for a socialist transformation of South Africa, the key pillars of which are contained in the Founding Manifesto. EFF does not see itself as the be-all and end-all of revolutionary politics in South Africa and does not hold a view that we, and we alone, hold the exclusive rights to lead the struggles of the working class in the fight for socialism.

This is important to highlight because in South Africa there has emerged a tendency propagated particularly by the white academic Left, that seeks to rubbish and denigrate all forms of Left programmes and political action that they do not control. There seems to be a coordinated effort to undermine and trivialise left formations such as the EFF, mainly through theoretical

and linguistic dismissal of what genuine and Left formations stand for. There is no effort from this section of society to constructively engage with Left forces that proclaim socialism as their vision, but rather a culture of waiting for these Left forces to make linguistic and theoretical mistakes and attack them on that basis.

This has been an historical basis in South African politics because, more than anything, the breakaway of the Pan Africanist Congress from the ANC in the late 1950s was partly due to what Robert Sobukwe and the so-called Africanist faction perceived to be the dominance of the white Left in the ANC. More so, the white Left always propagates what seem to be revolutionary phrases and arguments, and becomes anxious and impotent at the point of real action. They often believe that they should spoon-feed revolutionary social movements, unions and political parties with readymade ideological tools of analysis and programmes. There still exist both formidable and insignificant Left formations, unions and social movements in South Africa that are under the ideological and political control of the white Left, and such should come to an end.

When we made the clarion call, we invited all progressive formations, and wrote specifically to the academics largely perceived to be on the Left, advising them to make inputs on the Founding Manifesto. None of those made inputs, but we received useful inputs from black professors and academics who advised on key ideological and theoretical questions. The white Left stood on the sidelines and were the first to throw stones at the EFF after our initial successes, labelling the organisation “fascist”. We were not shocked because even on the previous political platforms, it was primarily the minority white sections of the ANC that dismissed the call for nationalisation of mines as an effort of black business people to save their struggling mines.

Our approach is that all forces of the Left should discuss and debate amongst themselves and develop a common programme towards real emancipation of the people of South Africa. Our approach to Left politics and mobilisation is not hubris, but will never be locked behind fancy boardrooms discussing strategy forever; we will always take action to test the practicality of our revolutionary actions and activities. We will never treat radical and Left forces on the basis of their race, but what has transpired thus far is a continued undermining of exclusively black Left forces on a theoretical basis and on the basis of language and English

grammar. The left forces that are blind to this phenomenon will in the future realise that we need to unite on programmes, not linguistic limitations, because English is not our first language.

The significance of the red beret

Since its introduction, the EFF has been associated with the red beret as the symbol of its struggles, militancy and radicalism. Never before in the history of South African politics has a symbol so captured the imagination of the people and society. Millions of berets are all over South Africa and those who wear them do so with pride and conviction. For the EFF, the red beret is not just an item of clothing, but a symbol of commitment to the struggle with desired values and conduct. This therefore calls for a political revolutionary code of conduct on who the real fighters for economic freedom are.

These key principles and values of what guides a fighter should be exercised with maximum discipline in the context of understanding, internalising and accepting discipline not as a side issue, but as a vehicle that will make the EFF realise all its objectives in our lifetime.

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

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

This therefore means that all Revolutionary Fighters should be able to know and understand the key documents of EFF, particularly the Founding Manifesto and the Constitution. All Revolutionary Fighters should know

and be able to explain the seven cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime without reading from any script. Fighters should be able to localise and explain what each and every pillar means to the lives of the people on the ground and in their own locales.

FIGHTERS AS COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS AND CARING INDIVIDUALS:

- *Partake in community struggles and activities. This means that a revolutionary fighter will always be in the fore at community events and activities.*
- *Always know the exact details of their community, including the number of people in their wards and the challenges the majority of the people confront in the ward.*
- *Always willing to listen to the concerns of the people and find solutions to help the people.*
- *Always available for genuine protests and mass actions in their community.*

VALUES THAT DEFINE A FIGHTER:

1. *A Revolutionary Fighter is an organiser who knows how to move crowds towards mass revolutionary action.*
2. *A Revolutionary Fighter is a well informed/knowledgeable professional in the way he/she approaches the political question of revolution.*
3. *A Revolutionary Fighter is the one who abolishes his/her ego and his/her attachments to personal success and achievements; s/he is selfless and one with the people.*
4. *A Revolutionary Fighter is the one who believes that Revolutionary morality is the core of the revolutionary belief-system, revolution by any means necessary.*
5. *A Revolutionary Fighter is never depressed, bored, and sad; there is always something to do, there are always revolutionary actions to take up and advance.*
6. *A revolutionary Fighter does not hold grudges or always complain about unnecessary matters.*
7. *A revolutionary fighter always reads and listens to people to understand the struggles and suffering of the people on the ground.*

- 8. A Revolutionary Fighter knows his community, neighbours and details of the challenges they confront on a daily basis.*
- 9. A revolutionary fighter that is charitable and practises the principle of the left hand must never know what the right hand is doing.*
- 10. A revolutionary fighter is the one that does not dwell in the conspicuous consumerist practices that seek to blindly show-off privilege.*
- 11. A revolutionary fighter leads by example and does everything with integrity.*
- 12. A revolutionary fighter is an internationalist who seeks all the time to connect local struggles to international struggles.*

These are the values that define those who wear the EFF red beret, and should be the DNA of all fighters for economic freedom.

Conclusion

This narrative is a necessary and relevant reflection on the struggle for economic freedom in South Africa. That we are the ones who tell this story is important because on many occasions there have been deliberate distortions and a caricature version of what the struggle for economic freedom is and what it entails. Many academics, on both the left and right of the ideological spectrum, have sought to systematically denigrate the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. This is often based on class and racial prejudices and a warped, prejudicial perception that the African majority cannot organise themselves to fight a struggle without white people's assistance.

The struggle for economic freedom did not start with the EFF, and did not start with the ANC Youth League; it is a struggle that has been part of the many wars and battles of resistance in South Africa, across generations and geography. The struggle assumed different forms and content in various periods of history. As this generation of economic freedom fighters, we took the baton from previous generations and are now on the path towards consolidation of the partial victory of 1994 and will fight courageously and with commitment until attainment of total emancipation of the people of South Africa is achieved.

There is no doubt that the struggles waged by political liberation fighters in South Africa and on the African continent are worth celebrating.

But the reality is that liberation movements are not capable of resolving the massive economic inequalities they have inherited from their colonial past. Any country on the African continent that has realised political emancipation has experienced the inability of their party of liberation to take the struggle forward, and especially towards economic freedom.

The inability of liberation movements to economically emancipate humanity was predicted by great revolutionaries and ideologues such as Vladimir Lenin, who in 1920 said, “A certain understanding has emerged between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often, even perhaps in most cases, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, although they also support national movements, nevertheless fight against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes with a certain degree of understanding and agreement with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is to say together with it.”⁴⁹—

Franz Fanon, who, in 1961, reiterated this Leninist observation in *The Pitfalls of National Consciousness*, said, “the national middle class which takes over power at the end of the colonial regime is an underdeveloped middle class. It has practically no economic power, and in any case it is in no way commensurate (or equal) with the bourgeoisie (or capitalists) of the mother country which it hopes to replace. In its woeful narcissism (or selfishness) the national middle class is easily convinced that it can adventurously replace the middle class of the mother country. But that same independence which literally drives it into a corner will give rise within its ranks to catastrophic reactions, and will oblige it to send out frenzied (or hyperactive) appeals for help to the former mother countries.”⁵⁰—

Fanon goes on to say, “The objective of nationalist parties as from a certain given period is, we have seen, strictly national. They mobilize the people with slogans of independence, and for the rest leave it to future events. When such parties are questioned on the economic programme of the state that they are clamouring for, or on the nature of the regime which they propose to install, they are incapable of replying, because, precisely, they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country.”⁵¹—

These analyses from revolutionary intellectuals inform and dictate the political and ideological programme of the Economic Freedom Fighters. Attempts to radicalise and turn the Nationalist Movement in South Africa have failed dismally and it is not true that the Nationalist Movement will

ever develop greater consciousness and political determination than that which it has thus far developed. The outcome of conference after conference and policy after policy takes nationalist movements to the same conclusions, that imperialist domination cannot be defeated.

Our immediate task is to expose the widely held view in South Africa that the current ANC policies are good, and that the fault lies solely with implementation. Such false dogma merely serves to protect white supremacy through protection of their economic interests and is counter to delivering economic prosperity for all. Policies that promote neoliberalism and blind following of the dictates of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund cannot be good policies. Policies that keep an absolute majority of our people unemployed and in starvation cannot be good. Policies that deny young entrepreneurs access to enterprise finance without sureties, which most young people do not have, cannot be good. Policies that keep workers' wages in the mining sector, farms, factories, the police service, soldiers, teachers, doctors, nurses, private security, and petrol attendants so low cannot be good.

While South Africa has one of the highest levels of unemployment in the world, it also boasts the highest levels of underemployment. The conditions and wages which mineworkers, farm workers, private security guards, domestic workers and construction workers are subject to are unreasonable and inhumane. There can be no credible explanation to justify that mineworkers in Marikana and elsewhere in South Africa live and stay in informal settlements with no electricity, no running water, no sanitation, no schools, no playgrounds, no healthcare facilities, while they work under the most difficult conditions.

How do you explain that mineworkers are paid as little as R4000 per month while they work under life-threatening conditions? Private security guards work under difficult conditions, and are paid as little as R2000 per month, while they sacrifice their lives to protect the lives of mostly white people and communities. Construction workers risk their lives and health building bridges, skyscrapers, tunnels, dams, houses, and many other critical infrastructures that form the backbone of our nation yet they are not afforded formal employment. Rather they are paid in cash with no certainty that they will have that job tomorrow. Many other workers have bigger problems because they are employed in jobs that do not pay a living wage,

and end up with debts, get blacklisted and are even killed by *aMashonisa* for money they cannot pay back.

Mineworkers, in recognition of the important contribution they make to the economy, should be paid a minimum of R12 500 and provided with proper human settlement spaces with proper sanitation and schools. Farm workers, private security guards, construction workers and public servants should be paid decent salaries and given proper services so that they can live a life with dignity.

By 2011, less than 5% of South Africa's land had been redistributed. The indications are that, by 2014, we will still not have exceeded 5% land redistribution, 20 years after democracy. If this trend keeps pace at a 5% transfer every 20 years, it means we would have redistributed only 25% of the land in 100 years. In other words, in 100 years' time, the inequalities between black people and white people will still remain, and this will automatically lead to continued racism and economic subjugation of blacks by white people.

This generation of Economic Freedom Fighters will never agree to this because in 100 years we will no longer be alive but our children and grandchildren will say we sold out. They will still be living under white economic domination. The struggle for land reform and the transfer of land are long overdue and should be fast-tracked to avoid the conflicts that characterise many post-independence African states, nations and countries. We refuse to continue living as though we are in a colony.

The only solution available to us now is expropriation without compensation. We carry an obligation to do this as we must use every means at our disposal to take back our land. We cannot continue to function as though we are under colonial domination. We are not immediately considering a violent or military overthrow of government, a direction which often provides the best possible route to a revolutionary reconstitution of society. We will, however, not agree to the violent suppression of our democratic right to offer the people of South Africa a real alternative.

We need to do away with tenders and contracts that are non-essential. This will obviously require an increased capacity and a strong, corruption-free and effective state and public service. For a successful developmental state, an inspired, skilled, and well-compensated public service is required. The state should also build internal capacity to construct and maintain

infrastructure such as roads, railways, dams, *etc.* and basic services such as schools, houses, hospitals and recreational facilities. The state's dependence on tenders has massive political implications and often reduces the quality of work provided because of corruption and corruptibility of the whole tendering system.

South Africa should not merely be the gateway to the African economy for developed and developing economies; it should itself play a leading role in investing in the African continent.

We must take up the struggles of all immigrants in South Africa, legal or not. The manner in which immigrants from Africa are treated by the police, government and our communities is unacceptable and undesirable. Many of these immigrants are denied medical care, and are deeply discriminated against, even by the police. They can be refused basic human services, and even refused burial rights in our cemeteries. We need to take a firm stance on the protection of the rights of immigrants. Certain basic rights cannot be denied to any human being who is in South Africa, whether they are in possession of required official documentation or not.

All these aspirations will require a disciplined, dedicated, determined, focused, fearless, and forward-looking generation of cadres who are committed to the economic emancipation of South Africa and the African continent. It will not be an easy route to be activists and cadres of EFF because those with political power will do everything in their power to isolate, bastardise, banish, retrench, persecute, politically prosecute, tarnish and even kill Economic Freedom Fighters. If these people can kill their own members because of tenders and the control of state resources, there is a real possibility that they will kill to destroy a true democratic force such as EFF, as this threatens their ill-gotten wealth and their prized access to resources.

We are not afraid, and our unity, fearlessness, and dedication should inspire the whole generation to fight for what rightfully belongs to all South Africans. The people must share in South Africa's wealth. We need to be organised, and we need to be disciplined.

Our mission as EFF is to now speak to each and every person in South Africa, every citizen, every voter, including our children, grandparents, parents, relatives, neighbours, fellow churchgoers, workers, street sweepers, and speak ourselves every day about Economic Freedom Fighters, a giant movement that should and will emancipate South Africa from

institutionalised starvation, structural unemployment, political directionlessness and mediocrity, institutionalised corruption, and hopelessness of the youth.

We need to go to every corner of South Africa, village to village, township to township, suburb to suburb, kraal to kraal, city to city, and everywhere where there is human life to speak and preach the message for economic freedom in our lifetime. We need to use all modes of transport to get to where we should preach the message of transport. We will use bicycles, donkey-carts, cars, lorries, trucks, buses, trains, planes, helicopters, ships, boats foot, and all forms of transport, spreading the word for economic emancipation in our lifetime.

In this mission, we are under no illusion that spies, information peddlers, careerists, attention-seekers, and detractors will join us. Our obligation as Economic Freedom Fighters is to convert all these into real fighters for economic freedom in our lifetime. We will not turn away any member who comes to identify with the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime, and will not force any member to join our movement. We will day after day preach the word for economic freedom in our lifetime, because the emancipation of South Africa will lead to the emancipation of the whole African continent.

The winds of political liberation blew from the North to the South, and the winds of economic emancipation will blow from South to North. This wind will gain momentum in our lifetime and South Africa will be an inspiration to other African countries to reclaim their wealth and their economies from colonial and neo-colonial masters. We are the generation of Economic Freedom Fighters.

When asking the question What is to be done? Vladimir Lenin answered by saying: put an end to the third period. The THIRD PERIOD, in his conjecture, was what he summarised as the period of disunity, dissolution, and vacillation. The EFF has passed the period of disunity, dissolution and vacillation and is making a call to all working class forces to join the struggle and fight for economic freedom. Now is the time for economic freedom!

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Appendix

The current EFF Leadership is as follows:

NAME

ROLE/RESPONSIBILITY

Commander in Chief

1. Julius Malema

National Coordinator

2. Mpho Ramakatsa

Research, Policy and Political
Education

3. Floyd Shivambu

Communications

4. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi

5. Leigh-Ann Mathys

Finance and Resource Management

6. Godrich Gardee

Mobilization and Campaigns

7. Sam Tshabalala

Environment and Energy

8. Sipho Mbatha

Economic Development

9. Tseko Mafanya

Education, Science and Technology

10. Andile Mngxitama

Land, Rural Development and
Agriculture

11. Fana Mokoena

Arts, Culture and Heritage

12. Pebane Moteka

Organising

13. Mandisa Makhesini

Gender

14. Hlayiseka Chewane

Professionals

15. Hlengiwe Hlophe

Social Development

**16. Pumza
Ntobonuwana**

Youth Development

17. Harris Watson

Safety and Security

18. Leentjie Phillips

Sports and Recreation

19. Tebogo Mokwele

Infrastructure

20. Natasha Louw

Mining and Mineral Resources

21. Marshall Dlamini

Fundraising

22. Dali Mpofu

Justice and Special Projects

23. Sam Matiasse

Health

International Relations and Solidarity

**24. Magdalene
Moonsamy**

Convenor Mpumalanga

25. Collen Sedibe

Coordinator Mpumalanga

26. Ayanda Tshabalala

Convenor Gauteng

27. Mgcini Tshwaku

Coordinator Gauteng

28. Omphile Maotwe

Convenor Eastern Cape

29. Themba Wele

Coordinator Eastern Cape

30. Siyabulela Peter

Convenor Free State

31. Willy Tshabalala

32. M.S. Moletsane

Coordinator Free State

Convenor Limpopo

33. Michael Mathebe

34. Jossay Buthane

Coordinator Limpopo

35. Aubrey Baartman

Convenor Northern Cape

**36. Mmabatho
Mokause**

Coordinator Northern Cape

37. Vuzi Khoza

Convenor KwaZulu-Natal

38. Thembi Msane

Coordinator KwaZulu-Natal

39. Nazier Paulsen

Convenor Western Cape

40. Veronica Mente

Coordinator Western Cape

41. Alfred Motsi

Convenor North West

42. Papiki Babuile

Coordinator North West

FOUNDING MANIFESTO

Adopted by the Economic Freedom Fighters National Assembly on
What is to be Done: 26 to 27 July 2013.

“Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it” - Frantz Fanon

PREAMBLE:

1. Our decision is to fight for the economic emancipation of the people of South Africa, Africa and the world. Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) locate the struggle for economic emancipation within the long resistance of South Africans to racist colonial and imperialist, political, economic, and social domination. This glorious resistance started with the Khoi and San people rising against colonial domination, marked by the arrival of settler colonists in 1652 in the Cape. This basically represents more than 350 years of Africans' resistance against colonial and economic domination and exploitation.
2. The EFF recognises that, despite temporary victories in this or that battle, Africans were defeated, humiliated, and enslaved by colonial settlers, thereby symbolising colonial victory over the indigenous people of the South African territory. The EFF draws inspiration from the gallant fight those who came before us have mounted, generation after generation, against the superior firepower of the colonists. The EFF intend to elevate this resistance to a decisive victory to vindicate the justness of the cause of liberation wars and to pay tribute to all those who perished fighting for the liberation of the African people and all the oppressed people of our land.
3. Those who fought the gallant wars of resistance did so to resist forced dispossession of land, wealth, livestock and heritage, which they had cherished and inherited from their forebears. More than 350 years later, the war of resistance has not been won, and the battles that were fought almost represent nothing, because 20 years after the attainment of formal political freedom, the black people of South Africa still live

in absolute mass poverty, are landless, their children have no productive future, they are mistreated and they are looked down upon in a sea of wealth.

4. While relatively developed, South Africa like many other colonies is still trapped in the colonial division of labour as supplier of primary commodities to the coloniser nations. This colonial feature cannot and will never be broken by continued economic dominance of private corporations, particularly in the natural and mineral resources sector. Multinational and private ownership of South Africa's commanding heights of the economy should be discontinued in order to stimulate State-led and aided industrial development.
5. Our indignation at the continued economic domination of the people of South Africa and the extreme exploitation of the black working class explains where we come from, where we are, what our mission is, what our character is, and what is to be done to emancipate the black people of South Africa, the working class in particular, from economic bondage. The solutions we provide represent a coherent ideological tradition and draw inspiration from developments around the world on what has been done to advance the development and betterment of people's lives in the aftermath of the defeat of colonialism and against imperialism.
6. South Africa is rooted in the alliance between British and Afrikaner capital. From its inception, capitalism in South Africa was underlined by racism, segregation, and sexism. It discriminated and oppressed the black majority. It discriminated and oppressed women. South African capitalism continues to be characterised by the extreme exploitation of the black working class. In short, the black majority, whatever their class location, are integrated into the mainstream of the economy in a subservient position relative to white people. While the legalistic forms of colonial-apartheid domination have been eroded 20 years ago, the economic system that marginalised, oppressed and exploited the black majority is still intact, with a few individuals benefiting, but only because they have been co-opted to portray a wrong picture that all is and will be well in our country.
7. The EFF note and appreciate the role played by generations of political freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives, were imprisoned, exiled, banished and separated from their families in pursuit of freedom. The

reality, nonetheless, is that the political freedom attained symbolically in 1994 through inclusive elections have not translated into economic freedom, which must empower and assist the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa to be liberated from economic and social bondage. This feature of South Africa justifies our struggle for economic freedom and is also directed at the emancipation of the African continent.

THE CURRENT CONDITIONS:

8. The 20 years of political freedom have not borne much significance to the people of South Africa. This is despite the fact that 20 years should, among other things, entail the intensification of South Africa's political will and its determination to unite the people of South Africa, building sustainable livelihoods for them through the social and economic emancipation of the black majority, and Africans in particular. The political power that was transferred to the black majority through inclusive elections in 1994 was never transformed into economic freedom as the majority of Africans remain on the margins of society as unemployed, underemployed or discriminated-against in their employment, while those who held economic, social and political power since the colonial period continue to enjoy economic, social, and professional privileges. Essentially, the post-1994 government, which has been given an overwhelming mandate to turn political power into total economic emancipation, has in effect rendered the majority of the people a powerless majority by stripping away all revolutionary content from the political power it holds.
9. The post-1994 government has maintained the apartheid and white-supremacist state, with the consequence that the majority, in effect, have become a voting, but powerless, majority. The conditions of the people are generally deplorable and show no evidence of a liberated people. Most of the people of South Africa have to engage in mass action or service-delivery protests to receive attention from government. Some resort to criminal activities, and a majority suffer in silence with the hope that conditions will change for the better. The post-1994 government will not change the conditions of the people for the better and is poisoned by the arrogance of power and the related sins of incumbency. The post-1994 government has lost its

capacity to understand the aspirations of the people, hence deepening neglect and violence against the people, from the brazen abuse of power by political authorities and the sheer disregard of the voice of the people.

10. Within this reality, corruption has been institutionalised and, in many instances, legalised through the protection of incumbents from prosecution and investigation. Prosecutions have been selective and used for political vendettas and agendas, while billions of Rands are redirected from the state to the self-enrichment and self-gratification of politicians. Politicians use ministerial handbooks and other forms of legislation inherited from the apartheid past to accumulate wealth and privileges for themselves as individuals. Politicians in high office and in big, private corporations are immunised from prosecution, and are almost always left to do as they wish, even when evidence of violating the law is available.
11. Political power in the control of the post-1994 government is meaningless, because it has not been used to win the battles that began during the wars of dispossession. Instead, 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. The neoliberal policy approaches adopted and embraced by the post-1994 government have worsened the conditions of the poor, and ossified the structural unemployment and inequalities designed by colonial and apartheid South Africa. Vestiges of apartheid and colonial economic patterns, ownership and control remain intact despite the attainment of political freedom by the former liberation movement. Political freedom without economic emancipation is meaningless.
12. The post-1994 government has weakened its capacity to provide services, drive economic growth and development. Virtually all functions the state should perform are being performed by the private sector and corporations that often collude to suck from the state the little resources at its disposal. The quality of services provided by the post-1994 government is less than satisfactory owing to the contract and tender system adopted by government, which often leaves private individuals empowered and dis-empowers communities.

13. It is important to highlight the fact that global markets have also penetrated the strategic sectors of the South African economy because of the neoliberal trade liberalisation and loosening of trade exchanges embraced by the post-1994 government. The nature of South Africa's dependability on the global economy is conspicuously not balanced and happening for the benefit of a few corporations and individuals, not the majority.
14. As a colony/settler-controlled political territory, like all colonies across the world South Africa's economy in the repressive years of white-supremacist domination was positioned by the coloniser and imperialist forces as a supplier of raw materials and a consumer of imported finished goods and services. This colonial feature of the South African economy remains intact 20 years after the first inclusive elections. The South African economy, its transport and logistics infrastructure, is designed in such a way that anchors the exportation of natural and raw materials by way of the ocean, as opposed to regional and continental integration and potential trade. All strategic railways from South Africa's inland mines and natural-resource reservoirs lead to the ocean. While politically liberated, South Africa remains economically neo-colonial concerning the control, ownership and orientation of the economy.
15. In May 2013, Statistics SA released the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, which indicated that, again, South Africa's official unemployment rate is 25.2%. In simple terms, this means that more than a quarter (4.6 million) of active and employable South Africans who are diligently looking for employment opportunities cannot find jobs. Added to this, more than 2.4 million active and employable South Africans are now discouraged work-seekers, bringing the expanded (real) unemployment rate to 36.7% of the South African labour force, the highest since 2008. These levels of unemployment are, on the whole, racially defined, because white people's levels of unemployment are far lower than the unemployment levels of the African majority.
16. Concerning real economic transformation, the post-1994 democratic state has not achieved anything substantial owing to the fact that the economic-policy direction taken in the democratic-dawn years was not about fundamental transformation, but empowerment/enrichment

meant to empower what could inherently be a few black aspirant capitalists, without the real transfer of wealth to the people as a whole. Empowerment legislation, particularly Black Economic Empowerment policies and various sector-transformation charters adopted by the democratic government dismally failed to substantially and sustainably empower the majority of the population, mainly targeted groups. It is important to note that even if all the objectives of empowerment charters were reached, South Africa would still be characterised by high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, therefore rendering the approach taken a wild goose chase.

17. The South African government had intended to redistribute 30% of land by 2014, but in 2012 only 8% had been redistributed. The consequence of this landlessness of the majority is that blacks on farms remain slaves denied basic human rights that most people take for granted. Farm workers and labour tenants are overworked and underpaid thanks to laws made by the post-1994 government. Farm workers live in fear and insecurity because of the paternalistic relationships with land owners, who are often racist and violent. Often, farmers refuse burial rights to farm workers, with the consequence that our people are landless in life and landless when dead. Between 1994 and 2004, white farmers evicted more than 1 million farm workers from land. Evicted farm workers now populate the mushrooming squatter camps on the outskirts of townships.
18. The economic-empowerment and upliftment model adopted by the post-1994 government has predominately been passing non-binding empowerment charters in various sectors of the economy. The majority of these charters should have reached their targets and goals by 2014, but none of these charters have reached their goals and targets and are unlikely to do so by 2014. Instead of decisively acting to correct these anomalies, the South African government has shifted the goalposts to 2030, thereby continuing to promote the policies that made South Africa fail in the first 20 years.
19. The majority of historically disadvantaged individuals who substantially and durably benefited in the past 20 years did so either because they held senior government or corporate-sector positions (through employment), did contract work with the state (tendering),

got co-opted into established corporations as shareholder capitalists, or redirected funds meant for other purposes into their own pockets (corruption). There have been very few or no historically disadvantaged individuals who, in the past 20 years, engaged in real industrial and manufacturing entrepreneurship and economic development, which could have rightfully empowered them and created job opportunities for the majority of the people of South Africa.

20. Despite all these terrible conditions and realities, the post-1994 government consistently failed to define what really constitutes development. Since 1994, South Africa has misconstrued development as simply meaning the provision of free services such as houses, education, healthcare, social grants, and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). While these social-welfare aspects are vital in South Africa, they do not constitute the core of development realised by all industrialised and developed nations in the world, particularly those that realised massive economic development from the mid 20th century onwards, such as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. These also do not reflect the core of economic development under way in Brazil, India and China. The common and irreplaceable feature of these developed and developing economies has been state-aided industrialisation, particularly of tradable sectors in manufacturing and industrialisation, *i.e.* the development of productive forces. This is usually buttressed by salient, yet subtle, import substitution through the protection of infant industries, tariffs, and other measures, including the insulation of agriculture and food production.
21. If the realisation and attainment of these important service-delivery measures is real development, then countries such as Cuba, with unparalleled access to healthcare, education, social welfare services, low infant mortality rates and a longer life expectancy, would be the most developed territories in the world. Cuba does not fall in the category of developed nations because the correct understanding of development, realised in the 20th-century development of Singapore, South Korea, Japan, Finland, and Taiwan is about developing manufacturing industries for domestic and global consumption. South

- Africa should, concurrent with the provision of essential services, pursue this kind of economic development to create sustainable jobs.
22. The post-1994 government's naivety and the need to be seen to be doing right in the eyes of neoliberal powers, has seen South Africa adopting neoliberal policies that lowered tariffs, removed or neglected the protection of infant industries and agriculture, and lowered trade exchanges, which could have absorbed a large section of the country's labour force. Heterodox economists have perfectly illustrated the reality that virtually all developing economies that imbibe and naturalise the neoliberal policy prescriptions of the international financial institutions (the World Bank and International Monetary Fund) have and will never realise real economic development, as witnessed in all developed economies.
 23. The neoliberal policy fundamentals adopted to please the international financial institutions, which found expression in the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA), and the National Development Plan (NDP) will never solve South Africa's development problems and will instead continue to expose it to unfair global competition, which will result in the strangling of potential economic activities in the country. The global economic crisis will also further worsen the economic conditions of South Africa, which is heavily dependent on exporting primary commodities.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS:

24. As things stand, the following realities define South Africa and will obtain for a considerable amount of time:
 - a. The former liberation movement in office will never be a sustainable solution to South Africa's developmental problems in the foreseeable future, owing to its ideological zigzags, and the open dominance of neoliberal and right-wing politics. If left unchallenged by a radical left political formation, this will give rise to and attach some sense of political legitimacy to political parties whose agenda and political programme is to continue with white supremacy and the imperialist domination of South Africa.
 - b. The former liberation movement's integrity and credibility will gradually decline because it will not address the many massive

developmental challenges confronting society in the current status quo. Poverty, unemployment and inequalities are worsening under the post-1994 government. This is because the former liberation movement does not welcome radical policy shifts, and is instead obsessed with protecting the interests of white monopoly capital.

- c. Political parties in opposition to the former liberation movement in office oppose it on superficial issues, because all the major political formations in parliament carry the same neoliberal, capitalist and free-market programme that the incumbent government does. There is currently no real ideological and political opposition to the post-1994 government's neoliberal policy framework, recently proven by all political parties' adoption of the National Development Plan (NDP).
- d. The Congress-aligned left-wing formations have been swallowed into reform politics of patronage and will never regain integrity to pursue real working class struggles any time soon. The organised left has been swallowed by the state, and is currently at the forefront of justifying the rapacious and callous theft of public funds by the incumbent president of the republic.
- e. The trade union movement (which is supposed to defend workers' interests) will soon be swallowed into the same politics of reform. All those who push for a radical agenda will be isolated, banished and portrayed as antigovernment. The dominant faction in the trade union movement will rid itself of progressive leaders. Despite massive and clear ideological differences, the trade union movement will once again encourage workers to vote for the current government, despite its directionlessness. Workers will again be misled and tied to their oppressors through sentiments of historical significance and blind loyalty.
- f. Independent trade unions will continue to emerge and grow bigger because previously dominant unions will gradually fail to represent workers. These independent trade unions are not a political alternative, because they will only deal with workers' interests and will make workers believe that their problems are workplace issues only.
- g. The majority of people in informal settlements, townships, villages and other poor communities will disengage from mainstream

politics and not vote in successive elections. This will be sure to happen if, as fighters for economic emancipation, we do not offer a real ideological and political alternative to the status quo.

- h. The youth movement has been turned into a lapdog sent to repeat what the incumbent government leadership says. Puppet youth leaders will be rewarded with Cabinet posts and other perks to sustain their puppet status.
- i. Victimisation of those who are suspected of being part of the political alternatives to the former liberation movement will increase, with threats of arrest, assassination and the possible manipulation of the justice system. There are many Economic Freedom Fighters in the former liberation movement, particularly on the ground, and, unfortunately, at all levels of its leadership, who will not publicly associate with real political alternatives, because they are scared of losing their jobs and income.
- j. The middle class will further drift away from the former liberation movement and beef up the neoliberal alternative. They are a contested terrain and need to be engaged because they stand to benefit from the victory of economic freedom and the erosion of white supremacy.
- k. Service-delivery protests will intensify and workplace stoppages in the mines and on farms will also continue in higher volumes than before, thus worsening the economic crisis South Africa is experiencing. Mine workers will become more militant and will fight struggles for their economic survival. As Economic Freedom Fighters, we should be on their side.
- l. Social movements and issue-based organisations will remain on the margins of mainstream politics and only mobilise on sector-based issues, which will not relate to mainstream electoral and power politics.
- m. Any form of generalised uprising will be harshly suppressed by the state machinery, in an attempt to prevent it from escalating to a level where a sitting government can be toppled.
- n. The youth will become more disgruntled under the leadership of the ANC and, like in previous elections; the youth will be fed so many empty promises on education and jobs, which will never be

created, because there is no radical, convincing plan on how this can be done.

- o. South Africa has been turned into a kleptocracy, with government leaders openly looting state resources, pursuing self-enrichment and classifying reports and processes that seek to expose such callous behaviour. Those close to political leaders will get richer and more corrupt because they will know that, like them, they are immune from prosecution.

CHARACTER OF THE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS:

25. These political, economic, social and ideological realities are the basis upon which the ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS is founded. The ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS is a radical and militant economic emancipation movement that brings together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers' movements, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and lobby groups under the umbrella of pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation.
26. The EFF is a radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles. The EFF will be the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws.
27. The EFF takes lessons from the notation that "political power without economic emancipation is meaningless". The movement is inspired by ideals that promote the practice of organic forms of political leadership, which appreciate that political leadership at whatever level is service, not an opportunity for self-enrichment and self-gratification.
28. The EFF draws inspiration from the broad Marxist-Leninist tradition and Fanonian schools of thought in their analyses of the state, imperialism, culture and class contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and a constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the current neo-colonial economic system, which in

- many countries keep the oppressed under colonial domination and subject to imperialist exploitation.
29. The EFF is a South African movement with a progressive internationalist outlook, which seeks to engage with global progressive movements. We believe that the best contribution we can make in the international struggle against global imperialism is to rid our country of imperialist domination. For the South African struggle, the EFF pillars for economic emancipation are the following:
- a. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
 - b. Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.
 - 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.
30. The EFF appreciates the role played by the fathers and mothers of South Africa's liberation movement. The EFF draws inspiration from the radical, working class interpretation of the Freedom Charter, because, since its adoption in 1955, there have been various meanings given to the Freedom Charter. The EFF's interpretation of the Freedom Charter is one which says South Africa indeed belongs to all who live in it, and ownership of South Africa's economic resources and access to opportunities should reflect that indeed South Africa belongs to all who live in it. The EFF's interpretation of the Freedom Charter is that which says the transfer of mineral wealth beneath the soil, monopoly industries

- and banks means nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries.
31. The EFF's interpretation of the Freedom Charter also accepts that while the state is in command and in control of the commanding heights of South Africa's economy, "people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions", meaning that there will never be wholesale nationalisation and state control of every sector of South Africa's economy. Nationalisation of strategic sectors and assets will be blended with a strong industrial policy to support social and economic development.
 32. Economic Freedom Fighters will contest political power, because we are guided by the firm belief that we need political power in order to capture the state and then transform the economy for the emancipation of black South Africans, especially Africans. The forms in which the EFF contests political power will, from time to time, be reviewed in the light of prevailing circumstances, but the primary role of mass organisation and activism, as a means to raise the political consciousness of the people, will remain the bedrock of our political practice.
 33. Therefore, the EFF will be involved in mass movements and community protests that seek the betterment of people's lives. The EFF will also associate with movements that demand land through land occupation, aimed at making the message clear that our people do need land. The EFF will support all trade unions and workers that stand up in demand of better working conditions and salaries wherever and whenever they do so. The EFF will not be bound by narrow alliance loyalties that compromise the interests of workers just because they are in a different trade union. Our pursuit of the basic demands of the Freedom Charter is above forms of organisation that the working class, and indeed black people, may fashion in the course of struggles. In other words, alliances and other forms of organisation are relevant to the extent that they maximise our march towards realising the vision outlined in the Freedom Charter.
 34. The EFF is guided by revolutionary internationalism and solidarity that defined the politics of the July 26 Movement, which led the

Cuban Revolutionary struggles. We will partake in international struggles that seek to emancipate the economically unliberated people of Africa and the world. We will form part of the progressive movements in the world that stand against continued imperialist domination.

WHAT IS THE STRATEGIC MISSION?

35. The attainment of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime is our strategic mission. Towards this, we have identified 7 (seven) non-negotiable cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime. These are:
- a. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
 - b. Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.
 - 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.
36. Attainment of Economic Freedom entails that multinational and private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy will be discontinued, and all economic wealth directed to the ownership and benefit of all people. This will happen through various and combined forms of common and collective ownership, ranging from State ownership and control, cooperatives and workers' ownership and control of the key sectors of the economy. State ownership is within this context, an elementary component which will lead to more progressive forms of collective ownership, control and benefit, and therefore not narrow State-capitalism.

COMPLEMENTARY PILLARS:

37. Over and above the above pillars, the EFF commits to further pillars to complement the seven. These are equally important pillars and are presented here not in order of importance and vitality, but with the recognition that they are equally important.
- a. Decentralised spatial development and building new cities.
 - b. Public representatives using public services.
 - c. Reduction of benefits for public representatives.
 - d. Progressive internationalism.
 - e. The sports, arts and culture question.
 - f. The gender and sexuality question.
 - g. The immigration question.
 - h. Monetary and fiscal stability.
 - i. Priority of energy security and the environment.
 - j. A focus on science and Technology.
 - k. Support given to research, innovation and enterprise development.
 - l. Making one city the administrative and legislative capital of South Africa.
 - m. The transformation of the criminal justice system.
 - n. Relationship with the Security Forces.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE TOWARDS THE STRATEGIC MISSION? THE 7 CARDINAL PILLARS:

38. As a decisive way to fundamentally transform the South African economy for sustainable development, the following sectors and matters will be handled and responded to in the manner described below. All these interventions are centred on the 7 cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime. These pillars should inspire the EFF-led economic emancipation movement towards realising and consolidating economic freedom in our lifetime.

1) Expropriation of land without compensation for equitable redistribution.

39. The EFF's approach to land expropriation without occupation is that all land should be transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state in a similar way that all mineral and

- petroleum resources were transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state through the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) of 2002. The state should, through its legislative capacity transfer all land to the state, which will administer and use land for sustainable-development purposes. This transfer should happen without compensation, and should apply to all South Africans, black and white.
40. Once the state is in control and custodianship of all land, those who are currently using the land or intend using land in the immediate will apply for land-use licences, which should be granted only when there is a purpose for the land being applied for. Those applying for licences will be granted licences for a maximum of 25 years, renewable on the basis that the land is being used as planned. The state should, within this context, hold the right to withdraw the licence and reallocate the land for public purposes.
 41. State custodianship of land will mean that those who currently occupy land should apply for licensing to continue using the land and should clearly state in the application what they want to use the land for over a period of time. Under this legislation, no one should be allowed to own land forever, because those who have money can, over time, buy huge plots of land and use them for counter-developmental private purposes, such as using land as game farms. A maximum of 25 years can then be placed on all land leases applied for by private corporations and individuals, with the state retaining the right to expropriate in instances where the land is not used for the purpose applied for.
 42. In line with the Freedom Charter and a new vision of agrarian revolution, the state should also provide implements and related extension services to help those who work the land to use it productively. Furthermore, the state's procurement of food should prioritise small-scale farmers so that small-scale farming becomes a sustainable economic activity for the majority of our people. The state must buy more than 50% of the food for hospitals, prisons and schools from small-scale farmers in order to develop small-scale agriculture.
 43. Food production, packaging, transportation, marketing, advertising, retail, and trade should constitute one of South Africa's biggest

- economic sectors. With a growing global population, and the growing capacity of Africans to buy food, South Africa needs to produce agricultural output through provision of subsidies to small-scale farmers, and open packaging and retail opportunities for these farmers.
44. A structured state support and agricultural-protection mechanism should be applied to all food products, including beef and other meats' production and processing. The same applies to fruit, maize, and other essential food items produced by small-scale farmers. To boost sustainable demand domestically, the South African government should pass legislation that all the food bought by government for hospitals, schools, prisons, and the like should be sourced from small-scale food producers. This in itself will create sustainable economic activity, and inspire many young people to go into food production because there will be income and financial benefits to boost other economic activities out of it. The economy of food production needs well-structured protection mechanisms and subsidies in order to protect jobs and safeguard food security. Most developed and developing nations are doing the same.
 45. With a clearly defined and well-structured mechanism, South Africa, which is, oddly, a net importer of food, can realise the development of the food economy in a manner that exceeds Brazil's. This will add sustainable job creation, not the kind of short-term jobs created through infrastructure development. This will, of course, require land reform to be expedited and water supplies to be guaranteed for the sustainability of the this important sector of the economy.

2) Nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy.

46. Owing to the character of the South African economy and the aspirations of the people for economic freedom, state ownership and control of strategic sectors of the economy should be the foundation for sustainable economic transformation in South Africa. A supposition that the South African economy can be transformed to address the massive unemployment, poverty and inequality crisis without transfer of wealth from those who

currently own it to the people as a whole is illusory. The transfer of wealth from the minority should fundamentally focus on the commanding heights of the economy. This should include minerals, metals, banks, energy production, and telecommunications and retain the ownership of central transport and logistics modes such as Transnet, Sasol, Mittal Steel, Eskom, Telkom and all harbours and airports.

47. The ownership of mineral wealth should be considered through various means, prime being the expropriation of the current minerals-production processes in South Africa, and the commencement of extraction, processing and trade on new land. The ownership of minerals beneath the soil could in effect entail the discontinuation of total private ownership of production means in the production of mineral wealth in South Africa. The route towards total transfer of mineral wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole should include the creation of an efficient and impactful state-owned mining company. It will be efficient and impactful because a state-owned mining company should contribute to job creation, while being efficiently managed and administered in a manner that will raise the levels of public confidence in the capacity of the state to do business and contribute to economic development.
48. Nationalised mineral wealth will in effect constitute a very firm basis for the beneficiation of these products in both heavy and light industrial processes in South Africa, which could be left to industrial and manufacturing entrepreneurs, cooperatives and small and medium enterprises, so as to develop the productive forces of the South African economy, which is still reliant on the production of primary commodities. Instead of relying on neoliberal mechanisms to attract industrial and manufacturing investments to South Africa, such as a narrow fiscal stability, and decreased labour costs, the state, in the ownership of mineral wealth and metals, could provide incentives to reduce prices for the primary and raw commodities, which will be industrialised and benefited in South Africa.
49. Minerals and metals beneficiation will constitute a very firm, sustainable and labour-absorptive industrial process, which will

feature both import-substituting and export-led industrialisation. Various other areas of an increased, sustainable and labour absorptive industrial process could be explored within a situation where the production of metals and minerals are nationalised for the benefit of all. Industrial and manufacturing entrepreneurs, cooperatives, and small and medium enterprises from outside and inside South Africa could then be allowed to industrialise the South African economy, with guaranteed rights, and regulated through transformation charters which will lead to skills transfer at all levels of corporations' structures.

50. This process should conspicuously be coupled with an effective skills-development, training and education strategy, which will directly feed into a growing industrial and manufacturing process. Importantly for this process to happen, the South African liberation movement and the state should mobilise massive support of the working class, some sections of the middle class and established industrial entrepreneurs and corporations behind a consolidated national economic-developmental plan, which will address the social challenges characteristic of South African society. This is one revolution that requires support from various sections of South African society and should be understood within such a context.
51. Certainly, the nationalisation of minerals and metals might ignite international condemnation by global imperialists, institutionalised in the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and, notably, the World Trade Organisation. A broader mass movement should be mobilised in South Africa in defence of these massive economic reforms, because they constitute the core of our economic emancipation programme. Mass campaigns on what nationalisation (people and state ownership and control) of minerals, metals and other strategic sectors of the economy will entail should be conducted to garner support from the people as a whole.
52. The benefits of nationalising strategic sectors of the economy will include, but not be limited to, the following realities:
 - a. An increased fiscus for, and therefore more resources for, education, housing, healthcare, infrastructure development, safety and security and sustainable livelihoods for our people.

- b. More jobs for our people because state-owned and controlled mines will increase the local beneficiation and industrialisation of mineral resources. This will, in turn, reduce the high levels of poverty consequent of joblessness.
 - c. More equitable spatial development because state-owned and controlled mines will invest in areas where mining is happening.
 - d. Better salaries and working conditions in mines because state-owned mines will increase the mining wage and improve compliance with occupational health and safety standards.
 - e. Greater levels of economic and political sovereignty, as the state will be in control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy, which produce mineral resources needed around the world.
53. It is important to highlight that, as part of this programme, the transfer of wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole is not limited to mines only, but should necessarily extend to monopoly industries. The creation of a State Bank and the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank constitute an immediate task and essential to the development of the South African economy, as it can be progressively positioned to improve the existence of state-owned development finance institutions, in order to finance new industries. The State Bank will also provide enterprise finance, housing finance and vehicle finance for all South Africans in a manner that promotes development, not the narrow pursuit of profits.
54. The EFF-led government will establish a State Bank, which should be accompanied by the transformation of the financial sector as a whole, particularly banking and insurance industry practices and norms. Finance capital dominates the world economy and carries with it the potential to undermine all efforts to build a better life for all people. Vigilance and greater state participation in the financial sector is therefore a vital component of efforts to build a sustainable and better life for all the people of South Africa. India and China were firmly insulated from the global financial crisis because their state-owned and controlled financial sectors did not venture into the practices of private banks in the West that led to the collapse of the world economy.

55. The EFF will limit foreign ownership of strategic and monopoly sectors, where the state does not exert full ownership, in order to protect South Africa's sovereignty and to limit the repatriation of profits, so that these can be used for the further development of our people.

3) Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders.

56. For a successful state that seeks to drive real economic and industrial development and provide better services, an inspired, skilled, and well-compensated public service is required. The public service should be strengthened for a sustainable transformation of the economy. The ethos of such a state should be developmental and very strong and, hence, consistent with anti-corruption measures. This is emphasised because the task of fundamental economic transformation requires a strong state with the ability to develop a clear strategic vision, and be able to implement and monitor the progress being made.

57. This should, essentially, be a state that has the capacity to marshal all progressive social forces in society, particularly the working class, towards developmental objectives. The state should build internal capacity to construct and maintain infrastructure such as roads, railways and dams and basic services such as schools, houses, hospitals and recreational facilities. The state's dependence on tenders has massive political implications and often reduces the quality of work provided because of corruption and the corruptibility of the whole tendering system. In addition, the reliance on tenders limits the capacity of the state to directly industrialise the country by deliberately building value chains through direct state procurement.

58. The state's capacity to perform these functions will entail that the public service and its servants be properly maintained, serviced and adequately remunerated at all levels. At the centre of a strong developmental state should be a motivated, inspired and well-remunerated public service that shares in the developmental vision of the country. These interventions should be coupled with an increased capacity to aggressively fight corruption and criminality

within the state. The fight against corruption should not be a side issue, but a fundamental component of the state apparatus in order to increase public confidence in the state. In this context, the EFF will place a premium on strengthening the revolutionary trade union movement in the public sector, which should establish a practical and immediate bridge through which the working class exercises its power over the state apparatus.

59. A strong developmental state should necessarily have political power and technical capacity to give developmental mandates to state-owned enterprises (SOE) and private corporations. SOE and private sector compliance with the state's developmental targets should not be voluntary, but a mandatory, crucial factor around which the state should be able to use a carrot-and-stick system to enforce. It can never be correct that the state operates only with the "hope" that the still colonial and foreign-owned, and thus unpatriotic, private sector, in particular, will voluntarily underwrite the developmental agenda and pursue the agenda of job creation, poverty reduction and sustainable development with the same vigour that should define government.
60. As concrete steps forward, which the state should initiate, establish and give strategic and financial support to, are the following:
 - a. A state housing-construction company.
 - b. A state roads-construction company.
 - c. A state cement company.
 - d. A state pharmaceutical company.
 - e. A state-owned mining company.
 - f. A state food-stocking company (to regulate prices of basic foodstuffs and guarantee food security for all).
61. These state companies will be buttressed by state ownership of critical parts of the value chains in which these companies operate, *e.g.* petrochemicals (Sasol), steel (Arcelor-Mittal), etc, so that they produce essential inputs into the economy on a non-profit-maximisation basis.
62. Within this context, the state will employ engineers, quantity surveyors, project managers, and builders for sustainable tasks. Their responsibilities will include the construction of houses, roads, bridges, sports facilities, dams, sewerage systems and more. These

should be subjected to strict standards of quality assurance to ensure that, at all times, state-constructed entities are of good quality. State-owned companies will not be driven by principles of profit maximisation, but by the need to provide cheap and affordable services to the people and the economy at large.

4) Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.

63. Education: Education will be free up to undergraduate level and all pupils and students will be provided with adequate learning and teacher-support materials. For successful and sustainable economic development and growth, South Africa requires a concerted focus on the attainment of skills, education and expertise in various fields. The attainment of skills should necessarily respond to the massive skills shortages that define existent industries, but the education system should also be positioned to assist with new industrial developments. The approach to realising this noble objective should include, but not be limited to, the alignment of skills to industrial sectors, the expansion of post-secondary education and training, the transformation of higher education and training and the introduction of a new scholarship system that will provide educational and training opportunities to South African youth studying outside the country so that they can return after learning more than would have been possible within South Africa's borders.
64. The alignment of skills to industrial sectors should be done in a manner similar to the approach adopted by developed economies, but in a more focused and properly resourced model that would necessarily include the establishment of focus universities. South Africa should establish and resource sector-focused institutions of higher learning. The EFF will encourage tertiary institutions to expand and deepen their qualitative focus in terms of course offerings and research, with a view to create centres of excellence across the tertiary education spectrum. Skills, education and expertise are an important feature of sustainable industrial and economic development for any economy. The South African government, in collaboration with industrial and manufacturing investors and practitioners, should put in place industry-linked

- training authorities, which will train, particularly, young people for various responsibilities in new industries and factories. Various sectors, including minerals beneficiation and industrialisation (eg diamond cutting and polishing) are highly labour-absorptive sectors and a training agency should be established for this sector to supply labour to this particular sector.
65. The post-secondary education and training capacity in South Africa presently does not respond to the quantities of aspirant students produced by the general education system. General education produces close to 1 million young people annually who graduate without any hope of further education or drop out of school for varied reasons, chief among them the problem of being excluded from opportunity along with many other socioeconomic reasons in the wake of widespread inadequate teaching methodologies. These learners should be provided with opportunities for post-secondary training, education and development through mechanisms which that will include higher education institutions, further education and training colleges, support for small, medium and micro-sized enterprises (SMME), and various other forms of vocational training.
66. As a matter of principle, the state should build capacity at post-secondary education and training level that will put the state in a position to absorb all learners who pass their senior certificates and/or leave school from grades 10 and 11. This entails, among other things that the state should heavily invest in the qualitative and quantitative expansion of higher education institutions, FET colleges, SMME mentorship programmes and other vocational training programmes and institutions. This should necessarily be accompanied by a comprehensive strategy aimed at realising free education. A critical role will be played by state-owned enterprises, municipalities and other state agencies in absorbing and training learners from tertiary institutions.
67. In this regard, a new scholarship funded by government, state-owned enterprises and the private sector should be established to fund suitably qualified students accepted in the best universities around the world. The South African government, at various levels, is already contributing to the education and training of medical

doctors and other health professionals in Cuba. This should be radically expanded to a minimum of 10 000 students sent annually to various countries to attain skills, education and expertise on different, but critical, fields by 2016. The number of students sent to the best universities around the world should be reflective of South Africa's demographics in terms of race, gender and class. Emphasis should be placed on the fact that the students sent to the best universities should have shown capacity to make progress because they should, indeed, make progress. These students will later contribute to the country's socioeconomic development, economy and knowledge development.

68. At all levels of the education system, pupils and students will be taught to love their country, their people and their continent and will be taught the principles of social solidarity, progressive internationalism and the pursuit of social justice. Knowledge of technical skills alone is not enough to build a country. The EFF will therefore couple technical education with progressive civic education.

Healthcare:

69. The state should build massive capacity in healthcare, and remunerate medical practitioners in a way that attracts the best medical practitioners to the public healthcare sector. As an immediate programme, the state should regulate the cost of medicine and healthcare provision in order to prevent private hospitals from overpricing medical care, which is a basic human right. Secondly, the EFF will move with speed to set up a state pharmaceutical company to decisively intervene in the production and distribution of medicines. Thirdly, the EFF will urgently engage with doctors' and nurses' unions, including general staff unions that operate in the health sector, to exert working class power and control over the health system, with a view to improve the quality and quantity of health services. Issues that must be urgently addressed will include remuneration and career paths, skills development and training (especially the strengthening of nursing and other colleges), and the establishment of norms and standards for quality health services in clinics and hospitals.

70. Human Settlement and Housing: The state should, through the state housing-construction company improve the quality and size of low-cost houses. The state should further regulate housing finance through providing housing finance that does not exceed a period of 10 years. Integrated human settlement should, in the real sense, be definitive of all settlements led by the state, with guaranteed bulk services such as water provision, electricity, sewerage systems and more. House repossessions should be illegal.

Sanitation:

71. The state, at all levels, should have the obligation to provide sanitation wherever people reside. This is a fundamental human right, which should lead to the abolishment of bucket and pit toilets.

5) 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.

72. Within the context of a state-led industrial policy, the state should protect infant industries, particularly in areas where the country does not enjoy competitive advantages. The industrialisation South Africa should adopt ought to be both export-led and import-substituting industrialisation. It is an open secret that South Africa continues to export natural resources and import virtually all finished goods and services. South Africa's 10 biggest exports to China are natural and raw materials while our imports from China are finished goods and services. This should change and internal capacity must be built, in collaboration with established industrial and manufacturing corporations, in order to locally manufacture the goods and services we currently import from other economies. This will lead to industrial and manufacturing investments by corporations that manufacture the goods and services we currently import, further building internal skills capacity to expand on these areas.

73. In all other industries, the state should introduce, through legislation, minimum wages, which will better the living conditions of the people. The areas that need immediate focus include, but are

- not limited to mine workers, farm workers, private security guards, domestic workers, cleaners, petrol attendants, waiters and waitresses, and Retail stores workers. The approach should also lead to the abolishment of Labour Brokers.
74. South Africa's inequalities are, among other things, a result of the wage gap between top managers and ordinary workers. This, therefore, means that levels of underemployment are at a crisis level because an absolute majority of workers are not adequately remunerated. This should change, and, as an immediate programme and plan, a set of minimum wages on all sectors of the South African economy should be enacted into laws, binding all sectors. The EFF rejects the orthodoxy that minimum wages cause unemployment. We believe that minimum wages are a primary instrument against poverty, serve to lift domestic demand for domestic goods and services, and are one of the important tools through which the people of South Africa will share in the country's wealth.
75. Economic Freedom Fighters will fight not through boardrooms and media statements but through mass-based campaigns in support of organised workers, for establishing minimum wages in all the critical sectors of the South African economy and society as a means of bettering many people's lives. By fighting for increases in minimum wages, the EFF will organise and play a leading role in the struggles of workers in various sectors, with the minimum demands of adequate minimum wages, and better working conditions.
76. The EFF will also call for legislation on incomes policy, including regulation of the pay of chief executive officers, directors, chief financial officers and managers in all sectors of the economy. Laws should be passed that executive pay should be a certain proportion of the wages of the lowest paid workers in respective firms, as one way of dealing with obscene levels of income inequality.
77. We need to talk about the recruitment and promotion of Africans in the workplace, and the opportunities for workers to move up the career ladder through opening up access to tertiary institutions so that workers with experience can benefit. In this regard, we need to refer to employment equity reports.

6) Massive investment in the development of the African economy

78. The South African state's capacity to do big business should be expanded to the African continent. State-owned enterprises should heavily invest in the infrastructure and industrial development of the African continent. This should be markedly distinct from the manner in which the Western Powers (the US and European Union) and China do business in Africa. Investment by Transnet in the continent should leave massive footprints concerning skills transfer, the development of the communities where investments happen, the payment of tax, reinvestments, corporate social investment, safety standards, compliance with labour laws and regulations and the fundamental economic development of these countries.
79. South Africa's established state-owned enterprises and semi-owned parastatals, such as SAA, the Airports Company of South Africa, Eskom, Telkom, Denel, Safcol and other public entities such as the SABC, Infranco and Sentech should begin to invest in the development of the African continent. While avoiding adventurism, these investments should not be driven by the narrow pursuit of profit maximisation, but the need to develop Africa's infrastructure, logistics, systems and communications in a manner that will transfer skills and create sustainable employment opportunities for many people in the continent, thus contributing to development.
80. The development of the African continent is inextricably linked with the development of South Africa. No amount of sustainable socioeconomic development and stability will be realised in South Africa unless the state plays an active role in the economic development of the African continent. This, obviously, should include the development of trade corridors that link up the entire African continent and create capacity to consume goods and services produced on the continent.
81. In this context, South Africa's role in the economic development of the African continent should not be that of being merely a gateway to Africa's natural resources and raw materials for bigger and more rapidly developing economies. South Africa should inspire countries in the African continent to maximise socioeconomic benefits from their natural resources and raw materials, as part of realising economic freedom for the African people. This should not

- be a rhetorical role, but a concrete guided programme, which should include South African state-owned enterprises expanding to other parts of Africa with the sole aim of uplifting the respective countries' economies.
82. Owing to surpluses and many sustainable-developmental considerations that will be generated as a result of the South African state's control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy, government should establish a sovereign wealth fund, which will prudently invest in the development of the African economy. This fund will also assist in the insulation of the South African economy whenever there are volatilities in resource-sector prices and when nonrenewable resources are exhausted. Most countries, including China, the US, Saudi Arabia, Norway, Libya, Nigeria, Chile, France and many others, have sovereign wealth funds for these purposes. As we speak, despite massive resource riches, South Africa has no sovereign wealth fund, mainly because South Africans do not own their resources.
83. Economic Justice: The question of economic justice is fundamental to the political programme of the Economic Freedom Fighters in South Africa and should be promoted actively in the African continent. This includes the regulation and abolishment of foreign control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy in South Africa and the African continent. The EFF political programme should deliberately provide ideological, political and economic support to countries that seek to discontinue foreign control in order to take ownership of their own economic resources within the context of providing assistance where there is difficulty.

7) Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

84. The current political system is designed to exclude the people from participating in decision making. South Africa's electoral systems are controlled by money, secrecy and power. All political parties refuse to disclose their financial backers, despite the millions they get from parliament. It is a crying shame that in the 21st century we are presided over by an elite system of power where only 400 members of the national assembly govern over 50 million people.

- The EFF shall agitate for the transfer of power to the people and make democracy real for the majority.
85. All political parties should be obliged by law to publicly disclose their sources of funds in order to avoid political coup d'états financed by greedy multinational corporations and criminal associations that seek to have access to South Africa's resources. If political parties are interested in managing so many mineral resources and so much wealth in South Africa, they should be interested in disclosing their sources of funding.
 86. State agencies should have the necessary relative autonomy, which will rid them from micromanagement and manipulation by politicians. Heads of the National Prosecuting Authority, the Public Protector, the national police commissioner, and all Chapter 9 institutions should be appointed by a joint merit-based process that involves the executive, parliament and judiciary, and not be appointed by a president who can use his or her capacity to appoint in order to manipulate those appointed.
 87. On contentious issues of national interest, such as going to war, the state should design a quicker, more efficient system to use recurrent referenda to gauge public opinion and sentiments on what the country needs to do.

COMPLEMENTARY PILLARS:

1. DECENTRALISED SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT AND BUILDING NEW CITIES:

88. South Africa needs a countrywide spatial development framework that should decentralise development. South Africa's population should be proportionately spread across the length and breadth of the country through maximising each region and province's areas of economic-development potential. The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) developed by government's Policy Coordination and Advisory Services makes correct observations about South Africa's spatial economy, including the fact that "26 locations represent the engines of the South African economy, home to 77% of all people living under minimum living level in the country, 84% of the total population and generating 95% of the national Gross Value Added (GVA)" (NSDP, 2006).

89. With these observations, the NSDP envisions focused growth and employment in areas where it is effective and sustainable. NSDP principles, in localities with low development potential, aim to focus government spending on providing social transfers, human resource development and labour market intelligence, which would enable people to make choices: to become more mobile and migrate to localities that are more likely to provide sustainable employment or other economic opportunities, (NSDP, 2006). While this might be a correct intervention, there should be consideration for creating incentivised Industrial Development Zones (IDZs) to spread out development and economic opportunities to localities that have high levels of poverty and unemployment.
90. For instance, Limpopo has a poverty rate of 77% (HSRC, 2004), and an unemployment rate (using the expanded definition) of 51.5% (Stats SA Labour Force Survey, 2006). Limpopo is home to reserves of various mineral wealth, and a deliberate developmental strategy could be enacted along these lines. With such rates of poverty and unemployment, it could not be wrong for government to provide incentives, through the labour-absorptive production and beneficiation processing of minerals. These are some considerations, which require a detailed assessment and consideration in order to alter the spatial economy. Agroprocessing is one area that needs specific attention and could lead to the creation of quality sustainable employment.
91. Rural development should not be confined to maintaining the rurality of rural areas. It should, instead, aim to abolish rural and town distinctions. To this end, the department of land reform and rural development should be called the department of rural industrialisation and urbanisation and work closely with other government departments to uplift the economies of rural areas. As part of addressing the industrial development of rural areas, the state should identify and concurrently run industrial development zones in the following areas of economic potential over the next five (2014 to 2019) years and build state-subsidised and incentivised cities alongside the IDZs for an additional 10 years, beginning in 2014:
- a. Sekhukhune in Limpopo

- b. Bojanala in North West
 - c. Kuruman in the Northern Cape
 - d. Welkom in the Free State
 - e. Emalahleni (Witbank) in Mpumalanga
 - f. Overberg in the Western Cape
 - g. East London and Coega in the Eastern Cape
 - h. Far-northern KwaZulu-Natal – linked to Kosi Bay
92. These new Industrial Development Zones will be linked to the industrial development zones in East London, Eastern Cape and Richards Bay in KwaZulu-Natal, concerning transport infrastructure. For instance, the Sekhukhune Industrial Development Zone should be anchored on minerals-beneficiation and agro-processing from across the Limpopo province. The immediate question will obviously be where the state might get the resources and energy required to run these concurrent Industrial Development Zones. The taxes generated in these areas should be reinvested in these communities and a substantial amount of resources held by the country's development finance institutions should be spent on these IDZs. This will result in more equitable spatial development and a sensible population distribution across provinces.
93. The Industrial Development Zones should also be accompanied by clear plans to turn these areas into cities, with the necessary amenities and services that define cities. The development of the Chinese economy has illustrated that cities can be consciously created, and South Africa should learn this noble lesson and begin to invest in the creation of cities in the identified areas. This will in effect lead to the abolishment of the apartheid-instituted migrant-labour system and the eradication of slums in bigger cities, because the population will be proportionately spread across the country. Instances of socioeconomic migration will also be reduced because all people will be presented with opportunities to work where they live.
94. The state should work to ensure that the economic infrastructure of overpopulated centres of economic development are maintained and expanded, while progressively introducing disincentives for completely new industries in these areas. This should, in turn, be

accompanied by greater incentives in identified areas of economic development in order to drive industrial and broadly economic development to new centres of economic development. The overpopulation of Gauteng, for instance, is economically unsustainable owing to the reality that the infrastructure that supports economic development and growth in Gauteng is already bloated and will eventually slow down economic activity, development and growth.

2. PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES USING PUBLIC SERVICES.

95. As a broad and cogent principle, the EFF's approach to public representatives (those occupying political office through elections) is that because they are there on the mandate of the people to serve, the many perks associated with political office should be limited. Representatives should live like ordinary people. Because they are responsible for the allocation of resources, and the implementation and monitoring of services, public representatives and their dependants should be compelled, by law, to use only public services, particularly schools and healthcare facilities and services. This should apply to all public representatives from the president of the republic to a local municipal councillor.

3. REDUCTION OF COSTS ON PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES

96. The manner in which the state is currently structured with regards to benefits and perks given to elected representatives is not only costly, but unethical in that it leads to a social distance between the people and representatives. As a matter of principle and decisive intervention, the EFF advocates for public representation that is not defined by unnecessary luxuries and benefits, most of which costs the state unnecessary and very costly sums of money.
97. To decidedly address this question, the EFF will advocate for a policy position that will lead to representatives not being bought cars by the state, and not being bought houses either. The amount of money the state spends on representatives' personal conditions and

upliftment is in no way justifiable. As public representatives with salaries, ministers, MECs and councillors should use their own cars and stay in their own houses, paid for by the salaries they are given by the state.

4. PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM

98. The EFF's internationalism is premised on building solidarity and working relationships with all movements in the world that identify ideologically with anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism. In this regard, the EFF will ideologically and politically support movements that seek the economic decolonisation of the African continent. The EFF will also advocate for free trade across the entire African continent, with common tariffs for goods and services from country to country.
99. The EFF will also advocate for the ultimate integration of the African continent through the erosion and eventual elimination of unnecessary borders, which, in the case of South Africa will entail the Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland borders in a manner that involves and includes the participation and approval of those countries. This will also be encouraged in other parts of the African continent.
100. The EFF will also advocate for common infrastructure for transportation (roads, railways, harbours, etc), electricity, and water. Africa should use its resources to benefit all the people of the African continent in a manner that will lead to collective upliftment.

5. SPORTS, ARTS AND CULTURE

101. Sports, arts and culture constitute an elementary component of the character and nature of any society. As things stand, South Africa is influenced too greatly by excessive amounts of Western cultural and artistic propaganda, which altogether turns South Africa into an artistic and cultural extension of the West, particularly the US and the UK.

102. The EFF will cultivate a culture of embracing African culture and arts and will do that practically by creating spaces for local artistic and cultural expression. Community radio, community television, community newspapers, and local theatres should constitute a hallmark of spaces for artistic and cultural expression by the people of South Africa. This does not mean the people of South Africa should not learn from other cultures and traditions, but they should also have space to express themselves in their country's spaces.
103. The spaces for artistic and cultural expression should also be enhanced through increasing local content in television and radio broadcasting to a minimum of 60%. Local content will therefore be used to guide the quality and extent upon which local artists and cultural practitioners will express themselves.
104. Sports participation should be compulsory in all schools and should be underpinned by sports diversification, particularly in schools where the majority of pupils and students are Africans. The governmental departments of sports should dedicate resources to training, in various sports codes, trainers and coaches who will be placed in schools on a full-time basis to train pupils in different sporting codes.

6. GENDER AND SEXUALITY QUESTION:

105. The EFF is against the oppression of anyone based on their gender, gender expression, or sexual orientation, meaning that we are against patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia in all of its manifestations. We are also against tribalism and religious and cultural intolerance. We oppose any cultural or religious practices that promote the oppression of anyone, especially groups that have been historically oppressed by such practices.
106. The EFF would strive to realise women's liberation, through a variety of interventions, from education against patriarchy and sexism, to legislation and the close monitoring of the implementation of the same in order to realise women's empowerment in society, the family and the workplace. The EFF believes that gender-based violence and related antisocial activities are reinforced and even sustained by the deplorable

conditions of our people, therefore a key to female emancipation is the emancipation of all. The EFF will emphasise transforming the lives of our people in the ghettos from one of generalised structural violence as a mechanism to end all violence, including violence against women.

7. IMMIGRATION QUESTION:

107. The EFF will take up the struggles of all immigrants (most of whom are economic migrants and asylum seekers) in South Africa, whether they are in the country legally or illegally. The manner in which immigrants from Africa are treated by the police, government and our communities is less than desirable. Many of these immigrants are denied medical care, are discriminated against even by the police, are refused basic human services, and are even refused burial rights in our cemeteries.
108. How sub-human can we ever be when we even deny our African brothers and sisters burial rights in South Africa, because transporting their loved ones back to their countries is too expensive? We need to take a firm stance on the protection of the rights of immigrants. Certain basic rights cannot be denied to any human being who is in South Africa, whether they are in possession of certain documents or not.
109. Basic rights that should be guaranteed include access to health, access to education for children, protection from super-exploitation by employers, and access to burial rights in South Africa. The processes of applying for naturalisation should also not be complicated because, all over the world, it is generally accepted that people will migrate and can choose to stay in the country in which they are residing for economic, social, and political reasons. It cannot be correct that South Africa criminalises those who seek naturalisation.

8. MONETARY AND FISCAL QUESTION:

110. Monetary policies should therefore be aligned to the objectives of building a labour-absorptive industrial economy. The strength of the South African currency and inflation rates should be aligned

with the 7 cardinal pillars of economic freedom in our lifetime, particularly the feature of local beneficiation and industrialisation of raw materials. This is important to highlight because the discussion about the strength of the currency and discussions about inflation targeting are somewhat linked to the dominant sectors of the South African economy.

9. ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT:

111. Stabilisation of energy sources, in particular the supply of electricity, is important for an economic-development strategy that will include the development of more industries. While the South African state should intensify the efforts currently in place for sustainable, consistent energy provision, other means of energy generation should be explored. This includes further research on how energy derived from uranium can be safely transferred into sustainable, environmentally friendly electricity for industrial development, public purposes and use by households.
112. The principle on energy is that green energy sources should be pursued and the state should heavily invest in green energy corporations, which will explore, manufacture and install green energy alternatives in the whole of South Africa.

10. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

113. The EFF will advocate for and implement programmes that seek to use science and technology as contributors to sustainable livelihoods. The dissemination of information, education and democratic participation should be enhanced and harnessed through technological developments and capacity.
114. The EFF will advocate for and implement the construction of a High Technological Institute, which will teach young South Africans innovation and research on technology with the aim of innovating technological instruments and gadgets in South Africa.

115. The industrial policy on science and technology should speak to heavily supporting, promoting and protecting technological innovations that are made in South Africa. Before these innovations are developed, South Africa should attract technological and electronic-gadget manufacturers to manufacture their goods and services in South Africa in order to transfer skills and expertise.
116. Government and the private sector should channel funds to investments in broadband infrastructure in order to increase internet, radio and television interconnectivity that will enhance access to useful information and data needed for intellectual, social, political and economic development.

11. ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCE.

117. The manner in which South Africa finances and provides support to small and medium-sized enterprises, most of which have the potential to grow, is not adequate. The EFF will develop a model that will provide sustainable enterprise finance and development without requiring sureties from previously disadvantaged individuals and youth, who do not own anything as surety, but have workable and bright ideas and innovations that can make business sense.
118. Providing enterprise finance is inherently risky, but the state cannot operate in the same way in which private banks operate. The state should always know that, in the process of giving enterprise finance and support, it might win or lose, but such support cannot be curtailed by demanding sureties, which an absolute majority of entrepreneurs do not have.
119. Instead of demanding sureties from previously disadvantaged and youth entrepreneurs, development finance institutions should allocate each funded business an accountant who will authorise or decline procurement for the infant enterprise, with a set of rules in order to avoid unjustifiable wastage of development finances. There are currently many graduates who are unemployed owing to not completing their accounting degrees or being underemployed by banks who can be redirected to support such enterprises. This will give rise to genuine youth

entrepreneurship and innovation without undue worries about enterprise finance.

120. Street Hawkers should be allocated trading infrastructure in all Cities by Municipalities. Police harassments and dispossession of the goods traded by Hawkers should be illegalised, as these are people who sustain their lives through selling basic goods and services.

12. ONE CITY AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE CAPITAL OF SOUTH AFRICA:

121. South Africa's current system of having the legislative capital (with the national parliament) in Cape Town and the administrative capital in Tshwane is wasteful of time and resources, which could be used for developmental purposes. The EFF pursues a position that both the legislative and administrative capital should be in one city, which should be Tshwane, because of its accessibility. Public representatives will, in this one capital, have adequate time to address issues of their responsibility, not having to travel almost every day.

13. TRANSFORMATION OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL-SERVICES SYSTEM

122. South Africa needs to transform the criminal justice system to be more accessible and also representative of South African demographics. Access to high courts and all other courts should not be the privilege of those with money. Economic justice courts should also be established to adjudicate over civil matters involving individuals and corporations in order to acquire maximum justice for those who are not treated lawfully by corporations. Private corporations that fix prices and collude should be banned from operating in South Africa and their directors should be prosecuted for doing so.
123. The correctional services system should also be corrective, not punitive. The levels of re-arrests in South Africa are very high, because the country's correctional services system is not corrective. The correctional services system should be

transformed to include compulsory education and skilling for all prisoners. This should be followed by scrapping the criminal record statuses of ex-convicts who were convicted of certain schedules of crime, depending on the seriousness of the crimes committed.

14. RELATIONSHIP TO THE SECURITY FORCES:

124. Because the policies the Economic Freedom Fighters advocate for are radical economic policy positions, which might cause imperialist backlash, we need to build strategic and working relationships with the cohesive components of the state, particularly the military and the police. We should, through our engagement, inculcate a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the country and the people of South Africa, not loyalty to politicians and political offices. There are many issues that South Africa's security forces are confronted with, which require the attention of the EFF. Soldiers and the police are not our enemy, our enemy is white monopoly capital and their political co-optees.

WHO STANDS TO BENEFIT?

125. The working class, South Africans who do not own the means of production, the dejected masses, the homeless, hopeless youth, the rural and urban poor, the informal settlement dwellers, the unemployed and underemployed population, the discriminated and undermined professionals of all races, constitute the core component of those Economic Freedom Fighters seek to emancipate from economic and social subjugation and oppression. EFF characterisation of South Africa is that it is racialised capitalism, which historically and currently placing the black majority, and Africans in particular at the lower end of society.
126. South Africa is not two nations; it is one capitalist country whose racialised capitalism places certain racial groupings at certain points of production within the capitalist system. Within basic common sense, revealed in Marxist-Leninist characterisation of the State and capitalist class divisions, a capitalist economy like

South Africa's is inevitably dependent on exploitation of poor labourers whose survival is dependent on selling their labour to capitalists. By design, a capitalist system will inherently have inequalities and divisions that come as a result of labour exploitation. Whilst acting neutral, the State will be nothing but an expression of the interest of the dominant or ruling class (Lenin, 1917). It is therefore double-vision to see the single unequal South African economy as two systems.

127. Racial legislations were enacted to harness and enhance capitalist exploitation on the non-white population under colonial and apartheid domination, and the post 1994 government only abolished the legislations, but has not abolished the massive inequalities created by these legislations and discriminatory practices of the past. Because of lack of a clear political determination to break the neoliberal, neoliberal development path, it is correct to say that the inequalities, poverty and unemployment in South Africa are not simply inherited from apartheid, but being reproduced from apartheid by the post 1994 government.
128. In general, the rest of South Africa, Africa and the world stands to benefit because the success of the struggle for economic freedom will result in an industrially developed South Africa with massive technological and science capabilities to resolve many world problems. The struggle for economic freedom will culminate in a South Africa that is playing a progressive role in the development and upliftment of economically oppressed territories in the African continent and the world.

1. THE AFRICAN WORKING CLASS.

129. Due to their location in society and history, the African working class constitute the core of those Economic Freedom Fighters seek to emancipate from economic subjugation and oppression. The African working class suffered and continue to suffer excessive levels of oppression and exploitation as Mineworkers, Farm workers, underpaid Domestic workers, Petrol Attendants, Private Security Guards, and constitute the large pool of reserve labourers as they are unemployment. Unemployment amongst the

African working class is biggest as compared to other components of the working class.

130. The employed professionals amongst the working class are separated from absolute poverty through constant salaries and often encountered with discriminatory practices in their workplaces. They stand to objectively benefit from the struggle for economic freedom because they will have better access to mortgage and vehicle finances under a financial system that is progressive and takes note of the redress obligation. The professionals and small scale entrepreneurs also stand to objectively benefit because economic freedom struggle will guarantee them access to workable development finance and enterprise support, which will not be based on Sureties, which they do not have
131. It therefore becomes the primary role of the EFF to organise the both the unemployed and employed working class, those who do not own the means of production, into mainstream political and class organisation of the Economic Freedom Fighters. In this context, the African working class constitute the core of the motive forces (forces that drive revolutionary motion) for radical change, because they stand to benefit from the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime.

2. THE COLOURED WORKING CLASS.

132. The Coloured working class has often and recurrently been treated with disdain and isolation under apartheid repression and by the post 1994 government. The Coloured working class is often and recurrently treated as voting fodder by all the existing political parties. The only prominent moments where the post 1994 government in all provinces, including the Western Cape deal with the Coloured community is when they are dealing with the drug, alcohol and gang problems. EFF should mobilise the Coloured working class as a core of the revolutionary motive forces that should drive change for economic freedom in our lifetime.
133. The EFF's approach to the Coloured question should be that all the affirmative action legislations that apply to the African

majority should apply to the Coloured population. EFF should also take up practical revolutionary programme that seek to guarantee adequate fishing rights of the Coloured population in areas where they do fishing, particularly in the Western Cape. Large Cooperatives and private fishing corporations around the Coloured community should be organised and financed to help with real integration in the fishing economy.

134. Certain practices that the Coloured population is subjected to in the Wine farms, such as payment through alcohol, should be abolished. The Wine farms in the Cape should be expropriated and redistributed to the Farm workers who will directly benefit from large scale Wine production and trade in a manner that will have sustainable financial rewards to the Farm workers.

3. THE INDIAN/ASIAN WORKING CLASS.

135. The Indian/Asian working class is largely constituted of peasant traders who own small shops and medium shops and enterprises. Their oppression and exploitation is relatively not at the same level as the oppression and exploitation of the African and Coloured working class in South Africa. The question of their inclusion on the affirmative action and empowerment legislations is one that needs thorough reflection and consideration with the view of establishing whether as a group, the Indian population should continue to be classified as a historically disadvantaged population and group.
136. Statistically, the extent of economic exclusion and unemployment amongst the Indian population is far lower than that of the African and Coloured population. There should be conscious mobilisation of the Indian/Asian working class in the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime, which will guarantee this important sector of South Africa access to opportunities and constituencies that they should interact with for sustainable trade.

4. THE WHITE WORKING CLASS.

137. The white working class is quantitatively minimal in South Africa, and they do not face the harsh realities of colonial and

apartheid exclusion and economic subjugation that define all other sectors of the South African population. Those who do not own land and the means of production within the white population should be made aware that they also stand to objectively benefit from the success of the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime. The struggle for economic freedom is not a struggle against white people, but a struggle for the emancipation of the working class and for equal benefit of those who are not benefiting from the current economic realities.

CONCLUSION

138. THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR (ECONOMIC) LIBERTY. It is through implementation of the 7 cardinal pillars that the South African economy will be effectively transformed in a manner that will uplift the living conditions of the majority of our people. The whole of society should be mobilised behind these pillars and be assured that victory is certain. The wind for political liberation in Africa blew from north to south, and the wind for economic emancipation should now blow from the south to the north. This wind should gain momentum in our lifetime and South Africa must be an inspiration to many other African countries to reclaim their wealth and economies from colonial and neo-colonial masters. We are the generation of Economic Freedom Fighters and our mission is attainment of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime.

EFF ELECTION MANIFESTO: – NOW IS THE TIME FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM!

PREFACE BY ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS' PRESIDENT JULIUS MALEMA:

THE YEAR 2014 IS A CRUCIAL YEAR in the history of South Africa. It is crucial because it marks exactly 20 years since the first democratic election, which ended centuries of colonial rule and apartheid subjugation of the black majority. It is also a crucial year because the dawn of political freedom came with so many promises But 20 years later; the conditions of majority of the people are just getting worse.

South Africa is supposed to be celebrating 20 years of democracy and true freedom, but the reality is that

1. 20 years later, black people are still not free!
2. 20 years later, black people are still trapped in squalor, unsafe and unhealthy conditions!
3. 20 years later, the black majority is still trapped in landlessness, homelessness and hopelessness!
4. 20 years later, young and old black workers are still subjected to slave wages and dangerous working conditions in the mines, farms, factories, retail stores, and other workplaces!
5. 20 years later, domestic workers and farm workers still work under difficult conditions without basic workers' rights!
6. 20 years later, black people battle to survive financially, trapped by debt and often blacklisted by Credit bureaux!
7. 20 years later, black women still suffer triple oppression and exploitation on the basis of their gender, race and class!
8. 20 years later, we still have communities across the country without basic services such as water, sanitation and healthcare

facilities!

9. 20 years later, the people of Mothutlung in the North West, Giyani in Limpopo and all over South Africa still do not have water!
10. 20 years later, black communities in many provinces are expected to be satisfied with open toilets and no running water!
11. 20 years later, the quality of our education system is deteriorating!
12. 20 years later, the fishing community in the Coastal Provinces are still denied access to fishing rights!
13. 20 years later, black professionals in all spheres of work, the accountants, auditors, doctors, academics, lawyers, engineers, professionals in the ICT sector and many other professions are still subjected to racial discrimination and unequal treatment!
14. 20 years later, the police still kill people! They killed them in Marikana, Mothutlung, Ficksburg, Relela and all over South Africa!
15. 20 years, civil servants, particularly teachers, nurses and police are treated with disrespect and paid low salaries!
16. 20 years later, our armed forces, particularly the army are not paid adequate salaries, not given the respect they deserve, and are sent to fight illegal wars!
17. 20 years later, military veterans, particularly from former liberation movement are still neglected.
18. 20 years later, the majority of poor black children are financially excluded from institutions of higher learning!
19. 20 years later, women and children are still subjected to violent crimes, particularly rape!
20. 20 years, the conditions of people with disabilities have not been improved!
21. 20 years later, the land question has not been addressed and our land still does not yet belong to all who live on it
22. 20 years later, black people still do not have their dignity!

It is therefore upon us as Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) to offer and deliver hope and inspiration to the people of South Africa, the continent and

beyond. EFF is an organisation and movement for all the people of South Africa. It is an organisation for and of the people.

EFF understands that as a movement dedicated to positively changing the conditions of our people; we need to do the following:

- a) Secure mass support in all corners of South Africa.
- b) Win political power through mobilising and organising all the people of South Africa to vote for EFF.
- c) Control the State through electoral politics in order to transform it for the benefit of all people.
- d) Gain control of the economy in order to transform it to benefit all South Africans.

Since our recent formation as an economic emancipation movement, we have been able to win mass support across all spectrums of South African society. It is now upon us to convert this mass support into actual votes in the upcoming elections, in order to win political power.

In order to do this, the EFF needs to present its commitments to the people of South Africa, through its Election Manifesto. The EFF Election Manifesto, unlike others, does not present promises; it offers commitments that will be implemented.

Central to our programme is a struggle for democratic ownership and control of the key means of production by the people. Our programme is socialist. As a Marxist-Leninist Fanonian organisation, we believe that it is only through a socialist transformation programme, that we will end the suffering of our people. Key components of this socialist programme are contained in our Election Manifesto.

When we make commitments to fight for minimum wages for all, we as EFF will use our organisational and mobilisation capacity to deliver on all our commitments. The Election Manifesto of the EFF is our programme of action for the next 5 years. When in government, the EFF will mobilise the whole society to play a meaningful role in transforming South Africa for the betterment of all. Employment into senior positions of the EFF government will not be based on whether a person is a member of EFF or not, but will

be based on their educational and skills capacity to play a meaningful role in our society

This Manifesto is a practical and implementable programme, which will shape and define the EFF government. There will be individuals, trapped by narrow neo-liberal thinking who will claim that only capitalism works. Yet it is evident that capitalism has failed to deliver to our people. The Manifesto represents the aspirations of the working class and the poor, and provides an alternative vision and is a solution for true transformation in South Africa.

The EFF Election Manifesto is inspired by our Founding Manifesto adopted in our first National Assembly. It is the product of deep consultation with the people of South Africa. All Fighters, Commissars, Organisers, Volunteers and Supporters should ensure that each and every voter in South Africa is familiar with the contents and meaning of this Election Manifesto. The EFF Election Manifesto takes account of the reality that there is enough wealth for everyone in South Africa. Currently this wealth is spread in a deeply unequal manner, due to prejudicial historical circumstances. Those who currently own the lion's share of South Africa's wealth acquired it illegally through colonial wars of dispossession and violent defeat of the majority of South Africa's people.

EFF plans to use political power to realise economic justice and such can only happen through maximum implementation of this Manifesto. South Africa, we present to you the Manifesto of the Economic Freedom Fighters for the 2014 General Elections. **Now is the time for economic freedom!**

Julius Malema, EFF Commander in Chief and President.

BACKGROUND:

In 1963, a Great African-American, Martin Luther-King Jnr gave a speech in front of 250 000 Civil Rights Activists as part of the campaign against racial segregation in the United States. While the context of the speech was specific to this time in history, the message resonated across all parts of the oppressed world. It is a message that continues to speak to the aspirations of oppressed people the world over.

In that speech, Martin Luther King said,

“This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. **Now is the time** to make real the promises of democracy. **Now is the time** to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. **Now is the time** to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children” (King, 1963).

Inspired by this notion, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) affirms that indeed this is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilising drug of gradualism... **Now is the time** for economic freedom. **Now is the time** to make real the promises of democracy. **Now is the time** to rescue South Africa from deep levels of inequality, poverty, starvation, unemployment and under-employment. **Now is the time** to share equally in South Africa’s wealth. **Now is the time** to be counted in the world as an industrial nation with developed productive forces. **Now is the time** to bury corruption and methods of self-enrichment employed by the political elite. **Now is the time for economic freedom!**

We therefore present to the people of South Africa, Africa, and the world, the Economic Freedom Fighters’ vision, programme and commitments for the year 2014 to 2019. These are authentic commitments and programmes, not a patchwork of empty promises and superficial reforms!

INTRODUCTION

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) Manifesto is a perspective that contains practical and implementable commitments and a programme of action which will lead to the economic emancipation of the people of South Africa. The Manifesto draws its inspiration from the historic Founding Conference of the EFF, the National Assembly on *what is to be done* in Soweto, which mandated revolutionary Activists, Fighters, Commissars and Organisers to fight the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime.

The most important aspect about the EFF Manifesto is that it gives practical programmes, commitments, and actions on what is to be done by the EFF government when it takes political power in the 2014 General Elections. The EFF contests elections in order to win political power then

will use the political power to control and transform the State, and then revolutionise the economy for the benefit of all South Africans. It is our firm belief and conviction that economic freedom will be attained through implementation of 7 cardinal pillars, which are:

- 1) Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in and use.
- 2) Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy, without compensation.
- 3) Building state and government capacity, which will lead to the abolition of tenders.
- 4) Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
- 5) 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 all people in the workplace.
- 6) Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice on the entire continent.
- 7) Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

SECTION 1:

Where Are We As South Africa In 2014? 27 Problems:

South Africa is trapped in a society with massive economic and social inequalities, high levels of unemployment, poverty, and importantly **under-employment** of a large section of the economically active population. The post 1994 government has failed in virtually all its commitments and has chosen to shift the goal posts from 2014 to 2030 through a neo-liberal and impractical National Development Plan Vision 2030. As we stand in 2014, the following are concrete realities:

1. Land still belongs to those who owned it before 1994, and the promise and intent to achieve 30% land redistribution by 2014 has not been achieved, instead a mere 7% of land was bought by government for redistribution purposes

2. Evictions on farms, forcible removals of people from mineral rich communal areas and in inner cities continue unabated.
3. The extraction of mineral resources beneath South Africa's soil continues to leave devastating consequences, desperately poor mining communities, underpaid mineworkers, a permanently damaged environment, while billions in profit benefit a handful of corporations
4. Poverty is still rampant, and clearly the intention and goal to halve poverty by 2014 has not been achieved, and is not in sight for the foreseeable future.
5. Inequality remains rampant with white households still earn on average 6 times more than black households 20 years after democracy.
6. The post 1994 government has not managed to bring the crisis levels of unemployment below 20% since 1994, even in instances where marginal levels of economic growth were realised. In 2014, more than 7 million capable and ready to work South Africans are unemployed.
7. Majority of those employed have not noticed real increases in wages, and more than 50% of workers are paid less than R2800 per month.
8. The promise to create sustainable jobs and livelihoods for all has not been met by those governing South Africa on behalf of capitalist interests.
9. The share of labour absorptive sectors in the overall South African economy is declining, particularly in agriculture and manufacturing.
10. South Africa continues to import virtually all consumer goods and services, including clothes, electronic gadgets, furniture, food and its implements, machinery, toys, and many other commodity goods.
11. Education progress and success still reflect the apartheid patterns, with the most successful schools being white schools. Under this, 93% of schools in South Africa have no libraries; 88% have no laboratories; 81% have no computers; 16% have no electricity; 61% have no arrangement for disposal of sewage.

12. Adult illiteracy has not been addressed by the post 1994 government, and remains a glaring challenge.
13. Despite the numbers of students who graduate at Senior Certificate level, the South African post-1994 government has not massively invested in the expansion of the post-secondary training and education capacity.
14. The success rate of black, particularly African students in institutions of Higher Learning is devastatingly low, with as many as 60% of African students dropping out due to lack of support and financial difficulties.
15. Millions of South Africans still live in shacks and informal settlements with no access to basic services such as clean water, sanitation, electricity, healthcare, and education facilities.
16. There is still no National Health Insurance despite the commitment to implement it within the five years from 2009.
17. Many villages and settlements still do not have access to clinics and basic healthcare facilities. Where there are clinics, they close at night, denying people access to healthcare when they need it most.
18. The number of healthcare practitioners, particularly doctors is very low relative to the population size of South Africa.
19. Rural areas are trapped in the same dire conditions that they were in before 1994, with no introduction of real economic activities and programmes for rural communities.
20. South Africa is food insecure. South Africa imports more food than it exports, which effectively mean that with the food produced in South Africa only, the nation cannot feed itself.
21. A recently published Human Sciences Research Council Report shows that only “45.6% of the population were food secure, 28.3% were at risk of hunger and 26.0% experienced hunger (were food insecure). The largest percentage of participants who experienced hunger (food insecurity) was in urban informal (32.4%) and in rural formal (37.0%) localities” (HSRC, 2013).
22. Professionals such as doctors, chartered accountants, auditors, engineers, lawyers, professionals in the ICT sector, and even

government bureaucrats continue to suffer discrimination on the basis of race, gender, and origin.

23. The South African state is incapable of fulfilling and implementing even the most basic of service delivery aspects and instead relies on Tenders and Contracts, which are often corruptly awarded to incapable and colluding contractors who charge the state higher fees than is required and warranted.
24. The townships and squatter camps remain violent and riddled by drugs and hopelessness of the youth, which exacerbates gender-based violence.
25. Students are excluded from institutions of higher learning for financial reasons.
26. The apartheid spatial planning which underdeveloped the settlements of black people, particularly townships and rural villages, are still largely reflected in South African society.
27. The social grants given to older people and children do not receive necessary increases in response to inflation, meaning that in real terms, the grants value decrease year after year.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THESE REALITIES?

1. None of the existing political parties have met their Manifesto promises since 1994, and the ruling political party has chosen to shift the goal posts, while continuing to use the same strategy that failed them in the past 20 years.
2. None of the existing political parties is proposing a radical economic transformation model which will change South Africa's economy for the benefit of all South Africans.
3. None of the existing political parties is willing to develop a programme to ensure that South Africa's natural resources are used for the benefit of all.
4. The current state is nothing than a committee for the management of the common affairs of the bourgeoisie, because Capital (the means of production such as land, Mines, banks, huge factories and retail stores) remains in private hands.
5. All political parties limit their diagnosis of South Africa's problems to poverty, unemployment and inequalities, while ignoring the reality that South Africa has a massive and urgent problem of

under-employment, meaning that those employed are not properly remunerated and constitute a mass of the working poor, subjected to unscrupulous micro-lenders and illegal aMashonisa in their workplaces and communities.

6. All political parties ignore the structural causes of poverty and unemployment which is the highly monopolised economy especially in mining, agriculture and banking which is draining the country of its natural, mineral and financial resources, creating wealth and jobs in North America, Europe, Japan and China instead of in South Africa.

SECTION 2:

Context Of Commitments And Programmes Of Eff Government:

Our vision and mission are contained in these 7 cardinal pillars for economic freedom in our lifetime, which is a generational mission. The 7 cardinal pillars are a revolutionary programme which will transform the South African society and economy for the benefit of all. Our 7 cardinal pillars recognise that as government, the EFF should separate and coherently address 7 broad categories that speak to a clear programme on how we will make South Africa a better and winning nation:

- a. Economic Emancipation for rapid economic and industrial development.**
- b. Provision of quality social welfare services.**
- c. Radical transformation of the state into a people's driven state and governance.**
- d. Sectoral commitment derived from the EFF Manifesto Consultation process.**
- e. How is the EFF Government going to realise these objectives?**
- f. Financing the EFF Government Manifesto.**
- g. International Relations, Cooperation and Solidarity.**

It is important to isolate these seven aspects, with concrete commitments and programmes underpinning each of these, because confusing and mixing them leaves a void on what needs to be done in other sectors. This does not mean that there is no interrelationship between the economic, social welfare and governance aspects of our society. It means that concrete objectives and

aims should be set in each of these areas, so that the EFF government is assessed as per these commitments.

This separation is important because all the currently developed nations pursued development through massive protected industrialisation and since the rise and global triumph of neo-liberalism; development is typically reduced to social welfare aspects. The EFF's approach to this the political struggle is concurrent radical pursuit of sustainable industrial economic development and social welfare development, while getting the governance issues right. Pursuit of social welfare cannot and should not be separated from industrial economic development, and that is what distinguishes EFF from all the Political formations in South Africa.

SECTION 3:

Economic Emancipation For Rapid Economic And Industrial Development.

Massive Labour-Absorptive Sustainable Industrial Development:

1. The EFF Government will ensure and lead massive and protected sustainable industrial development and diversification to create millions of decent jobs between 2014 and 2019. This will happen through state-led industrialisation, industrial diversification, protection of infant and existing industries through subsidies, increase of tariffs, and State aided marketing and promotion of South African products internally, across the Continent and worldwide, with a focus on key, progressive and most beneficial trading partners.
2. The EFF Government will ensure that a minimum of 50% of all South Africa's mineral resources are locally beneficiated and industrialised.
3. The EFF Government will ensure massive production of all food for local consumption to be produced and processed in South Africa. This will happen through intensification of small scale farming and agriculture, and strategic support given to all small scale agriculture including on provision of Trade routes. All food traders in South Africa will be

compelled by law to buy South African food products and support efforts that produce these food products.

4. The EFF Government will build a sustainable food economic chain which will supply food items to other parts of the world, particularly in Africa, China, Latin and India. This will lead to the creation of millions of jobs across the entire food chain.
5. The EFF Government will help communities in the Coastal areas to start Agro-fishing businesses and cooperatives, which will be their main source of income and livelihoods.
6. The EFF Government will grant Fishing rights to the Fishing communities in the Coastal areas and provide them with strategic support to ensure that fishing becomes a sustainable economic activity.
7. The EFF Government will ensure that all products and good that contribute to State construction projects should be locally produced, unless in exceptional cases where there is practically no capacity to produce locally.
8. The EFF Government will ensure the development, protection, and **localisation** of industries which produce basic and daily use goods and services through Import Substitution Mechanisms. These include:
 - a. Glass, Cups, Plates, Spoons, *etc.*
 - b. Tiles and Building Materials.
 - c. Furniture, light-bulbs and Decorations.
 - d. Solar water geysers.
 - e. Washing products and soaps.
 - f. Electronics.
 - g. Textile industry, including clothes and shoes.
9. The EFF Government will support Small and Medium Enterprises to play an active role in the economy by building and supporting 1 million enterprises between 2014 and 2019 which employ a minimum of 5 people each. This will necessarily require a State Owned Bank whose mission will be provision of developmental finance and support mechanisms.
10. The EFF Government will ensure that Small and Medium Enterprises will be given strategic support and legislation passed to

ensure that key industrial inputs and services to big corporations and companies are provided for by SMMEs.

11. The EFF Government will protect the rights of street hawkers to trade in a safe and clean environment in all the cities of South Africa without fear of police harassment.

Minimum Wages And The Banning Of Labour Brokers:

1. The EFF government will implement a minimum wage of R4500 across the board for all full-time workers.
2. The EFF Government will pass legislation to ensure that employment in the following sectors is permanent and protected by the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) and increase of minimum wages in all sectors, which will take the following format:
 - a. Mineworkers: R12 500 per month.
 - b. Farm workers: R5000 per month.
 - c. Manufacturing workers: R6500.
 - d. Retail Workers (Cashiers and Retail Store Assistants): R5000.
 - e. Builders: R7000.
 - f. Petrol Attendants: R5000g. Cleaners: R4500h. Domestic Workers: R4500i. Private Security Guards: R7500.
 - g. Full time Waiters and Waitresses: R4500.
3. The EFF Government will abolish all contract work and labour brokers, and pass legislation that all work should be official and formal. We will regulate retrenchments by compelling companies to continue paying workers' salaries for 6 months post retrenchment.
4. The EFF Government will ensure there is equal pay for equal work, irrespective of gender, race, class and place of origin.
5. The EFF Government will ensure that all workers enjoy the same rights as set out in labour law irrespective of their immigration status. This will ensure the unity of working class and combat xenophobia.

Sustainable Energy And Water:

1. The EFF Government will invest heavily in green energy sources, including windmills, solar water heaters and all forms of solar energy with the intention of moving away from coal energy dependency.
2. The EFF Government will ensure that the expansion of South Africa's energy sources and ensuring that all energy needed for South Africa, including fuel is processed in the country.
3. The EFF Government will subsidise electricity for industrial and household usage to ensure that electricity costs 50% less than the current costs by 2019.
4. The EFF Government will ensure that all homes shall have 200 units free basic electricity
5. The EFF Government will scrap the BHP Billiton unethical deal that gives away up to 11% of the national energy to a foreign multinational at below cost whilst the poor are made to pay more.
6. The EFF Government will ensure water sustainability for daily and industrial usage through building of dams and huge water projects which will sustainably supply South Africa.
7. The EFF Government will ensure that all communities have access to quality, sustainable water.
8. The EFF Government will continue with the expansion of the Lesotho Water Highlands Project to supply water to most parts of South Africa, but also ensure that the people of Lesotho benefit from the scheme.
9. The EFF Government will develop sustainable and cheaper desalination process to convert sea water to potable water that will be pumped inland and supply all areas that are in need of water.

Black Economic Empowerment And Affirmative Action:

- 1) The EFF Government will radically review black economic empowerment and develop mechanism to limit and ultimately curb

- the recurrent enrichment of few individuals who have benefited from Empowerment Charters.
- 2) The EFF Government will ensure that ownership and control of all businesses in South Africa that are not in the sphere of state control and ownership is reflective of the country's demographics.
 - 3) The EFF Government will pursue and ensure maximum compliance to affirmative action laws to prioritise the employment of people with disabilities, black women, black people and women of all races in order to end the white male domination in the economy.
 - 4) The EFF Government will abolish incentives that pay white companies for complying with affirmative action.

SECTION 4:

Provision Of Quality Social Transformation, Development And Welfare Services.

A South Africa bedevilled by crisis levels of poverty and access to basic services, needs an urgent programme to deliver quality and sustainable services. EFF's approach to delivery of basic services to the people is that it should be labour-absorptive, and should produce quality products, goods and services. The social welfare services which the EFF Government will qualitatively provide are the following:

- 1) Quality and Extensive Education and Training
- 2) Quality Healthcare.
- 3) Research & Development and Science and technology Innovation.
- 4) Quality Housing and Sanitation.
- 5) Safety and Security.
- 6) Transformation of the criminal justice system.
- 7) Transformation of the correctional services system.
- 8) Youth Development.
- 9) Gender equality and women emancipation.
- 10) Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersexual (LGBTI).
- 11) Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation.
- 12) Quality Roads, Transport and Infrastructure.
- 13) Social Grants.
- 14) Social Cohesion.
- 15) Rural Development.

Education And Training:

- 1) The EFF Government will provide free quality education for the poor from early childhood development to the attainment of post-secondary qualification, and it will put in place mechanisms to encourage students to attain post-graduate degrees and qualifications.
- 2) The EFF Government will embark on a programme of providing libraries, internet, laboratories and computer labs, particularly to rural schools.
- 3) The EFF Government will impose an education tax on all corporations which will be the source of funding for the education and training of all South Africans.
- 4) The EFF Government will heavily invest in the development and expansion of post-secondary training and education capacity to absorb all students who come from the secondary education system. This means expansion of the existing universities and FET Colleges, and building more universities and FET Colleges.
- 5) The EFF government will ensure that the number of first year students accepted in institutions of higher learning increases by 100% in the period 2014 to 2019, and mechanisms to ensure high pass rates be put in place to ensure their success.
- 6) The EFF Government will introduce a scholarship which will take a minimum of 15 000 students (5000 of which will be medical practitioners) to the best universities across the world to attain skills, education and expertise on various fields.
- 7) The EFF Government will assist all students who have faced academic exclusions and ensure that they are redirected to other useful economic activities.
- 8) The EFF Government will cancel the debts of all students who owe institutions of higher learning money for academic purposes.
- 9) The EFF Government will ensure that all education and training is directly linked to community service and industries in order to prepare human beings who will positively and decidedly contribute to the development of our communities and economy.
- 10) The EFF shall investigate the introduction of the best and cost effective devices (tablets and laptops) to all learners to address textbooks shortage and access to the modern telecommunications.

- 11) The EFF Government will introduce history as a compulsory subject to instil adequate consciousness.
- 12) The EFF Government will ensure that there is universal provision of Early Childhood Development (ECD) programmes and make it compulsory for children of age 3 years and above to be part of the ECD.
- 13) The EFF Government will ensure that there is no child who learns under a tree rather than a classroom within five years.
- 14) The EFF Government will ensure that all learners have access to education with proper textbooks and learning and teaching support materials.
- 15) The EFF Government will intensify training of teachers and re-open teachers colleges with high level capacity to train and re-train all teachers.
- 16) The EFF Government will massively scale up adult literacy campaign to ensure that literary rate is 98% by 2019.
- 17) The EFF Government will improve the remuneration and working conditions of academics and encourage them to continue with teaching and research, and not take up administrative posts in both private and public institutions.
- 18) The EFF Government will lead the transformation of professional bodies for Chartered Accountants, Engineers, Architects and all professions to uphold the need for speedier transformation which will result in more previously disadvantaged individuals being accredited professionals.

Healthcare:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that massive training of Professional and Community Healthcare Practitioners is a priority in this sector.
- 2) The EFF Government will build a State Pharmaceutical Company to produce medicines and distribute them to hospitals and clinics.
- 3) The EFF Government will build a state owned healthcare equipment company to build healthcare equipments.
- 4) The EFF Government will produce essential generic medicines without regard to Intellectual Property Rights regimes.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that healthcare facilities are available to all communities through Clinics, Hospitals and Community based healthcare workers.

- 6) The EFF Government will send a minimum of 5000 young South Africans per annum to train as doctors in the best universities across the world.
- 7) The EFF Government will ensure that hospital and healthcare institutions are run by medical practitioners with adequate administrative experience.
- 8) The EFF Government will expedite the implementation of National Health Insurance.
- 9) The EFF Government will produce and distribute free sanitary towels to poor women.
- 10) The EFF Government will ensure that there is always adequate medicines and treatment in all hospitals.
- 11) The EFF Government will ensure that hospital care is not determined by provincial boundaries and that all patients should be treated in hospitals they attend.
- 12) The EFF Government will ensure that traditional healers are incorporated into the healthcare system.
- 13) The EFF Government will work towards realising a 0% HIV infection rate in South Africa.
- 14) The EFF Government will reopen nursing colleges.

Housing And Sanitation:

- 1) The EFF Government will provide quality, spacious houses to all the people, which will be within sustainable human settlements with basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, schools, sports and recreation grounds and parks.
- 2) The EFF Government will subsidise housing finance for middle income earners, and pass laws which will lead to reduction of 20 to 30 years housing loans to a maximum of 10 years.
- 3) The EFF will make it illegal for banks to repossess houses from people who have paid 50% of the bonds, and are unable to continue paying the bond due to socio-economic circumstances.
- 4) The EFF Government will make it illegal to use houses as surety for any loans from financial institutions.
- 5) The EFF Government will provide quality sanitation for all, and ensure that all households have access to decent toilets.

- 6) The EFF Government will abolish the bucket system as a form of sanitation within 5 years from 2014 to 2019.

Research & Development And Science And Technology:

- 1) The EFF Government will heavily invest in Research & Development and heavily invest in and subsidise technological and scientific innovations and discoveries.
- 2) The EFF Government will support and subsidise technological innovation which will lead to the development and manufacturing of a South African Automobile (Car), Computer, Tablet, Phone and other means of world class technological innovations.
- 3) The EFF Government will build a specified Technology University or Institute whose primary focus will be technological innovation.
- 4) The EFF Government will use existing capacity to provide high speed and quality broadband to all schools and all institutions of higher learning in South Africa.

Safety And Security:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that our communities are safe by increasing police visibility and making the criminal justice system more efficient.
- 2) The EFF Government will provide permanent jobs to all Police Reservists, and make sure that they are visible in all their communities.
- 3) The EFF Government will guarantee the right of communities to assemble and protest, with no intimidation from the police.
- 4) The EFF Government will completely ban live ammunition during protests.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that all security workers protecting state institutions, facilities, and buildings will be employed by the state with better conditions and wages.
- 6) The EFF Government will strictly regulate the private security industry, and completely disallow foreign ownership of private security companies in South Africa.

Transformation Of The Criminal Justice System:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that the criminal justice system is efficient, and all South African citizens have access to justice.
- 2) The EFF Government will run massive community awareness and education programmes to inform and educate citizens about their rights.
- 3) The EFF Government will ensure that there is never any South African who will be denied access to all Courts, from Magistrate Courts to Constitutional Court, irrespective of their race, gender and economic status.
- 4) The EFF Government will establish specialised courts to deal with public service corruption and maladministration; sexual offences, traffic offences, and improve the courts dealing with domestic and marital matters.

Transformation Of The Correctional Services System:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that the correctional services system is predominantly corrective, not punitive. The levels of re-arrests in South Africa are very high, because the country's correctional services system is not rehabilitative.
- 2) The EFF Government will ensure that the correctional services system is transformed to include compulsory education and skilling for all prisoners. This should be followed by scrapping the criminal record statuses of ex-convicts who were convicted of certain schedules of crime, depending on the seriousness of the crimes committed.
- 3) The EFF Government will ensure that there is purpose and substance to rehabilitation with the intention to properly Re-integrate Ex-Offenders as productive, useful and law abiding citizens.
- 4) EFF Government will ensure that no correctional services facility and programme is run by private corporations and companies.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that, where possible, prisoners should do community work and service.

Youth Development:

- 1) Youth Development cuts across all aspects of the EFF Manifesto, because the jobs the EFF Government will create will primarily benefit the youth.

- 2) The EFF Government will mainstream youth development in all sectors of government, and pursue active programmes to professionalise youth work.
- 3) The EFF Government will pass legislations that will ensure that all government departments and all public institutions employ a minimum of 40% of their workforce from people between the ages of 18 and 35.
- 4) The EFF Government will ensure that all private corporations employ a minimum of 35% of the workforce as people between the ages of 18 and 35.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that all communities have a Youth Information and Advisory Centre which will inform, educate and guide young people on possible career paths and educational opportunities available in South Africa.
- 6) The EFF Government will ensure that a minimum of 40% of all budgets allocated to Government departments at all spheres of government are allocated for the purpose of youth empowerment and upliftment.

Gender Equality And Women Emancipation:

- 1) Women have suffered most from the neo-liberal reality of the past 20 years. The vicious circle of triple oppression has not been broken for black women in particular-who continue to be discriminated against on the basis of race, class and gender. The EFF recognises that while patriarchy and sexism is pervasive in our society, it is black women who suffer the most from gender based violence. To date, the interventions to deal with violence against women have been superficial, halfhearted and based on an incorrect understanding of the root causes of the vulnerability of women.
- 2) The EFF Government will strive to realise the liberation of women, through a variety of interventions, starting with prioritising women when it comes to the benefits of economic emancipation. These interventions will include education against patriarchy and sexism, legislation to protect and promote women's liberation and the close monitoring of the implementation of the same in order to realise genuine and sustainable empowerment of women in society, the family and the workplace.
- 3) The EFF believes that gender-based violence and related anti-social activities are reinforced and even sustained by the deplorable general

conditions of our people. Therefore a key to female emancipation is the emancipation of all. The EFF will emphasise transforming the lives of our people in the poorest of areas from one of generalised structural violence, as a mechanism to end all violence, including violence against women.

- 4) The EFF Government will ensure the following key interventions happen:
 - a. A minimum of 50% women representation in all economic benefit and political participation and managerial and leadership responsibility.
 - b. Gender education and training to be compulsory for all (e.g. school, work, family, church, legislative and executive sectors, civil society).
 - c. Educate the police on gender justice and establish specialised law enforcement units to deal with women related crimes.
 - d. Strengthen education of men on patriarchy, sexism and misogyny.
 - e. Engage custodians of tradition, faith leaders and other cultural practitioners to collectively find means to combat the oppression of women.
- 5) The EFF Government will have a special unit in the police, supported by special legal and social work services to combat the open assault on women. We do this because we recognize our society has reached a state of crisis when it comes to rape and violence against women.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender And Intersexual (Lgbti)

- 1) The EFF Government will protect the Constitutional rights of Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and intersexual (LGBTI) communities and will engage in campaigns to combat homophobia in our communities.

Sports, Arts, Culture And Recreation:

- 1) The EFF recognises that there can be no normal sports in an abnormal society. In modern times sport serves the task of making money and profits. Furthermore, global capitalism has turned sport into the opium of the masses and a process of deepening alienation and selling of products. Sports must be liberated from the clutches of the monied class and be returned to the people.

- 2) The EFF Government is committed to the principle that, the development and participation of sporting codes must not be tailored primarily for commercial success, but must be part of the national reconstruction and mass participation for recreation, building of communities, breaking of racial, gender and class divisions and that sport must contribute to physical health of the nation. To this extent national teams excelling in the Olympics are critically important within a framework of a genuinely transformed society which will be reflected in the composition of the national teams. South Africa is a black majority country; the national teams must reflect this reality. All our young people must be given support within the commitment to mass sport to excel and be appointed to the national team.
- 3) The EFF Government will promote and diversify sports participation in all communities, and ensure that the most common public spaces in our communities and sporting fields for various sporting codes. This should happen through development, training and support of all Sporting coaches in all fields.
- 4) The EFF Government will ensure that the primary responsibility and obligation of sports departments in all spheres of government is training and employment of various sporting coaches who will assist communities and schools in sports excellence.
- 5) The EFF Government will in the first 5 years of government pass legislation to guarantee a minimum of 75% locally produced content in all radio and television stations.
- 6) The EFF Government will introduce local theatres and arts facilities to train and promote local Creative industry.
- 7) The EFF Government will support artists and writers guilds through the provision of a minimum allowances for certified artists for a portion of the year when they are not getting any income from their artistic endeavours.
- 8) The EFF Government will impose strict laws and penalties against all forms of piracy.
- 9) The EFF Government will make sports participation compulsory in all schools.

Quality Roads, Transport And Infrastructure:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure a labour-absorptive construction of quality roads for all communities through employing people in communities to ensure the sustainability of the roads.
- 2) The EFF Government will abolish eTolls and will physically remove them from our roads.
- 3) The EFF Government will subsidize the taxi industry with the intention of reducing taxi fares and improving salaries and working conditions of taxi drivers.
- 4) The EFF Government will expand the railways, buy new trains, and investigate affordable speed trains alongside areas such as Moloto Road between Tshwane and Nkangala region in Mpumalanga, between Soweto and Johannesburg, between Durban and Johannesburg to transport people and many goods that come from the harbour.
- 5) The EFF Government will tar all access roads to all townships and villages in South Africa.
- 6) The EFF Government will ensure that the public transport system is accessible to people with disabilities.
- 7) The EFF Government will invest in the expansion of the aviation industries and airways in order to encourage more passengers to use air transport.

Social Grants:

- 1) Social grants are an important aspect of bringing the poorest of the poor into some level of economic participation, and the EFF government will introduce a system which will link social grants to development.
- 2) The EFF appreciates that social grants are not a permanent solution to the crisis of South Africa's unemployment, poverty and inequalities. However, this does not mean that we should abolish social grants. Instead, we will make social grants more valuable to impact meaningfully in the lives of poor South Africans.
- 3) The EFF Government will create sustainable jobs and open educational and training opportunities for women who receive child support grants, so that child bearing is not seen as a basis to receive social grants.
- 4) Within this framework and commitment, the EFF Government will increase social grants to take the following shape:
 - a. Grant for older persons: Increase from R1300 to R2600 per month.
 - b. Disability grant: Increase from R1200 to R2400 per month.

- c. War veterans grant: Increase from R1220 to R2440 per month.
 - d. Care dependency grant: Increase from R1200 to R2400 per month.
 - e. Foster child grant: Increase from R800 to R1600 per month.
 - f. Child support grant: Increase from R300 to R600 per month.
- 5) The increase of all the social grants is primarily an instrument to boost local economies and address crisis levels of poverty.
 - 6) With creation of millions of jobs, the number of dependents on social grants will gradually decrease, because many people will be receiving sustainable income from the jobs they will occupy.
 - 7) All social grants will be paid through the post office and post bank.
 - 8) The EFF Government will introduce a social grant of R2500 per month for all terminally ill South Africans.
 - 9) The EFF Government will explore and investigate the possibility and practicality of grants for unemployed people and also pay attention to the Basic Income Grant (BIG).

Social Cohesion:

- 1) The EFF Government will be a government of all races, and will not discriminate against any South African on the basis of race and skin colour. All South Africans will be judged by the content of their character and contribution, not by the colour of their skins.
- 2) Social cohesion and unity of all South Africans will be promoted by EFF Government through greater integration of our communities, particularly schools, institutions of higher learning, training facilities and human settlements.
- 3) The EFF Government will criminalise all forms of racism and tribalism and run a programme to enlighten people that we are one people with a common vision and destiny.
- 4) The EFF Government will respect the rights of all regions to exist and cherish the diversity that define South Africa.
- 5) The EFF Government will work with Religious leaders, churches and all religious institutions in the moral regeneration of our society.

Rural Development, Land And Agrarian Reform:

- 1) The EFF Government's ideological, political and programmatic approach to rural development is inspired by the notion that there should be

“Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country”.

- 2) The EFF’s view of rural development is not trapped in the notion that the rurality of rural areas should be left intact, instead, rural areas should begin to partake in real economic activities and programmes, which should be supported and financed by the State.
- 3) The EFF Government custodianship of all land will lead into equal redistribution of all land amongst all people.
- 4) The EFF Government will help small scale agriculture with agricultural implements, bulk irrigation schemes, bulk stock feeding schemes and medication to produce quality agricultural products.
- 5) The EFF Government will revive abandoned factories in the townships and rural areas.
- 6) The EFF Government will help chicken farmers with state owned hatcheries, abattoirs and chicken processing factories which will be at the centre of growing and assisting the production of chicken products.
- 7) The EFF Government will help small agriculture to gain sustainable access to markets through increasing state consumption of food and agricultural products from small scale farmers, compelling food retailers to buy food and agricultural products locally and opening African and world food markets.
- 8) The EFF government shall pass laws to prohibit the production of Genetically Modified Organism (GMOs) specifically maize, the staple diet of the people.
- 9) National campaigns shall be undertaken to educate the nation about the dangers of GMOs.
- 10) Institutions of higher learning shall be required to provide courses in rural development to prepare graduates for national service.
- 11) All rural relations must be guided by the values that drive national reconstruction justice and dignity for all.

Fighting Corruption:

- 1) The EFF Government will increase, harness and enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of governance institutions to avoid all forms of corruption.

- 2) The EFF Government will abolish the usage of private companies in fulfilling functions and duties that government has to fulfil.
- 3) The EFF Government will ban the usage of Consultants and project management units as a basis of delivering government services.
- 4) The EFF Government will build internal capacity to fulfil its own functions and responsibilities, which prevents its employees being influenced and bribed by private companies and consultants in their fulfilment of government tasks.
- 5) The EFF Government will establish State Administration Courts to promptly respond to incidents of corruption and maladministration with the aim of firing and blacklisting corruption state employees and private companies, and recover money lost to corruption.
- 6) The EFF Government will introduce a minimum of 20 years sentence for all public representatives and servants convicted of corruption.
- 7) The EFF Government will protect the independence of the Public Protector, the Auditor General and all corruption watch institutions to independently oversee government programmes.
- 8) The EFF Government will illegalise all public representatives and public servants from doing any form of business with Public institutions.

SECTION 5:

Radical Transformation Of State Into A People's Driven State And Governance.

The EFF Government will lead one of the most radical State and governance transformation programmes ever seen in the history of South Africa, and this will include the following:

- 1) Building state capacity and efficiency.
- 2) Public representatives using public services.
- 3) Reduction of all private benefits for public representatives.
- 4) Making Tshwane the legislative and administrative capital of South Africa.
- 5) Building New Cities.

Building State Capacity:

- 1) As concrete steps forward, which the state will initiate, establish and give strategic and financial support to, are the following:

- a. A state housing-construction company.
 - b. A state roads-construction company.
 - c. A state cement company.
 - d. A state pharmaceutical company.
 - e. A state-owned mining company.
 - f. A state food-stocking company (to regulate prices of basic foodstuffs and guarantee food security for all).
 - g. A state owned Bank.
- 2) These state companies will be buttressed by state ownership of critical parts of the value chains in which these companies operate, *e.g.* petrochemicals (Sasol), steel (Arcelor-Mittal), etc, so that they produce essential inputs into the economy on a non-profit-maximisation basis.
 - 3) Within this context, the state will employ engineers, quantity surveyors, project managers, and builders for sustainable tasks. Their responsibilities will include the construction of houses, roads, bridges, sports facilities, dams, sewerage systems and more. These should be subjected to strict standards of quality assurance to ensure that, at all times and in all instances state-constructed entities are of uncompromisingly good quality. State-owned companies will not be driven by principles of profit maximisation, but by the need to provide quality and affordable services to the people and the economy at large.

Democratic Participation And Governance:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that all Members of Parliament and Legislatures hold a minimum of 1 community mass meeting per quarter in the constituency to which they are deployed or allocated by Parliament.
- 2) The EFF Government will pursue legislation which will compel all political parties to disclose their sources of income and funding, to avoid a situation where illegally acquired and foreign money is used to garner support and votes in elections.
- 3) The EFF Government will ensure that memoranda for all protests in all communities reach the Presidency within 48 hours of the protest happening and responses given to protesters within 7 days of receipt of the memoranda.
- 4) The EFF Government will strengthen and make autonomous Monitoring and Evaluation of Government programmes and activities which will

publicly announce whether government reached its set objectives within 6 months intervals.

- 5) The EFF Government will institute a policy of recall of public representatives who do not perform their tasks as per the programme they are assigned to.
- 6) The EFF Government will respect the rights of traditional leaders and will make sure that they all receive equal treatment and assistance across the board.
- 7) The EFF Government will ensure that the stipends and salaries given to Traditional Leaders are adequate to help them address ongoing day-to-day functions expected by their communities.
- 8) The EFF Government will reduce the number of national government ministries and departments and mainstream their functions

Public Representatives Using Public Services:

- 1) As a broad and cogent principle, the EFF Government's approach to public representatives (those occupying political office through elections) is that because they are there on the mandate of the people to serve, the many perks associated with political office should be limited.
- 2) The lifestyle of representatives should reflect that of ordinary citizens. Because they are responsible for the allocation of resources, and the implementation and monitoring of services, public representatives and their dependants should be compelled, by law, to use only public services, particularly schools and healthcare facilities and services. This should apply to all public representatives from the President of the country to local municipal councillors.

Adequate Salaries And Working Conditions Of All Public Servants:

- 1) The EFF Government will bring back the dignity of public servants by ensuring that there is an increase in the salaries of all public servants by a minimum of 50% in the period 2014 to 2019, particularly teachers, nurses, police, warders and all government employees.
- 2) The EFF Government will reduce the wage gap within public servants to ensure that the wage gap between the lowest paid worker and the highest paid worker is narrowed.

- 3) The EFF Government will ensure that the employment of new entrants into the public service is enabled and facilitated through the abolition of the requirement of a 5 years working experience.
- 4) The EFF Government will work towards filling 100% of vacancies in all public service institutions.

Reduction Of Benefits For Public Representatives:

- 1) The EFF Government will implement a policy position that will lead to representatives not being bought cars or houses by the state. The amount of money the state spends on enhancing representatives' personal lifestyle conditions is in no way justifiable.
- 2) Under EFF Government, public representatives with salaries, ministers, MECs and councillors should use their own cars and stay in their own houses, paid for by the salaries they are given by the state.

One Capital City For South Africa:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that both the legislative and administrative capital should be in one city, which should be Tshwane, because of its accessibility.
- 2) Under the EFF government, public representatives will, in this one capital, have adequate time to address issues of their responsibility, not having to travel almost every day.

Building New Cities:

- 1) While EFF appreciates that building of new cities may exceed a period well beyond 5 years, as government, the EFF will begin with practical processes which will lead to the building of new cities.
- 2) The building of new cities will happen through Special Economic Zones (SEZs), which will enjoy consistent state support mechanisms and programmes and development of industries.
- 3) As part of addressing the industrial development of rural areas, the EFF Government will identify and concurrently run Special Economic Zones in the following areas of economic potential over the next five (2014 to 2019) years and build state-subsidised and incentivised cities alongside the SEZs for an additional 10 years, beginning in 2014:
 - a. Sekhukhune and Lephalale in Limpopo.

- b. Bojanala in North West.
- c. Kuruman in the Northern Cape
- d. Welkom in the Free State.
- e. Emalahleni (Witbank) in Mpumalanga.
- f. Overberg in the Western Cape.
- g. East London and Coega in the Eastern Cape.
- h. Richards Bay in KwaZulu Natal

SECTION 6:

HOW EFF GOVERNMENT WILL REALISE ITS COMMITMENTS

The key component to the realisation of these objectives lies in the political determination, competency, zeal and commitment of a Government in power with the necessary capacity to pass legislation, and implement it accurately. The central pillars of the programme lie in the following key programmes:

- 1) Land expropriation without compensation.
- 2) Nationalisation of Mines.
- 3) Nationalisation of private banks and strategic sectors of the economy.
- 4) Creation of a 100% State Owned Bank.
- 5) Retaining strategic control and ownership of current SOEs and giving these a developmental mandate.
- 6) Development of the African economy.
- 7) Building of progressive political, ideological and economic partnerships in the world.

Land Expropriation Without Compensation:

- 1) The EFF Government believes that without equal redistribution of land, there will never be genuine economic freedom, which is necessary if all our social welfare objectives are to be delivered in our lifetime.
- 2) The EFF Government will pass legislation to take all land to the custodianship of the State and all those who occupy and use the land will need to apply for the re-issue of licences to use it for agricultural purposes and other sustainable economic activities.
- 3) The EFF Government will ensure that land redistribution is equitable and its ownership and control reflects the demographics of South Africa,

- and those who work on the land will be given priority on land use.
- 4) The EFF Government will abolish all forms of foreign land ownership, and will institute a land lease system for foreign investors and companies to use the land for sustainable economic activities.
 - 5) The EFF Government will adopt a principle of “use it or lose it” on land use, where those who do not use the land, loose it to the custodianship of the State.
 - 6) The EFF Government will make it illegal for land to be used as surety for banks loans.

Nationalisation Of Mines:

- 1) The EFF Government’s approach to nationalisation is that it should result in democratic and socialised ownership and control of the means of production by the workers, to avoid a situation where the state will exclusively own the means of production and suppress workers’ interests and aspirations.
- 2) Nationalisation under EFF Government will mean that legislation governing mineral resources will be amended to ensure that a minimum of 60% of existing Mines and mining activities are owned by the State, workers, and communities where mining activity occurs.
- 3) The EFF Government will nationalise mines in models that will be suitable for the continued productivity of the mines and mining in South Africa. Discontinuation of private ownership of mines will be located within an intention and programme to have democratic workers’ ownership and control of mines and mining in South Africa.
- 4) The benefits of nationalising strategic sectors of the economy will include, but not be limited to, the following realities:
 - a. An increased fiscus for, and therefore more resources for, education, housing, healthcare, infrastructure development, safety and security and sustainable livelihoods for our people.
 - b. More jobs for our people because state-owned and controlled mines will increase the local beneficiation and industrialisation of mineral resources. This will, in turn, reduce the high levels of poverty consequent of joblessness.
 - c. More equitable spatial development because state-owned and controlled mines will invest in areas where mining occurs..

- d. Better salaries and working conditions in mines because state-owned mines will increase the mining wage and improve compliance with occupational health and safety standards.
- e. Greater levels of economic and political sovereignty, as the state will be in control and ownership of strategic sectors of the economy, which produce mineral resources needed around the world.
- f. The profits that the state will generate from ownership and control of Mines will gradually loosen the taxes on private individuals.

Nationalisation Of Private Banks And Other Strategic Sectors Of The Economy:

- 1) The EFF government will expropriate a minimum of 60% of designated categories of existing companies and ensure that these are democratically run with greater participation of workers.
- 2) The EFF Government will specifically discontinue private ownership of companies such as SASOL and Arcelor-Mittal Steel and provide them with concrete developmental mandates to contribute to the rapid sustainable industrial development of South Africa.
- 3) The EFF Government will nationalise all private banks through taking a minimum of 60% ownership and control of all the existing private banks.
- 4) The EFF Government will ensure that all the banks are given concrete developmental and job creation mandates, particularly in the provision of housing and small and medium enterprises development.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that all banks contribute to the education and skilling of the people of South Africa.
- 6) The EFF Government will ensure that all banks are democratically run and its employees are paid decent salaries.

Nationalisation Of The Reserve Bank And Creation Of A State Owned Bank:

- 1) The EFF Government will ensure that the Reserve Bank is owned and controlled by the state and its policies are linked to industrial development.
- 2) The monetary policies pursued by the Reserve Bank should be aimed at job creating, not just inflation targeting.

- 3) The EFF Government will create a State Owned Bank, which will primarily help infant industries with developmental finance and support them to play an active role in various economic spheres of our society.
- 4) The State owned bank will also provide housing and vehicle finance which will be progressive and assist millions of South Africans to have access to decent housing and vehicles.

State Owned Enterprises:

- 1) The EFF Government will democratise the running of all existing State Owned Enterprises, instituting a model of greater worker ownership and control of the enterprises, instead of the boards that current run SOEs in a similar way private companies are run.
- 2) The EFF Government will retain total and majority control of all State Owned Enterprises, particularly ESKOM, TELKOM, SASOL, PETRO-SA, DENEL, SABC, POST OFFICE, SAA and all State owned enterprises under the oversight of various government departments, and Provincial governments.
- 3) The EFF Government will prescribe clear and concrete developmental mandates and objectives to all State Owned Enterprises, which will be gauged by their ability to deliver quality services and goods, the number of jobs they create, and the speed at which they expand the qualitative and quantitative capacity to provide better services.
- 4) The EFF Government will ensure that all State owned enterprises will be given a concrete mandate on the number of jobs they should create annually.
- 5) The EFF Government will ensure that all State owned enterprises will be given a concrete mandate on the numbers of students they should train every year.

Development Of The African Economy:

- 1) The EFF Government will play a leading role in the promotion of intra-African trade partnerships and relationships. This means the EFF government will direct the South African economy to purchase goods and services that can be produced in the African economy, whilst exporting its economic goods and services to countries in the African economy.

- 2) The EFF Government will establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund, whose primary role and focus will be massive investment in the industrial development of various parts of Africa.
- 3) The EFF Government will politically and ideologically promote Africa's economic self-reliance and Africa's industrial development and growth.

Building Progressive Trade Partnerships In The World:

- 1) The EFF Government will build trade relations with countries which will appreciate that South Africa and Africa as a whole are not just suppliers of natural resources and products, but are a country and continent for industrial and technological development.
- 2) The EFF Government will build relations with countries and economies that will appreciate that South Africa is not a dumping ground for agricultural and industrial products.
- 3) The EFF Government will build relations with countries and economies which will be willing to invest in real and genuine industrial development and skills transfer to South African and African economies.

SECTION 7:

International Relations, Cooperation And Solidarity:

The EFF appreciates that South Africa exists in a continental and global world order that have been bedevilled by many political, social and - economic challenges for centuries. EFF's progressive commitment is to build a better South Africa, Africa and global world where all people share equitably in the wealth and opportunities that collectively we are able to offer. Our aspirations for South Africa are aspirations for the African continent and the world and our international relations, cooperation and solidarity programme are founded on the principle that economic emancipation should be extended to all people across the globe..

Within this context, EFF appreciates that there various political, social and economic challenges that confront the world today and as a progressive internationalist movement that is anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, we carry the obligation to work with progressive forces of change in the world, which are based on principles of solidarity and equal distribution of the world wealth. In this regard, these are key international relations,

cooperation and solidarity programmes and actions we will pursue as EFF Government:

- 1) The EFF Government will work towards ending the global imperialist dominance of the West and will build relations with all progressive nations in Latin America, Asia and the African continent to establish a world order that is not dominated by the West, but is a world of equal political and economic relations.
- 2) The EFF Government will lead a progressive programme to build international solidarity politically, socially and economically amongst African states.
- 3) The EFF Government will lead a progressive programme to reject foreign, particularly Western domination of African economies.
- 4) The EFF Government will lead a progressive programme which will transform Africa from a passive exporter of natural resources into an economy that beneficiates and industrialises its raw materials.
- 5) The EFF Government will work towards the rejection of the Africa Command Centre, a military programme of the United States based in Botswana.
- 6) The EFF Government will work towards African isolation of Botswana, which has been home of an imperialist military base and push for progressive internal reforms within Botswana which should involve the people of Botswana.
- 7) The EFF Government will work towards building strong relationship with Lesotho, and ensure that the resources South Africa receives from Lesotho; particularly water benefits the people of Lesotho.
- 8) The EFF Government will within 5 years push for democratic political reforms in Swaziland, which will include political and economic isolation of the Monarchy until there are meaningful political changes and tolerance in that country.
- 9) The EFF Government will protect Zimbabwe from imperialist threats and sanctions and ensure that Zimbabwe is self-sustainable and returns to using its own independent currency within 5 years.
- 10) The EFF Government will implement incremental boycotts, divestment and sanctions against the apartheid state of Israel, as a concrete form of solidarity with the Palestinians, to end the illegal occupation of Palestinian Territories and state by Israel.

- 11) The EFF Government will build sustainable and balanced relations with all progressive forces in the world, and will relate with the growing economies, particularly China, Russia, Brazil, India and Latin American countries in a mutually beneficial way.
- 12) The EFF Government will work in solidarity with the people of Western Sahara to realise real political independence from colonial domination.

SECTION 8:

Sectoral And Specific Commitment Made By The Eff In The Manifesto Consultation Process:

As part of its many consultations forums, the EFF government commits to do the following specific programmes in the years it will be in government:

- 1) The EFF Government will expand the University of Mpumalanga and Sol Plaatjie University in the Northern Cape to enrol a minimum of 10 000 students each by 2016 with decent accommodation and funding, and increase intake annually from thereon.
- 2) The EFF Government will eradicate all mud-schools in the Eastern Cape, and replace them with decent schools with all basic services provided.
- 3) The EFF Government will seek remuneration for all ex-mineworkers in the Eastern Cape and within the Asbestos Community Forum before the beginning of 2015.
- 4) The EFF Government will provide sustainable water supply to the people of Mothutlung in the North West Province, Giyani in Limpopo Province, and all other areas across the country that have no water.
- 5) The EFF Government will transform Sjewetla informal settlement in Alexandra, Johannesburg; Zenzele in the Westrand, Thembelihle in Johannesburg, and Mooiplaas in Tshwane into more dignified human settlement before the end of 2017.
- 6) The EFF Government will ensure that the Khoi and San languages are made official languages in the Constitution of South Africa.

- 7) The EFF Government will cancel all credit bureau creditors and present a new platform to start from the beginning on the basis of the New Credit Act.
- 8) The EFF Government will ensure that abalone (perlemoen) fishing in the Western Cape benefits the immediate communities.
- 9) The EFF Government will make Malamulele a viable economic territory through targeted local economic development programmes and give it the status of a local Municipality.
- 10) The EFF Government will make places such as Diepsloot and Scwetla a viable human settlement area with decent houses for all with community amenities.
- 11) The EFF Government will adequately resolve the Chieftaincy and Traditional leadership disputes in all provinces and ensure that the chiefs and kings recognised by the people are given their rightful positions.
- 12) The EFF acknowledges the following about the Khoi and San people: The ancestors of the Khoi and San people fought the first anti-colonial wars against white settlers in South Africa. Since 1652 white settlers violently plundered the livestock and stole the land of the Khoi and San people at gunpoint. They resisted colonialism forcibly. EFF acknowledges that Autshumao of the Goringkaikona tribe led the first war of resistance and was the first political prisoner imprisoned at Robben Island.
- 13) The EFF will strive for:
 - a. The economic freedom of the Khoi and San people.
 - b. The rights of Khoi and San children to be taught in their own language.
 - c. The renaming of significant landmarks in Western Cape to Khoi and San names.

SECTION 9:

Financing The EFF Manifesto:

The current government operates in a budget of R1 trillion per year, and distributes these amounts across government departments, and toward provincial and local spheres of government. The EFF will engage in radical redirection of government spending to prioritise services that will alleviate

poverty, reduce inequalities and prepare South African citizens for a better future. The following will be part of increasing the budget and cost redirection measures:

- 1) Increase taxes from private corporations and companies to run a R2 trillion budget by 2017. Corporate and company taxes should amount to not less than 40% of the tax revenue, while all other taxes, including VAT are retained at the same levels they are in currently.
- 2) Introduce education and training taxes from all private corporations to a minimum of 2% of the total revenue of all corporations employing more than 25 people, and this will fund all education and training activities and programmes performed by the state.
- 3) Increase customs and excise duties & levies by 50% and this will lead to additional billions of Rands for additional usage and income.
- 4) Tighten exchange control to lock capital to invest in South Africa, and pass laws that all corporations doing business in South Africa should be listed in and pay majority of their taxes in South Africa.
- 5) The EFF Government will increase taxes on speculative capital inflows by 60%.
- 6) One Country-One Capital City: having one City as an administrative and capital city will cut billions of Rands used in the travelling and accommodation of Government Ministers and their support staff.
- 7) The EFF Government will cut the budget for the presidency by 60%, closing the official residences in Durban and Cape Town, and guaranteeing security only in one official residence.
- 8) The EFF Government will remove all presidential spousal support.
- 9) The EFF Government will end government corruption and incompetence, which currently cost the State more than R30 billion per year.
- 10) The EFF Government will abolish the Employment Tax Incentives Act and redirect all monies meant for this purposes to social welfare programmes.
- 11) The EFF Government will house all government departments in state-owned buildings and properties to stop the millions of Rands paid to private property owners.

- 12) The EFF Government will use the money generated from state-owned enterprises to invest in sustainable development.

CONCLUSION

These are genuine commitments which will bring about real economic transformation. These are commitment which will lift South Africa and its people to an elevated position in the world. These are commitments which will leave a long lasting, positive and meaningful legacy for generations to come. These are commitments which will inspire the entire African continent and nations across the world to pursue and implement real economic emancipation. **Now is the time for economic freedom!**



Commander in Chief, Julius Malema, delivering the official address at the EFF launch rally, Marikana, October 2013 (© EFF)



***CiC Julius Malema fighting with the police who had refused to allow him to speak with mineworkers in Marikana, August 2012
(Gallo Images/AFP)***



CiC Julius Malema and Commissar Floyd Shivambu meeting mineworkers in Marikana, 18 August 2012 (Gallo Images/AFP)



CiC Julius Malema and Commissar Floyd Shivambu lay a murder charge against the police at the Marikana police station, 21 August 2012 (Gallo Images/AFP)



The press conference at which red berets were introduced, 11 July 2013 (Greatstock/Demotix)



Mbuyiseni Ndlozi addressing a community meeting, 2014 (© EFF)



Commissar Dali Mpofu at an EFF community meeting, 2014 (© EFF)



An AMCU supporter at an EFF meeting, 2014 (© EFF)



CiC Julius Malema and Commissar Floyd Shivambu at a community meeting in Malamulele, Limpopo (© EFF)



Commissar Mpho Ramakatsa at an EFF rally in Limpopo, 2014 (© EFF)



CiC Julius Malema addressing a community meeting in Mooiplaas, Tshwane as part of the preparations for the manifesto launch (© EFF)

INTERVIEW WITH JULIUS MALEMA

BY JANET SMITH

The following interviews took place on 25 January and 6 February 2014 at the EFF offices in Braamfontein, in the heartland of Joburg's raucous young student community. The first interview took place on a Saturday morning, and Floyd Shivambu and my notetaking assistant, Lindi Magagula, joined Julius Malema and me. We sat in an empty boardroom in the otherwise unoccupied office wing. An unused display cabinet and a pile of EFF posters were the only other features in the room. That day we spoke for about five hours, almost non-stop. At the second interview, it was only Julius and I, sitting in the same room, but this time there was more activity outside, as EFF supporters waited in the lobby to talk to party organisers.

JS How important are the friendships that you made as a child to you now, and do those friends still belong in your circle?

JM Well, the many friends that I had as a child, I don't think they are still in the circles, because we outgrew each other and developed different interests and I went from one place to the other and many of them remained in the township there, but when we meet, like in December and holidays, we reconnect very well and it is not like there was a gap between us. It's very few of them that have joined the politics and they were with me throughout.

JS So in a sense these are ordinary people who are still in your life and still remain very important to your history and so on?

JM Yes, very, very important. They are still there, I think. There is a guy called Tlou Mosomane. It is one guy I grew up with, ja, and we grew up in a four-roomed house, and at his house they had a back room, so most of the time I was sleeping with him there at his place and I would eat at his place and all that.

JS This is as a teenager?

JM Ja. When I was young. And we are no longer that close, but when we meet, we don't have to work out anything to understand each

other. We just click and move forward.

JS Yes, and how do those people approach you now, Julius, I mean do they have a sense of distance?

JM He doesn't care about those things, he just walks in, and sometimes those who are politically conscious and do not know him and all that, they want to push him ... hey, you can't talk to leadership like that, but I will come in and say, no, leave these guys. So we relate like that. He doesn't have the barriers and want to treat me differently from how we treated each other a long time ago.

JS Okay, because I imagine that becomes quite difficult later on when you are a very well-known person – somehow there's a different ambience around you. So at the moment, if you look at the people who really matter to you, who is in your inner circle?

JM Look, personally I think that if there are people that I would miss ordinarily in the busy schedule of my work, that would be my son and my grandmother. And just missing to have that short conversation and all that. And then politically, I think the EFF members and leadership have been around and we are consistently working together and there is no vacuum.

I mean, Floyd and I, we have moved from the ANC together and there we have developed that close relationship and we support one another. Maybe because of his assigned responsibilities, he's forced to be closer to me and know and understand a lot of things about my personal life and political life and certain political utterances, and he can only appreciate them if they are taken both politically from a formal point of view and informally as we engage each other, so that he develops a better understanding as a spokesperson to understand what is the leader of the organisation speaking about when he says one, two, three.

JS Yes, absolutely.

JM Ja, and Ramakatsa, our national co-ordinator. We are forced to talk almost every day because he is the implementer, particularly of the administrative component of the organisation.

So we will time and again call each other to understand how far are we in terms of preparations of this or implementation of this or that. Ja, and we have to do the agenda of meetings together, we have

to look at the minutes of the meetings together before they are sent back to the collective.

JS So just on that subject. Are you finding yourself drawn into a lot of stuff that later on will obviously be delegated to other people? I mean are you feeling like you almost have to micro-manage processes, see every speech, see all the minutes?

Are you that involved at the moment in all aspects of the organisation?

JM Yes, there is nothing that happens that I don't know. Because for simple reasons that we are at the formative stage and you have to make sure that you are involved and do not create wrong first impressions which they will not give. Ordinarily, there is no second chance to correct those wrong first impressions, and being one of the founding leaders, I think I owe it to the formative stage [of the organisation] to be there and ensure that everything is run smoothly.

But also my experience of COSAS¹. When I became a president of COSAS, not only president, I mean the chairperson of COSAS in Limpopo, there was almost nothing, no branches of COSAS and all that, I had to revive it from the scratch and then I became its president. I had to revive it nationally and also give it a national character and that image.

And then the Youth League, when we inherited it in the province, and nationally, it had lesser branches, lesser membership. We actually trebled those branches and the membership and we had presence everywhere.

So I come into EFF with this: a lot of experience on building the organisation, many of those in the current collective do not have, and therefore I should see to them in each and every meeting, and help them by sharing that experience on how best can we take forward the building of the organisation.

JS Two questions emanate out of that. The first one is, you were very young when you were in those kinds of structures, and that is expected, because it was COSAS. At the same time what you're describing is just a natural desire to be a person who is setting things up, creating a means for other people to, you know, gain political legitimacy and so on.

Are those natural skills of yours? Even when you were a child, did you find yourself organising people on the playground? I mean, that is a talent that not many people can have. It's confidence, it's other things.

JM Look, we were attracted to the movement at the age of nine or so and first we were attracted by the type of songs they sing and the energy they display when they sing these songs, so it was a bit exciting for a child. But their songs sounded more like the ZCC songs, which was the big church, you know, in Limpopo and with that type of energy.

JS And was it your church?

JM No, it was not my church, but it was the most dominant church, which all of us grew to celebrate and appreciate. And so we were joining them and they were chasing us away and all that, but I remained consistent, following them and all that, and those things of them being chased by police.

So when you are a child, it's like a game, running around and all that, and some of them then recognised my insistence on following them and they started recognising me when I was round them.

Part of which I would be assigned a task of organising the young kids with the tyres and then we pushed the tyres, as if we were playing and we advance for the protesters, so, we'll arrive, they will tell us, when you arrive at that corner, that shop, you must leave those tyres there and go home and we will put them there.

Obvious we didn't go. We wanted to see what was going to happen. So they came, burned them and barricaded the roads and all that. The police shot and we start running around and all those things.

So we started running around, police started shooting and all those things, and we would also be assigned the responsibility of taking out the rubbish bins. We had these hard plastic rubbish bins, so we put water inside and then helped each other to take them out of the houses into the streets.

So there would be water inside those rubbish bins, for teargas, so when they run, they take out their shirts and dip it inside the water and put it on the nose and all those things. Ja, so, and then there was a guy who came from MK, called Freddie Ramaphakela, who then

started organising us as Young Pioneers and then started teaching us songs, started teaching us poems.

I was telling Floyd yesterday that I used to know those poems of Mzwakhe [Mbuli], I don't know them anymore now. And I thought it was very revolutionary to imitate how Nelson Mandela speaks, because we used to do those things, and ja, he then started training us and then we were told one day that we were going to exile and all that.

JS At what age was that?

JM Almost ten, eleven, twelve.

JS So, this is not, if you have to think about your son, this is not necessarily a life that you would like him to lead at eleven?

JM No, no. That was really abusive actually to hear a story that when we were thinking of going to exile, people were already here or were coming back here. It becomes a joke. What were we going to do in exile when people are coming home? But we only got exposure to that information now, that, during those years when we thought we could go to exile, people were coming home. But the older guys from our unit left and then only to discover later that they went to the camps in Venda where they were given some training. They even came back with certificates.

When we're supposed to cross, we stayed home for almost four days without going to school, so we couldn't tell the school authorities where we were going and our parents and all that.

We would go like we were going to school and take a detour. And after the fourth day, I said, ag, look I'm going back to school, and the other guys refused to go back, because we were going to be sjambokked, and it was going to lead to a confession.

JS You were going to be sjambokked at school?

JM Yes, for being absent for those days. So I went, I was beaten, I was actually told to push a big tree and, as you're pushing it, they beat you at the back.

JS How old were you at this point?

JM I was very young, I mean I was eleven, twelve, but I didn't retreat, I didn't surrender the information I said, and they were beating us.

They asked, why didn't you come to school for four days, and all that. And that guy, after beating me, I changed that school

unannounced. I just left. I said I am no longer at that school. Then I went to a nearby school and that other school they received me because there were very few kids from my section.

My section was known for crime and was known for people who don't want to go to school and all that. So, the teachers there celebrated the fact that I come from that area and I came to school so, but I didn't tell my mother. I just went on my own. Because that guy, the way he sjambokked me.

So I was very angry. I was doing standard three.

So I left, I went to another school there. That school, the difference was that the one I went to, we're wearing long pants. In the other one we're wearing short pants, and I didn't have short pants, so I was wearing long because they said I must tell my mother to buy me the short pants.

So she was going to pick up an issue that I left the other school without telling her, so I went and cut the long pants and made them shorts on my own and I went to that school and that's where I went and attended my primary, my higher primary.

So what happened is that we continued with the political involvement and what pained me the most was that those guys that refused to go to school, they are still there in the township, they have never gone back, and they are now, you know, struggling, and all that.

The organisation itself [ANC] doesn't take care for them or anything like that.

So I became permanently involved with the movement, the planning of the strikes, of the high schools. I actually hated my high school principal even before I met him because of the things that used to be said about him in the meetings of COSAS and the Young Pioneers' meetings.

The universities, they were protesting ... The University of the North, we stayed almost 50/60km away from the university, but we would meet with the students of the university in town and listen to their complaints, planning of those protests, writing of the posters with marking pens for those strikes there.

So, when I went to the high school, it didn't become a difficult issue. When I first started standard six, I was already involved in the

SRC and the structures there because throughout I have been involved.

And you know, the SRC that we went to at standard six, we were actually asked to write the constitution, because there was no SRC²-. They were not recognised, so we did a strike. We were led by one guy. He is no more now. A very intelligent young person.

So they said we must write the constitution. I was given an assignment to write the constitution. So I went to fetch the constitution of COSAS and wrote it. You know, copied it by hand and, where they say COSAS, I write SRC and all that, and the structure of COSAS became the structure of our first SRC.

And then COSAS had ex-officios from provinces, chairperson and the secretary, so I said the class representatives would then be ex-officio members of the SRC, so I don't know where I went wrong.

I wrote in that handwritten one [constitution], I wrote COSAS somewhere where I was supposed to replace it with the SRC and that man said, hey, you can't bring the COSAS constitution here, and all that. So, that's how we got exposed.

That was where the serious direct leadership participation started because we took students into protests and demanded several things, part of which was the resignation of the principal.

JS Did you achieve that?

JM We did. Because of his historical background. There was a year where we had the longest strike. I can't remember the year, where we had a strike actually from February until beyond June. Even half-yearly exams were not written and all those things because we were forcing this man to resign.

My township had seven high schools ... We went to collect all the students to come and attend our school so you can imagine the numbers which were there and all that.

So the Department closed the school and then the man later resigned. He had a very bad attitude.

JS Towards the children?

JM Ja.

JS So it was less a political act than being about the abusive treatment of the children?

JM Ja, he didn't have politics. First he had this policy, which now everyone practises, that if you fail twice, you won't come back, and then most of the kids were actually drop-outs because of that policy, because once he expels you, we were calling it DCB: Don't Come Back.

Once he expels you, the schools around won't accept you and the only schools that will accept you were the schools in the rural areas which were costly, because you have to travel by bus every morning, and we thought this was not going to work.

Actually he was helping in the reproduction of criminals and useless elements in the township, and we were fighting against such a policy.

It was not helping in fighting poverty and producing people with qualifications who could later help their families.

JS Why were children failing like that, because it must have been a very seriously under-resourced situation in order for them to be failing on that scale?

JM Look, the kids were coming from, first, poverty-stricken families and most of them would have to play both the role of a parent and that of a student.

You do not have any necessary means to reinforce your understanding of what you have been taught at school. You have illiterate parents who can't help you with homework. But during the day, there's no time to do homework.

You must perform certain duties at home and then in the evening, when you have an opportunity to do so, there is no electricity. You must light a candle, but only for very few minutes because now they are going to be coming on you, the parents, saying you need to switch off the candle to save it for tomorrow.

When you arrive at school, you must then deliver the homework you were assigned, so the conditions generally were not conducive for proper learning, and then there was the quality as well of teachers.

You know, I listen to most of you journalists criticising our self-taught English for instance, because we had English teachers who couldn't express themselves.

We spoke vernac during English period and you are still expected to perform. The same goes for Afrikaans, and the same goes for Mathematics, and any other subject which must be taught in English.

You are engaged in vernac and, when the exam comes, there is no time to, you know, interpret.

JS And what was your English like at that stage, Julius? If you have to look back on yourself, what was it like to have a 10-year-old Julius Malema in your class, as a teacher?

JM Look, we speak the English we learnt in the ANC when we were very young. We were even using very big words that we come across when leaders reflected on political issues, and ordinarily the comrades, when they are together, they never express themselves in vernac, they speak English.

And that's how we came to appreciate it. Then we continued to polish it as we went along because we got exposed to more concepts.

And then, I think as a 10-year-old, I was involved, but I never showed that in class, so it was not very problematic for those who taught me at lower primary. Ours was divided into two, it was lower primary and higher primary.

So there was no early sign of a problematic child. And from lower primary school until I went to high school, I never failed a grade, because we were focused on school and we were not supposed to show any sign of involvement in the political activities because schools were also centres of intelligence for the apartheid regime.

So we had to conduct ourselves in a manner that they will not pick it up that we were involved.

JS And this was obviously until you got to the point with COSAS where it was almost entirely activism? You had to be fearless?

JM COSAS, yes, we assumed responsibility. We were leading openly and all that.

I remember one day we took a very stupid decision when we had a strike and police arrested students, so we had to go and hand ourselves over to the police, because we said we can't allow the

students to be arrested and the leaders who organised the protest are not arrested.

So those comrades said, no, we must go home and collect our toiletry bags for prison.

Ah, I was shocked – what was a toiletry bag? Because I didn't have those things. So they went to collect the wash rag and the toothpaste and then we walked to the police station and ja, we're assaulted, beaten by those police. It was like that.

JS As young as you were?

JM Yes, because they released those other innocent kids and then we were locked in for a weekend. Ja, so it was the type of life we lived when we were in COSAS, but before that there was absolutely nothing.

JS But you could relate, for example, to the events that played out in January this year, when six-year-old Michael Komape died in a pit latrine. This happened in a village close to Seshego, Limpopo, where you grew up, yet that kind of childhood still exists there now in 2014 and there's another seven years that Government has got out of the new regulations to fix those pit latrines.

It is not even within three as the Department of Education's norms and standards state. It's another seven.

So this must be very disheartening for a child of that area.

JM That's very, very, very bad and that is a very good example of what our young kids are still, you know, exposed to. They have to travel, young as they are, some kilos to go to a school. They haven't been exposed to a pit toilet.

The reason why he fell into a pit toilet is because at home he doesn't go to a pit toilet. He helps himself in an open veld and then they come clean after. So at school, strict as they are, the teachers will for sure say, all of you, there is the toilet, and they just have to get on with it.

You know, he doesn't have that experience and there is no mechanism in place to look after them in-between the class and going to help themselves.

So, it is a harsh reality that our kids are growing under and no one is there to provide, you know, that type of care, so that we could produce a less angry society.

This anger will never go away because when they come to realise the truth, actually there're kids their age not very far from them, who are living much better than them, they start asking themselves, what's wrong with us, what is it we have done to deserve to grow up under this environment?

And there is nothing wrong with them. The system is just not taking care of its own people, because we have got a self-serving leadership which has neglected the poor and it is even worse, it's worse than apartheid because it's done by a black person.

You know when it is done by whites we understand that. They grew up under the impression that they are superior and therefore they are entitled to all privileges and they must oppress us and all that.

They were taught at school, but we were taught both at home and at school to look after each other as Africans, and when an African brother oppresses a fellow African brother, it becomes more painful than when it is done by a white person.

So, why do you continue to draw a salary as a councillor, as an MEC³-, if you can't help the school in the area which pays your salary to have better toilet facilities?

JS So what is the answer to that question?

JM The answer is that we must take the initiative. Imagine if all councillors were approaching Pick n Pay, were approaching Shoprite, were taking the initiative of community contributions to build first for ourselves facilities that would make learning conducive for our learners.

It shouldn't always be the state. We have to take a responsibility, especially after acknowledging that we've got a government that doesn't care about us.

So let's look after each other. Let's go take a loan, let's go and get ourselves into debt, use the salary of a councillor as a surety at his house, whatever, to develop, you know, the school as an example. So we can do it, but the greediness and the type of morals we have introduced for political leadership is extreme, it is all about themselves and their families.

By doing that we are going to put pressure on this government to want to turn things around. This leadership has lost its legitimacy

and credibility. It has lost morals and doesn't care about the poorest of the poor.

So, I think in honouring the boy who died in the pit latrine, we should make a call for our people to start taking it upon themselves to create a conducive environment for learning in order to avoid reproducing a permanently angry society, which is self-hating and can get into very violent activities at any time because they don't value life.

The problem with me is that you can't explain Julius, the 10-year-old, or Julius Malema, without politics because there is no such a thing. I have never had that childhood life.

I tried these things of football and all that, but I was not playing. My role in the playing of football in the dusty fields and streets, and with the people who were betting money in the two teams, with the winner taking the money, was to be the one who holds the money for the two teams.

So I used to go and watch them and hold all the monies. They used to fight a lot, those people, because they would protest that, no, the referee is bought and all those things. So, there was one game, the last time I went and developed even less of an interest in those things of football. There was a very heated game and the betting amount was very high.

JS How high?

JM R100, R100, R200. Whoever wins takes.

Each team comes with R100, the other comes with R100, they bet. Whoever wins takes R200. So that meant a lot of beers after games. So, the R200, I was holding that and the losing team started causing problems and they wanted to come and take their money and I refused that money.

I said, no, they must finish the game, and I was beaten with a *warm klap* and I released the full amount of money. That was the last time I went to a game of football. I said no.

JS No wonder you lost interest.

JM I don't want to play football or see myself anywhere close to those types of players. Then I concentrated on politics.

JS I was mentioning to Floyd that last week the *Saturday Star*, on their media page where they give out an award every week to the best

and worst in the week, gave an orchid to the EFF for the re-branding of Julius.

But we know in the beginning there was a campaign against you, so this issue of woodwork and you failing it became an enormous joke. It became a legend. Did that hurt you in any way?

Could you see what was going on? And yet did it still hurt to be portrayed as a buffoon who is incapable of actually doing anything meaningful, who doesn't have the skills that especially white people expect others to have?

JM Look, every individual has got that spot in life which people looking for negativity will pick up, and they use that to want to derail you or ridicule you, and we were taught that at a very, very, very early age.

I never listen to a destructive criticism, because its aim is not to build, but to destroy and you need to know that there will always be positive and negative. And you can't use woodwork to get to me.

They have tried it, they published all those results in the papers, in the media, in the social media with the aim to demoralise me and defocus me from the struggle we were waging in the ANC and, you know, the Youth League. It's an apartheid tactic, to take confidential documents about individuals and spread them because you want to discredit them.

They did that with all our leaders and so I look at them and say, these ones are taking chances because they don't know me. They are actually reading about me without knowing the actual Julius Malema.

When we took woodwork as a subject in school, it was mainly for political reasons, because woodwork had the longest periods. It used to have three periods following each other, so within that three periods, we don't attend those things of woodwork. We leave either the school to go and do political work or we used that period to do political work at school and it's not only in Matric.

I've never done or passed those things of woodwork. I've never done woodwork. It was a subject to give me an opportunity to do my work, because it had longer periods. So in Matric, I didn't write woodwork, I went in to sign the attendance register because you couldn't write absent, so this is what I did, I went in, I signed that

thing and left and then you can't leave before one hour, so I stayed there for one hour. After one hour, I left.

So, hey, Julius Malema failed woodwork, woodwork that I have not written. The second point is that when I was writing Matric, I was president of COSAS. I left my school to go to Johannesburg. So I stayed here fulltime during my Matric year.

JS And this was for political reasons?

JM Ja, I came here. As a president you have to be full time in the office, so I worked there in Shell House. I stayed first here in Fontana and then I went to that big building there, Ponte. Then I left Ponte and I went to stay in Fordsburg.

Fordsburg was much better. Because now the ANC was giving us some allowance so I could afford a much cleaner and a better place. So I registered with a school called Prudence, in Soweto ... Tladi. So when I get time I must go and do some work, school work and all that, which became practically impossible.

So I went to write Matric without having sat in a class of Matric and I passed, and there are kids who went to write Matric who were in class with a teacher in front of them the whole year, and they failed.

So, I had to take time during Matric exams to go and read on my own without any help of anybody.

JS While all of the other stuff was going on in your life?

JM So I was doing political work and all that, which is wrong. No one should emulate that type of example.

I think we should have been told even then and emphasis should have been made that we must concentrate on our education because it is this education which will make us a better people, you know.

And then from there, I registered for a youth diploma which I finished in rocket time, I am now almost completing a second qualification, a degree, so, and ja, for me, you use woodwork because, politically, there is nothing you can use against Malema.

You can't fault him on his political articulations and what he represented, and that's why you degenerate to look at such, you know, weaker spots in a person's life in order to discredit him, and you do that for political reasons.

We joke a lot about it, even amongst ourselves. Mbalula used to bring it all the time when I defeat him on any IQ matter and there are people who are sitting and they will go, like, what happened ... that thing of woodwork at school.

Ja, well with the hope, you know, of an intention to divert me from an engagement we are having, so ja, it is not a big issue.

JS You must have been perhaps a little bit shocked at the level of vitriol and in fact hatred that was directed at you. A person whom white South Africans didn't know. It was intense.

There might have been a period of a few months when you started to establish yourself as the ANC Youth League leader before it happened, but I think almost from the time you were, it was dark.

What on earth went on that you so quickly became that figure of fear?

JM There was nothing, nothing at all which was done. Nothing.

I knew that the struggle for economic emancipation is *the* thing that our leaders have avoided because of its difficulty. It is not an easy thing, you know, to conduct. So I was not sure.

I was not a new role player in the national politics. I was a president of COSAS. I had a huge impact when I was a president of COSAS. I was a Youth League secretary, a recognisable individual in Limpopo even when I walked the streets.

Actually it started when I was leading in high school, when I walked the streets of my township, the people would call their grannies and all that to show them Julius Malema, so I was never overwhelmed.

I grew up with such, you know, attention, and when I got attacked, I knew that it was going to happen, it was bound to happen, and I was very happy that it was happening because it means that I've hit at the right spot.

I have reached them. They are now listening.

For me it achieved the whole objective, and woodwork, one two three, you don't focus on that. Insist on putting the agenda for economic struggle on the table. They try to distract you and I have successfully done that myself in the ANC ...

There is a huge debate today about how the black people continue to be marginalised, how the black people continue to be

oppressed, excluded from the mainstream economic activities.

A struggle which many had forgotten and people were beginning to be comfortable and accepting the mediocre that we were exposed to, RDP houses, clapping of hands, water with a tap that doesn't have water, clapping hands, and beginning to think that this is what we are fighting for.

We came in as a no, that is not what we are fighting for. We said we don't want matchbox houses you are giving us, worse than the matchbox houses of the apartheid and they expect us to celebrate that. So, the enemies' intentions did not succeed.

Remember, I am a product of Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela who were victims of apartheid propaganda and, amongst others, Peter was reported to be a spy, but Peter never looked back.

He used that to influence his determination and resilience to fight for his people. So who am I, accused of woodwork? And I want to be a crybaby when people were accused of being spies. Winnie Mandela ... the apartheid regime got into her bedroom, destroyed her from her bedroom, said all manner of things about her.

She never looked back. She soldiered on. Who am I? My bedroom is not discussed. I am not tortured, harassed by the police. For me to look back, and get demoralised by woodwork ... I am a product of the most militant and fearless leaders of our revolution and the Boers don't know that about me.

They think I am easily demoralised and they attack and then vanish. If I speak, I don't get a reaction, I get worried. It means that the enemies are not receiving the message, so when the enemy responds I am happy that I have hit where it matters the most. The enemy's talking.

For me it was a cause for celebration that I am making this impact. Giving you very good examples. Julius Malema: woodwork, Peter Mokaba: apartheid spy, Winnie Mandela: cheated on an icon.

We never looked back.

One of the inspirations at the time was Jacob Zuma who was accused of rape, who was accused of corruption and all that. But the man used that as his strength and continued to fight.

So revolution, especially for some of us who are not arrivalists and who are not parachuted into the structures of the revolution, teaches us that we shouldn't be crybabies. There could actually be worse than woodwork criticism and you need to stand the test of time, so those are testing moments and they are testing you if indeed you've got character, indeed you believe in what you are saying or you are going to chicken out because you are criticised heavily and negatively.

JS What was very interesting around Mokaba's mother's death earlier this year was just how things often come full circle, so your history around Mokaba and your views on Mokaba and so on, the ANC appears to now be using against you, as if Mokaba only belongs to them and to their history.

I am interested to know in terms of especially youth, because you are talking about very young people on the mines of Marikana who know you from the past. That is essentially the youth vote. We forget it is not only these young people partying down here in Braamfontein. There are millions of young people on the mines and in villages and so on.

How do you reclaim figures like Mokaba and Winnie for, not necessarily for the EFF, but for a new type of movement with all of this resistance from the ANC where they remind us that these people have got nothing to do with anybody else but themselves?

JM No, that is being naïve. First, Mokaba belongs to the ANC. There is no dispute about that, but the ANC produced him for the liberation of society, and therefore society has got all the right to celebrate him.

We are not claiming him. We are celebrating him, and I had very close relationship with Peter's mother. Every December since Peter passed away, I would take a grocery to her, including buying her a sheep every December, and there was a point when I was the Youth League secretary where we took a decision to unveil a tombstone for Peter.

I was in the delegation that led that process, including approaching a donor about that tombstone.

Peter Mokaba's brother, Ernest, designed that tombstone and then the donor that time got admitted. He was sick, I don't know

what was his problem, and then, when he was in hospital, I had to visit him so that I also consolidate our agreement on his contribution of the tombstone.

And he told me from his hospital bed that the ANC people who are today claiming to celebrate Peter have visited him, part of Sello Moloto's faction, visited him and discouraged him from contributing the tombstone.

The taxman was also heavy on him and all sorts of things.

He was just moaning about how the ANC has ill-treated him despite the fact that he has been contributing to build the ANC in the country, and even during difficult days of our struggle.

So, I had to motivate him and say to him, look, we can't retreat on this and I succeeded. Peter Mokaba's name was dying a natural death. I contributed in the revival of that name, nationally.

Peter died when I was not a president of the Youth League. There was never such things as Peter Mokaba, the dates ... Peter Mokaba memorial lectures.

I developed those concepts in honouring Peter and said, we're doing that in Limpopo, but when I become the president I said it can't be a provincial activity, it has to be a national activity because Peter was, you know, a national leader, so some useless fellow travellers who don't know who Peter is, they don't know Peter's mother, they go and talk like we had nothing to do with Peter, we have nothing to do with Peter's mother.

Peter's mother, when she died, I received a call at three in the morning from her daughter, so if I didn't have anything to do with them, why would they call such a person at three in the morning.

Peter Mokaba's mother, we were so close, she was at my grandmother's birthday party a year before last year. So, we had developed beyond political relations that type of family relations between the two, you know, families and Peter continues to serve as an inspiration.

JS This is what I want to ask you, what is the significance of Mokaba today and why do you heighten that significance?

JM We use Peter as one young person who grew up under very difficult conditions both from a rural background, from a humble beginning

and into a very difficult arena of politics and the apartheid regime, and he never looked back.

He continued to fight for his people and he lived to realise the fruit of what he was fighting for, and Peter, you know, fits very well into the footsteps of President Mandela. Peter's love for education, Peter's love for fashion, Peter's love for politics.

Peter was an all-rounder. He was a dependable force and therefore we used that as a source of inspiration to young people and to the entire nation that we could actually be a Peter Mokaba, all of us in our own right, by being resilient and courageous when we deal with those things that we seek to achieve.

How the police have harassed Peter and his family ... if it was anybody else, he would have abandoned the struggle for the sake of peace in his family and for himself. I mean there couldn't be anything painful like your mother being arrested. Peter's mother got harassed, got arrested, her house was petrol-bombed.

Somebody petty, somebody who was not carrying the aspirations of the nation on his shoulders would have said, if this is what it is going to cost my family, then I am going home, I am leaving this. But he fought.

His parents supported him to continue to fight. They all got involved in the struggle, the family, the younger sister exiled and all that. To fight for people ... that's what we're celebrating because individuals in a revolution can also serve as a source of inspiration and it happens worldwide, where we celebrate struggle icons.

JS And so the same would be true of, say, Chris Hani, Moses Mayekiso and just to come back to the question around Winnie Mandela, these are people who you can use, simply off the point of inspiration and a means of directing young people towards your cause rather than your party, but obviously the party benefits.

I think a lot of people were impressed by the way that you conducted yourself in the courtroom around Kill the Boer, and obviously that fear that had grown up around Peter Mokaba all those years ago then came back for those people who were your detractors, mostly white people who needed someone to fear.

JM Look, I don't think the fear of white people particularly about Julius Malema, I don't think it's real. I think it's a myth that doesn't

exist. I think that if there is a man who had to be celebrated on the streets of South Africa by white people, it's Julius Malema.

I take more pictures with white people than with black people. White people, especially Afrikaners, by their own nature they are very aggressive and if they do not appreciate an individual they do so without any fear of the way they will confront it.

All my life I have never been confronted in a very destructive way by a white Afrikaner who says you want to mess up our country, you want to kill us, you want to drive us to the sea.

JS So what was AfriForum's issue, do you think, I mean what drove that invective against you at that time?

JM I think they were tapping on the popularity of Julius Malema to equally market themselves. I think it was a cheap publicity stunt, which came costly on their side because they've had to pay lawyers and all sort of things and all that.

Ja, so, for me it was not real. And so, if there is anybody who is scaring white people it's AfriForum because it is the one that says to them, even when they are unprovoked, hey, they are coming to kill you and so forth.

AfriForum is the enemy of white people, not Julius Malema, because our struggle is a struggle to liberate the oppressed people economically, and that will give white people a freedom to enjoy their resources and not live in fear of being attacked one day by black people.

So, you know, anybody who knows the history of South Africa will know that all ANC messages, all ANC songs during the struggle for total emancipation, they all sounded like racist anti-white messages, but yet the ANC was fighting for a non-racial society and those who hated the ANC accused it, including Madiba, of wanting to commit a white genocide.

They were terrorists wanting to kill all white people. A deliberate distortion of what the struggle was about, despite the fact that policy was well articulated.

The same is with the Economic Freedom Fighters, a non-racial organisation that fights for equal opportunities and rights for all South Africans, not blacks or Africans alone. All, with an emphasis

on the blacks in general and Africans in particular because they are the most oppressed people.

So, why should I have, you know, a nightmare about wanting to explain myself to people that have taken a deliberate decision to misunderstand me. They understand me very well and what I represent, but for their convenience, they have chosen to misunderstand me.

It doesn't matter how many times I explain myself, they have got an agenda to misunderstand everything I say, they say: Ah you see, and then interpret it.

JS And when you say people, who would that currently include?

JM You spoke about AfriForum, they are those types of peoples that you know want to deliberately misrepresent what we stand for and deliberately misunderstand us. I can't say the same with the ANC. I can't say the same with the Communist Party or COSATU because the ANC understands very well what we represent.

The ANC actually agreed with us in Durban in the NCG of the ANC, which got us into this trouble we find ourselves in today. The ANC knows us, the ANC knows that what we are fighting for. It's the truth, the problem is politics of individuals who feel they're big and therefore cannot be told by small boys as to which direction should the movement take.

They are victims of a tendency called ageism, so they stand to lose all this. It is their own creation. It is their own creation because they have accepted, no, they have failed to accept that the times have changed.

People have celebrated and, you know, accepted wholeheartedly the political freedom. They enjoyed it, they've loved it so much and they are saying we must move a step ahead. We can't get stuck here.

Now we are in a land between the two lands. The land of oppression and the promised land. We need to make progress. People think that we have arrived and they want to station here permanently – and this is not where we are going.

The road ahead is still very long. The ANC understands that very well and the ANC, by the way, is not those individuals who are leading it. The membership of the ANC ... and that's why when we see Mbombela full of people, and we know very well that we've got

almost 40% of our people in that stadium who are so loyal to the name and the history, but they know very well that we should be making progress into the second phase of our struggle, which is economic emancipation.

JS In January, for the first time maybe in our memory of democracy, in the last 20 years and certainly in the four years after people came home from exile, during CODESA's time, despite all the violence that was happening, you didn't have poor communities moving into the suburbs to express their anger or to show the people living there that there was another kind of life.

Chris Hani was very clear on this. He said it's time people took their experience into the sweet life that the suburbs are experiencing.

So in January you had people from the Princess informal settlement on the West Rand, people who have really had enough, moving into a suburb for the first time.

It was terrifying for the people of the nearby suburb of Lindhaven whose houses were ransacked and pelted with stones.

So is the time coming when we might say, is this now a pattern?

Is there any sense that there is need for violence again? Could an armed struggle happen again, just in a different form? You've said it yourself, communities have been patient for so long, so this was the same thing for black people in South Africa prior to the late '70s when the decision was made to introduce the armed struggle.

Do you fear the violence that might erupt? Do you feel that you have got a duty to control that or do you feel that actually we do need to embark on that type of struggle again?

JM I don't think that there is room in today's South Africa for an armed struggle, but as a revolutionary you don't overrule. The different pillars and strategies of our struggle can be conducted but we have to locate some of those pillars within existing material conditions and if there's such a room to conduct such a struggle.

I think South Africans appreciate the fact that they are given a constitutional opportunity that can change their lives and it is up to them to use that through voting to change their living conditions.

There is going to be an uprising in South Africa if we are not careful, and that's why we founded the Economic Freedom Fighters

– to give guidance and direction on how the struggle should be conducted so that it doesn't become anarchic, it doesn't become violent and directionless, and gets to be hijacked by nobodies who don't have a genuine agenda to change the lives of our people.

In the absence of that, because nature doesn't allow a vacuum, there will be an emergence of an 'unled' revolution which will pose a threat on all of us. Remember it is no longer you white people alone, even the black elite stands to be a target.

There will come a day where they will say no Range Rovers, not BMWs, no Benz, no nothing in this township, we don't want anyone coming to show off here when we are dying of hunger.

It wouldn't be white people who are stopped from entering those townships, it will be the elite, the black elite, so the uprising by the most poverty-stricken people is not only a threat to the white minority, also to the blacks who have made progress through their political connections and all sorts of corruption they have involved themselves in.

So what do we do? We must form a political formation which is going to lead the struggle and give it direction. That's the reason for the emergence of EFF. EFF is not a trade union.

EFF is a vanguard of the working class and the practice movement in South Africa. What constitutes the working class? The working class is not constituted only by organised labour. That will be naïve and, actually, organised labour or unions have got a potential to be workerist, and only be obsessed with improving their salaries and their working conditions without incorporating the struggles of communities into workers' struggle.

So we are this party that includes the employed workers, the unemployed workers, the landless people, the homeless, the rural mass, the poorest of the poor into one formation. We are that type of an organisation and this puts us very well, as a leader of the struggles of the working class.

So it will require of the EFF to organise all the Left formations and give that direction. How do you do that? You do that by defining a very clear socialist programme which will usher socialism into South Africa.

The theory on socialism has been debated over and over and over. Many scholars have written about that, but very few have come up with a very clear programme on how to realise socialism.

We want to realise socialism, we want our people to benefit from the resources of the land and we want the state to own the means of production. We are very clear about that and we don't have to sing, 'Socialism! Socialism!' because socialism has been vulgarised and it's being used to scare people.

We speak to the programme of socialism and those who know what socialism is as an ideology, will hear through our articulation that this is socialist politics.

JS So now you're talking about the socialism of Hugo Chavez, you're talking about that strand of Latin American-style socialism.

It's confusing for people because you've said, for example, around attracting the youth, you would use a simplified form of Marxism, because "It speaks to the issues that have always been relevant".

JM Look, we don't want to complicate the advancement of Marxism, especially when dealing with ordinary people who, ordinarily, are not politicised.

You have to find a means to simplify it and win them over so that you build a political consciousness of your society, and your society is not simply swayed away from the main agenda by those who are opposed to the type of struggle you advance.

So, our struggle is the one that our people are advancing. They need the land, they need the mineral resources, they need the natural resources. They want to be in charge of their destination, they want an equal society. And we are fighting for that and that is not anti-Marxism.

That is Marxism in practical form and it will take our people to the Promised Land, but this socialism should not be uniformity.

We shouldn't say Cuba did it this way, we shouldn't say the Soviet Union did it this way. We must interpret it and give it a local meaning so that it becomes relevant to our people, because if you expect all Marxists to walk like this, to talk like this, to dance like this and all must do that, then it's bound to fail.

I think that part of ... trying to implement Marxism was to try and get everybody to be made out of the same image. It's not correct. What is done in Venezuela may not be done in China, what is done in China may not be done in Cuba. The socialism with Chinese characteristics, you know.

So why not have our own local [Marxism], without compromising the fundamental principles of Marxism, but introduce it in a manner that it will take everyone along and it will not scare people.

JS I think it is important in that light to also say that in your manifesto, when you are talking about relationships with the global economy, you haven't isolated that to only socialist economies.

You have also referred to Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan. You have referred to Asian economies which may not have had a socialist background, but which, some as emerging economies, can offer a relevance. You have certainly looked at India.

It is interesting as well that you articulate that around how the resources are all automatically going towards the ocean, but we need to invest and get relationships on this continent.

So, when you developed your manifesto and the ideology that you wish to take to people, without pumping the theoretical issues at them, why are there no African economies in that?

Why are you not using those examples? Do we honestly not have the kinds of economies on this continent that you feel would work here?

JM Look, we draw inspiration from different economies that have succeeded and we looked at what has failed and what has worked. We speak about Zimbabwe, how their land has helped to realise the potential of the people of Zimbabwe.

We look at how the copper mines failed in [the process of] Zambian nationalisation. We look at the leadership of Sankara, and how that can help us improve the leadership style we want to practise.

So, there are generally many African examples that we looked into which received massive attack from the imperialist forces so that they do not succeed, and we're saying, how do we learn from

that? What is it that we can take from them and what is it that we cannot take from that?

For instance from Zimbabwe, we're taking the land as an example of how Africans can reclaim their land, but we do not take the method used to obtain the land. So when we speak about Zimbabwe, it is very important that you don't jump and say, 'Hey, you see now, you see now!' We are seeing the land, well and good, it's what we need, but we don't need violence to obtain the transfer of the land into the hands of rightful owners.

There are many things we can learn from Nigeria and things that we do not want to happen in our country. Why did other failed states in Africa come to that level of a failed state? Are the ideas we are introducing not going to lead us into the same situation we found ourselves in? ... The Latin American [countries], how have they done it? The Brazilians, the Venezuelans, the Cubans and all those countries that are beginning to be liberated zones economically and people taking charge.

JS And very much united politically.

JM Yes, Latin America, very much united politically with a big brother, Cuba, serving as that inspiration to them. That unity of Latin America, if applied in southern Africa, with Zimbabwe leading. That type of political relationship and economic independence, it can be a success story to tell the next generation.

That's why Zimbabwe gets the attack it's getting, because its success will mean that other countries must follow. So you must oppress Zimbabwe, you must put it under sanctions, you must do everything in your power to ensure that they do not succeed so that no one dares to practise what the Zimbabweans have done.

If we begin to follow, which is what we need to do, and liberate the southern African economy to serve as a source of inspiration for the whole of Africa. If we succeed in economically liberating southern Africa, for which the potential is there, then we are guaranteed of the independence of Africa and I think, for me, we need to use both the success stories of India, the whole of Asia, Japan, the Chinese and the Venezuelans, Latin America – a success in revolutions.

Let's use that to share the possibility of how Africa can succeed, and we must be happy that we are that generation which has ... an opportunity to learn from other successes or failed projects so that we don't repeat the same mistakes.

JS So, two controversial questions.

JM Yes, sure.

JS Let's get Botswana out of the way. Do you still believe there should be a regime change there?

JM [*Laughing*] There should be.

JS Because this got you into a lot of trouble. Let's talk about what happened behind the scenes.

JM No, I didn't get into any trouble. The ... ANC agreed that there's a problem in Botswana. Botswana is always breaking ranks when it comes to SADC positions.

JS Mugabe, etc?

JM Ja, Mugabe especially as it relates to, you know, the imperialist forces. Botswana breaks ranks with the AU on any number of issues, the latest being Kenyatta, Southern Sudan and all manner of things.

I mean, after Zuma voted for the killing of Gaddafi, there was a developed attitude by African states that, ah, it looks like this resolution, it's wrong. Please give us time to interpret.

Botswana insisted on that sort of intervention, which doesn't bring a long-lasting solution to Libya. We are witnessing it now, we criticised it then, but Botswana supported such things. Botswana is a problem. Tokyo [Sexwale] gave ... very, very, you know, good evidence on the things that they discovered when they were in Botswana, assigned by OR Tambo to go and investigate those things.

This was a veteran of the ANC giving such evidence in the DC⁴ of the ANC, even though we went into detail of how threatening Botswana is to the peace of southern Africa and South Africa, in particular. So Botswana's opposition must be helped to unite because the disintegration of opposition in Botswana has not helped to remove the puppet regime.

Unity of opposition shouldn't mean merging it, but they must be strengthened as individual organisations to increase their

percentages. The increase of such percentages will reduce the majority of the ruling party and give room for a coalition government, as a start, which will lay a foundation for a fully fledged, you know, alternative in Botswana that will not be controlled by imperialist forces.

It's not Julius Malema's decision, it's an ANC Youth League decision. It is in the Youth League's resolutions. I was just articulating, on behalf of the Youth League, the resolutions on Botswana. And that was not ill-discipline in terms of ANC conduct, but that [it] was used to further the political differences. The DC of the ANC was used to settle political differences between individuals who were threatened by others' participation in the structures of the ANC.

It was an excuse, it was not an issue of discipline and we all know that, they know that, they consciously, they know that themselves.

JS I want to talk in a little bit of detail about the disciplinary, because I think it was such an issue around you, but I just wanted to get the subject of Mugabe, you know, also on the table. So, first question, is he funding the EFF?

JM He is not, he is not. Mugabe is not funding EFF.

Since we formed the EFF, we have been trying to get an appointment with some ZANU-PF comrades and it has been very difficult. Look, we speak to some of them individually on the phone and all that, and when they are here, we meet to exchange political ideas and all that, but there hasn't been any form of a relationship.

The only alliance partner of ZANU-PF in South Africa is the ANC, so we don't have any formal relations with ZANU-PF. We have never had a meeting with Mugabe. We have never received any monies from Mugabe.

JS As EFF?

JM As EFF, even as individuals. We would wish to receive money from Mugabe because that would be revolutionary money – it would not be money that is accompanied by imperialist conditions.

It would be support for the revolution, in the same way African states did during the apartheid times. [They] supported formations that they believed were advancing a genuine cause. And

Zimbabweans, if they want to succeed in the programmes they are having there in Zimbabwe, they will have to start supporting such initiatives outside of Zimbabwe, because they can only be sustainable if other countries start joining them. Because imperialist forces wouldn't want to have sanctions imposed on the whole of southern Africa or on the whole of Africa.

They wouldn't do that, so the more we join them, the more chances they get of having their revolution succeed. Zimbabwe can't operate like a loner. It has to get friends and partners beyond its borders and it has to work with them, and if it means financially supporting such initiatives to get the agenda starting ... in other different countries, so be it ...

Any form of support for the project to succeed, both materially and ideologically and any other way. Let's use their method to advance the agenda.

So they have not been forthcoming. We have had some discussions with some of our commissars. We have asked them to actually go and engage in Zimbabwe with different formations and individuals and see what form of, you know, intervention can we get.

They are just from elections. We are going into elections. They can equally share what makes the Zimbabweans accept their radical policies which gave them the two-thirds majority. We can learn one or two things out of that – it's not only about finance, but also about sharing experiences.

JS Where is this coming from, you know, now all of a sudden there are all of these rumours circulating around that?

JM Around?

JS Around Mugabe and that relationship. You have now articulated what the truth of the situation is. So you don't know whether it's emanating from inside the ANC?

JM No, it's Gwede, it's Gwede, I don't know why he likes being painted like that because he has got potential as a leader to articulate on very complex political questions, but he degenerates all the time.

I don't know why. I don't know what happened, I mean all the time, he's not scared to just throw a lousy allegation around and it becomes a serious issue.

JS Is he angry with you?

JM No, he's not angry with me. He doesn't appreciate the position he holds and its influence. You don't just speak loosely like that, especially when you are in that position – When we were in the Youth League, Gwede used to say we were being trained by Zimbabweans. He hated the beret.

I was so, like, 'Wow' when he was defending the beret now, when the ANC did a red beret. Gwede was saying, we are trained by ... Zimbabwe and I was like, ah man, it can't be? A man, a leader in his position, to just come with such wild allegations like that. It can't be, you know.

One day I want to just take a credible journalist who enjoys the respect and credibility of our people, and we'll print the financial statement of EFF and give it to them, not to print it, just to go through and not write figures and all that. So that you can see if there is any suspicious transaction ...

You will get the beret money and membership money and one or two or three people who have contributed either R20 000, R50 000 and all that.

Otherwise we survive on the beret.

JS Okay, so right now you have got about a 400 000 membership, everybody is paying R10. By the way, on that, it's important that one also situates the fact, as you have, that ... R10 is actually a lot of money. So they are giving you perhaps their last R10 or some way in which they have got R10 together.

JM Some are refusing to pay, they refuse. I went to a funeral in the village where my grandfather comes from and after the funeral there were four ladies who came to me – “Malema, we want to join your party, but we can't pay R10. We don't have it. We want to join now.”

They don't have it. The R10 to get a plastic card and the R10 to buy bread ... which they need for themselves and their children.

JS So what do you say to those people?

JM But we can't, we can't give it for free because R10 is not for money making. It's a show of commitment to the cause. You have to do something for the cause because if you pay R10, you will then take it upon yourself to go and see where my money went.

JS What are you giving them for R10?

JM They get a card, which is very expensive to print because it's printed with colour ... Ja, so it is only that, but the experience tells us that when people have paid money they always follow that money.

Where did my R10 go? I want to see. When they come to follow up the R10, they get baptised with politics and their consciousness grows beyond wanting to follow R10. Now they realise, it's not only R10. This is bigger than R10. This is my home. This is where we belong. I want to take part in changing the lives of our people, so that sign of commitment through contributing R10 is what we are asking for.

And that's why we have got a criterion in the EFF of paid-up membership and unpaid membership, but there are members who have not paid, you see, and we are still waiting for their R10.

One day they will get a bonus, they will have R30 and they will go, like, let me settle.

JS But it does put poverty into perspective for people. Because for us, R10 is very little. So there is a situation at the moment where—

JM But our membership is the cheapest. Ours is the cheapest. I think the ANC one is R12 and COPE is R50.

JS But now you have a situation where two political parties are struggling. We read that COPE may be bankrupt, Agang was alleged to not have paid salaries for three months—

Now that you are actually campaigning, and you're realising the costs attached to that. It is huge. Do you have a fear around funding?

What is your solidarity framework around money? There must be some way that you can sustain yourself. Obviously you don't want people not being paid for three months because then they become disillusioned.

JM No, no one gets paid here. No, no one gets paid in the EFF.

JS So no one is getting paid at the moment, including yourself, Julius?

JM No, no.

JS So, how are you surviving?

JM I am a beggar. I am a beggar and you know it's literally like that, it's literally like that. Whatever cent we get, we share it, we eat from

the same plate. When you don't have electricity or you've not paid your car, it becomes everybody's nightmare. But it becomes a nightmare for everybody, you know, like how do we help one of us who is battling like that? You know it's bad like that. It's bad.

JS And has it been bad already?

JM Come again?

JS Is it already difficult?

JM It has been difficult from the first day. We have never had a luxury of enjoying some foreign funding, like Agang and all that. But we knew that it's going to be bad, we knew forming a party is the most expensive thing. Extremely.

But we sell our berets in bulk. We don't sell one by one from head office. You buy 100, from 100 upwards. 100 each for R80, so ... the amount is R8 000 or so. So, if we get three or four people to buy that 100, then we know we have settled the rent.

JS And those people can then sell the berets off as they please?

JM Sell themselves, the way they want. Some are selling for R150 and all those things. Yes, so the beret has been very helpful. Now we are introducing different types of shirts. You would have seen the shirts that I wear.

JS Yes and even different hats, I have seen.

JM Ja, and different types of things have been produced and our people are buying now, so we are surviving through merchandise. Because we have taken a decision that we don't want a luxurious campaign, we don't want an expensive campaign. House to house, community meetings, small as they are, as long we can have many of those ...

If we have met 40 communities with almost 1 000 people participating, we have met 40 000 people or more. That would be very expensive for you to bring them into Orlando stadium in the form of a rally, but those who bring 40 000 people in the stadium, you are in the same situation as them because, although you have not met 40 000 all at once, you have met 40 communities, each with not less than 1 000 people. And that's our strategy.

Yesterday we were in Tembisa for our preparatory committee meeting for our launch rally. We're supposed to have met in a hall in Tembisa, next to a hostel, but we couldn't have a meeting because, when we arrived there, the hall was full of people from the hostels.

They had heard we were coming there. We had to leave that venue quietly. The only venue we could find was a crèche in Winnie Mandela. We had the meeting there. When we got out – just people [everywhere]. It was eleven at night or so – the streets were full of people.

I went a distance far from the hostels. This is a different constituency at night. We are there to talk to them and this is what distances us from Agang. Mamphela Ramphele is refusing to walk on the ground.

JS We have just talked about this, whether you have approached her?

JM No, I didn't approach her. She has refused. She is appreciating the only way we can win these people is by going to them and they get very excited that Julius Malema is in this shack here holding a meeting in our area.

That's what our people want, accessible leadership, so that's our campaign.

There is no money, literally no money. And then personally I have seen my cousins coming in, from close relatives to distant relatives, calling, supporting and they said if you want anything you must call, we'll see how we contribute.

So when I get frustrated in KZN without accommodation I call them and they say – No fine, we will see what we can do, and they go all out to contribute, sort out the accommodation because also family members have taken a conscious decision to be supportive.

I am talking, you know, from a personal experience. Ja, and comrades may not have those types of support, many of them, and it is very difficult, but it is equally so humbling and touching to see the type of effort comrades make.

I mean you get a comrade from the Eastern Cape in Mpumalanga who serves in the national leadership, going there to help because the commander-in-chief is going to Mpumalanga, so we need to go there.

You are right there, you find them working, you are like, how did they arrive here? They used their own resources. The organisation doesn't transport them. They share rooms, sleep three, four in one hotel room.

[They] wake up the following day and continued with work as if nothing happened. There are no luxuries, nothing, and it is so touching that it reminds you of struggle days where people take it upon themselves to fight for a cause.

The launch in Marikana was a turning point. It actually reminded us of 1993, 1994 ... people going to tear some branches on the tree, tie it on their head and start walking to the rally to make a shade.

You know it is a struggle spirit, because when we were in the Youth League, we were swimming in the pool of luxury and we used to have a debate in the Youth League, people saying they can't share rooms. No, we can't share rooms, they say – 'When I come to meetings, why must I share rooms?' and all that. And now ... people [are] not arguing about such things. They are ready.

... They know if you are leaving here, the next programme is in North West. Once they see this meeting has taken place they immediately leave to the next programme. [If] they know you are coming that side, they must be prepared to help those people. But also those people, when they see people coming from outside their province, they get energised, they get motivated, work hard, the commander-in-chief is coming, you know. It's so humbling that our people have taken it upon themselves to fight for their cause.

JS These kinds of stories are similar to the ones that Mavuso Msimang tells, and Max Sisulu, about when they were young, in exile, in Lusaka.

I want to know the story of the red berets. As we've said, Mantashe was wrong in saying – No, it was always an ANC thing. You yourself have said you wore black berets, so when you were developing this, what a very clever marketing ploy, who said let's do this and let's do it this way? Because it has worked extremely well. There are a whole different number of reasons why now you are distinctive and it seems to be such a simple lever. Was it you?

JM Yes, look, the red colour is symbolising Leftist politics internationally and when we took the position we took, of being an alternative radical left, for me it had to be red.

The first EFF press conference, I called Floyd. I said, Floyd, when we were in the Youth League there used to be a guy who used to print things for us quickly and all that. Can you get me a red

beret? Me – Get me a red beret, I want to address the press conference with a red beret, and then [Floyd] said, no fine, I know that guy, I will call him and do it.

It was only when I came in that I found that Floyd had printed berets for everyone and that was so good because it gave a very good picture.

But I had placed an order for myself because I was wearing a black beret in the Youth League and I couldn't wear the same colour because we were about to bring an alternative to what used to be our home. So an alternative would have meant that also the colours must change, and red was the immediate colour I thought of.

I served all my life, almost, as the president of the Youth League. I went into press conferences with a beret then and I thought, I am not going into this one without one, so I will need a red one, and then Floyd spontaneously decided to bring them for everybody – and, wonderful!

So there was never a red beret in the Youth League. It was not a Youth League decision, because if you said that the berets should be red, it would have to be a decision taken and not spontaneous.

I was wearing a black beret of my own. It was not Youth League regalia. No, it was an individual choice, so therefore the Youth League can't say we made a decision on the red beret.

... I think [it was] the old-aged Mzwandile who says that the Youth League took a decision on the red beret at the Midrand conference. I presided over that conference. He doesn't even know who ruled over those resolutions and how they look. I know those resolutions. There is no such a thing. Actually in Midrand, if you remember we were wearing journalist jackets. The one with short sleeves.

Ja, and then the hat we're wearing, was a camouflaged hat with a Youth League logo. That was an official decision of the merchandise we were going to print for the Youth League.

The ANC, its colours, they are not red. It doesn't have red anywhere. To introduce a red beret is disingenuous and dishonest and to want to defend it, the way they are doing, they must be ashamed.

So why am I saying they can't have a red beret, the ANC? Because they don't have that colour in their colours. Your [organisation's] merchandise, you make it out of the colours of your organisation. Just imagine one day the ZCC just prints dresses for women with green kit. There is no such a colour in the colours of the ZCC.

JS And the ANC has such dominant strong, well-loved traditional colours.

JM You know – and if they were so desperate for red, they could have ... given the people Communist Party red, a beret. We wouldn't have fought about the colour because the Communist Party has had that colour forever and ever. It's not in dispute, but the Communist Party did not have the red beret and so it can't be correct.

JS Even the language which has been very effective – to call people 'fighters'. This is very interesting because it does also give you a different situation. So if you are a member of the EFF, you are not just a member of the EFF, you are a fighter. Who developed these ideas?

JM No, it's a language that we [developed]. First we agreed that we are not going to call ourselves by traditional names, because traditional names make people ... comfortable with the positions and they think they are something they are not. Like executive committees, you know, you start behaving like you must wear a tie and suit to meet your position halfway.

No, we are a central command team, forces must be commanded, ground forces must be ready, there must always be that military discipline and determination to want to emerge victorious.

The language you use is very important. I learnt this from Cuban politics – I went to Cuba for months to political school.

They have always taught us that the language you use to call meetings, how you articulate yourself, how you call each other, influences whether people will come to meetings or not. So we agreed that this is how we are going to call ourselves to give people a sense of a fight which is going on, and they must not relax and think that we have arrived.

They know we are fighters, we must fight to change the living conditions of their people, so we will always strive for a different

type of, you know, presence which will make us unique.

Yesterday we were doing a poster for the elections. We were enquiring with the IEC whether it is acceptable for a person to wear, to appear on the ballot paper with a beret and all that.

They came back and said no, it is allowed, there's no problem. So we set out this picture with a beret and all that. It seems to be a consensus that we must wear a beret on the ballot paper and all our posters.

Should we have a poster calling Malema for president? And we said, for what? Because in South Africa there are no presidential elections, so let them call themselves candidate rather. There is no such a thing. This is party parliamentary politics and people choose their party.

So, no Malema for president. We would rather come with a unique message, which will marshal your forces and you don't seem to be part of the whole group of politicians who do and say almost the same thing.

So we always sit down and say, how do we present ourselves differently because what we're saying is that we are an alternative. You can't be seen as an alternative if you do what they do, so you need to model yourself and present yourself in a different way and there is no specialist amongst us.

There is no, nothing, there is just us, the activists.

JS Floyd was talking to me about the red background, the white background. Now in this poster you are wearing a suit. Okay, admittedly there is a red tie. But what is that about? Why weren't you wearing the beret, for example, in this poster? Is it the kind of image that you need to portray to the widest possible constituency?

JM We live in a society where corporate image ... has got an impact and you need to appeal to a different constituency, but you also need to tell them that we can also do these things that you think we can't do of being presentable and corporate like and all that.

So, this's just giving another side of Julius Malema, and who said wearing a suit and a tie is not revolutionary? I mean Chavez used to wear suits. So did Fidel Castro.

So although we are fighting for the working class, our politics resonates very well with the black middle class – still a subject of

exploitation, particularly at their work places where their junior staff behave like they are their senior staff just because of the colour of their skin.

They come to join the firm now, they teach them work, within three months they will be reporting to the same white people. They are doing the same job, they are not getting the same salary and all that. So, they still feel that pain.

They can actually relate to the politics we are articulating as economic freedom fighters and you need to give them that kind of comfort as well, that we are not just a group of militant people. That we are leadership and we can fit very well into any type of responsibility you want to assign us to because we are all all-rounders and that's what an activist and a fighter of economic freedom fighters should be.

You must be able to relate to different constituencies and appeal to them.

JS What was the last conversation that you had with Zuma? Do you remember it?

JM I can't remember [*laughs*]. I can't remember.

JS Was it acrimonious? Do you have a sense of it being an ending conversation; that it might be the last one you ever have?

JM Well, look, first I never had frequent, consistent conversation with Zuma. We were not that close, so I wouldn't say there was a point where we enjoyed this close, cosy relationship.

JS At all?

JM At all, at all. But if I had an issue to raise with him I would go to his house, I would go to his office and raise those issues. But I didn't have a special place in Zuma's house. So that's why I wouldn't even remember when was the last time I spoke to JZ.

The last time I touched his hand was during the centenary rally of the ANC in Bloemfontein. Ja, if my memory's not fading me, that was the last time I hugged Zuma, with his pretentious mind and all those things.

It was as he was coming closer to me, he opened his arms and said *Mongamela*, meaning 'president'. I was already on suspension then. So he hugged me and we greeted. That was it. From there I have never had any conversation with JZ.

The person that I used to call during those times was Gwede. Actually Gwede the last time we met was when we went to do the out-of-court settlement with AfriForum, and I was already out of the ANC then.

JS It felt to many people, I think the impression was somehow, yes, you and Zuma were close. But I don't think people always understand the ANC's true culture very well.

If we talk about your disciplinary [hearing], for example, did that mean that you were personally hurt by Cyril Ramaphosa? Did that mean that you had to reassess the type of person you thought, say, he was? What was your relationship with somebody like him prior to that DC?

JM I have never had a relationship with Cyril. I have never known Cyril. I was never close to Cyril in any shape or form – never. And I have never even before that heard Cyril speak anywhere.

I just knew that Cyril had sold out, that Cyril was disgruntled because Mandela didn't appoint him to deputy president. He didn't even attend Mandela's inauguration.

So Cyril for me was a biggest opportunist who abandoned his class consciousness for money, and all of a sudden became a millionaire and all that. So I have always had that type of an attitude. But I had a soft spot for him for the simple reason that he came from Limpopo and had that type of a background. And I thought that Limpopo people can always relate and engage easily on issues. But personally I didn't have any issues.

I used the limited information I had on him to judge his character as a person. I knew appearing before him was risky because he was in the deep pockets of big mining companies, and one of the ANC's senior leaders actually told me that Cyril was a personal project of the Oppenheims who handpicked him and worked very hard to take him through. And one of the things he had asked them was to be president of South Africa and a commitment, they said, they will take him.

So for me he remained an agent.⁵ - Also the part of not very clear accountability of how Cyril used to leave the country through legal means, the airports and all those things and how he has not suffered seriously harassment like others did during those difficult times.

Ah, for me it looked very dodgy and he didn't come across as someone very genuine and legitimate. So I never had respect for him. Mokaba didn't like him anyway, so I'm Mokaba's man. So if Peter has got a problem with someone, I know that there should be some serious fundamental problems with that type of an individual.

[The Youth League] didn't support him, when he was elected the secretary general of the ANC ... The Youth League didn't support Cyril and that was the most radical, politically grounded ANC Youth League so there should have been something they knew and it was unfortunate Peter is not here to give us answers.

The person that has actually disappointed me extremely is JZ because we had too much confidence in him, and personally, me and him, we had lines of communication. He could call me anytime.

I mean that day when I dealt with the BBC journalist, Zuma called me the following day and said, I think you've gone overboard and it didn't come out nicely. You have to find a way of correcting it, and I said to him, it was on the phone, I said, 'No, I'm going to have an interview now with SAFM in the next 30 minutes or so.' So I would apologise, and I did exactly that and because it was, you know, a genuine concern which even myself, I was thinking about it and how I reacted.

So we had that type of a channel of communication.

Zuma would then start saying we don't support the team and all that. Again, he never used his seniority, an elderly statesman to call us in and want to appreciate what really happened. What is it that I have done which makes the Youth League uncomfortable and all that? And then he used his power to manipulate the ANC's processes to get rid of us, on political differences which could have been resolved politically.

I mean, if Zuma had said to us, come here, if you want SG⁶-, it's not going to happen because of one, two, three, four. I went to have a meeting with JZ in his house in Durban, me and Mbalula when we were burying the chairperson of the ANC in the Ethekeini region. After that we left together to his house and we discussed for a very long time about how we are treating each other with suspicion and then—

JS Were you sitting in a car, the two of you and a driver?

JM No, we were sitting in the house.

JS Oh, you were already in his house.

JM We left the funeral to his house. We were even eating there. Eating nicely.

JS And it was a kind of private thing, just between the two of you?

JM The three of us.

JS You were with Mbalula—

JM Me, Mbalula and JZ. Me and Mbalula you couldn't separate us, we were going everywhere together and all that. But I'm not talking with him anymore. I only saw him ... in January in Cape Town for the first time since the formation of the EFF.

He had an attitude. It was a bit uncomfortable, so I said, no, I'm not going to bother myself. I'm not going to impose myself if he fears he's going to be victimised. I don't want to be blamed for having failed his career. I've seen it coming.

Anyway, so we were sitting there.

We had an honest debate about the country, about corruption, about what needs to happen going forward, and all sorts of things. And when we left, we were like, we are on the same side. Monday, Zuma is a different person altogether.

JS What is your belief as to—

JM No, Zuma is dishonest. No, he is not an honourable person. You speak to him – I suspect he doesn't tell you what are the real issues. He pretends like everything is fine, then when you are going to meetings, he is a different character altogether.

JS So the trust was absent—

JM Then, from there I just said this man can't be relied on and then there were attempts and attempts. There was a day where actually Zizi Kodwa called me and Zizi was my friend also, he was worried about the relationships and he said please, please, my brother, create time and go and see the old man. Just go alone and go see the old man and even during the DC, Zizi was trying to navigate through something to get us to meet and all that.

But it couldn't happen, I mean, I told Zizi, I also told Mbalula, I have no problem meeting with JZ, but I am going to leave the meeting with an impression that all is well and good, only to find that ...

So I said it's not always advisable to meet JZ because when he comes to a meeting, he speaks like there was never any form of interaction between you and me, so I can't be frequenting Zuma's house, when I know the man is dishonest and does whatever he wants to do.

And then Zizi said okay – Zizi fought and said you can't be tired of talking to each other as president to president. It doesn't matter what the result, but there couldn't be a point when you take a decision that you are no longer meeting.

I said, Ag I am not going, and that's how the whole thing collapsed. I was no longer engaging.

JS Did you feel hurt by him? Did it have an emotional impact on you?

JM Yes, it did, it did. For a person that you have contributed so much in his defence and in the defence of the movement, and the movement that you would have wished to be a part of all your life. There was never a point where I ever thought I could leave the ANC because I have known the ANC all my life.

So, it was so disappointing and I think I am not the only one. I think he has disappointed many of those who have trusted him.

We all saw him as an old man, we all saw him as a father figure, we all saw him as a unifier, but he was the opposite—

JS What are the issues? Is it personality flaws?

JM Ja, Zuma is not loyal to anybody. All those people who have been there for him have been on a receiving end of his leadership style.

JS But then, why does he remain? This is obviously a key question. Had you stayed inside the ANC, do you believe you could have been a lever to recall him? But why does he remain so powerful?

JM No, no, he is not powerful. If we had remained in the ANC we would have removed Zuma as president, we would have removed him so easily and successfully. Our problems started in the NGC of the ANC, when Zuma, Cyril, Trevor, Max Sisulu, all those big guys of the ANC said they will never be such a discussion on nationalisation and expropriation of land in the ANC. Even when we're discussing it.

JS Does that mean they shut down dissent, they shut down an alternative point of view?

JM No, I am trying to give you a history.

And then even when the NGC was going on, they were doing interviews outside ... there is no nationalisation, and all sorts of things. Things are going very well.

Then we went inside the plenary to take discussions and everyone agreed on consensus on nationalisation. Jeff Radebe tried to suppress it and the conference rose and said to Radebe, as the chair of the meeting, you are not summarising the consensus of the meeting.

He was pushed to a point where it nearly led to the collapse of the NGC in Durban. The NGC before the Mangaung conference. And they lost that debate completely, and that was losing authority as leadership, and they realised it then that these young people are extremely influential and if they are not taken care of, they will remove us as leadership.

And we were almost there, and that's when they manipulated the process, called us into the DC to suppress dissent, like you were saying, and they removed the whole agenda of economic freedom from the ANC agenda and started rigging branches of the ANC.

JS But why, on such a fundamental issue that is absolutely integral to every single aspect of South African life – which is the poor of this country – do you think the ANC abandoned that agenda?

Have they, not the movement itself, not all party members themselves, but the current leadership, become so alienated that you and the group of people around you in the ANC Youth League, who were promoting that agenda, became enemies? Why? What happened inside the leadership that they seemed to lose touch with the poor?

JM After the NGC, we went then to Mangaung, and then every structure that looked like it was still advancing that agenda was attacked. Then Limpopo was removed, was disbanded, and then the Youth League was disbanded, precisely because capital had captured the ANC.

Capital had completely captured the ANC and there were capitalists running the ANC from outside. Remember, [Johann] Rupert said the Youth League is like an irritating mosquito in a tent. It needs Doom. Cyril, Trevor, Jeff, Jacob, all of them became that Doom which Rupert spoke about.

I mean we get to appeal the decision. Okay, the DC first, then can I go. [Rupert] said a white Afrikaner feels unsettled and uncomfortable with our posture on issues of the dominance of Afrikaners and white people in particular in South Africa.

Collins Chabane is the Minister in Jacob Zuma's office and feels threatened by our presence because we want to remove Jacob Zuma.

And then Susan Shabangu said nationalisation will never happen in her lifetime. She sits there to prosecute people who are advocating for nationalisation, which she said will never happen in her lifetime.

Ayanda Dlodlo, who's the secretary general of MKMVA⁷ at the time, a very close confidant of Jacob Zuma ... they sit there, they found us guilty.

We appeal.

A stupid thing we did was appeal, I think. We should have known politically that we were actually taking ourselves to the higher structure of hanging people because there is Cyril Ramaphosa, the 'Oppenheimer', is prosecuting us, to listen to us appeal. There is Trevor Manuel. There is Jeff Radebe whose wife is involved in business, whose brother-in-law is the big black mining magnate in South Africa.

Who else was there? Yes, those I can remember. Now you get prosecuted by people who have expressed themselves, politically, that they do not agree with your agenda and these people are captured by capital ... Cyril Oppenheimer married to Patrice Motsepe's sister ... they are all in the mines, and we want to take their mines. Trevor Manuel is worse. And that's precisely because the ANC was captured by capital. The working class has lost the ANC.

JS But how did that happen, how did they allow that to happen?

JM Through manipulation. When you are in power, remember you have got too much power. You can dispense patronage, you can give people money, you can use the power of the structures you are leading to legitimise you as a leader and your faction as leadership. So we are led by a faction, which abandoned the political morality of the African National Congress to advance factional agendas which were sponsored by capital. Everything [that happened] in

Mangaung disappears, as does what we have achieved in the NGC of the ANC.

So, when we formed the Economic Freedom Fighters, this was equally through the appreciation that the ANC has been captured by capital and an understanding that any agenda which seeks to advance leftist politics will never be tolerated.

I think that the last point on this aspect – there was a song which was created by the KZN people when we were expelled. They were singing it in Mangaung.

It said, “Malema, you almost misled us and we almost believed you,” but they sang it in Zulu ... which is a sign of an appreciation that the masses were moved, including those in Zuma’s own province.

Masses were moved, like the agenda of the Youth League was the way to go.

JS Getting now to some of the policy issues ...

There is a quote where you were saying that young women “should not queue for grants, they should be at work with their make-up on”.

“You will see how beautiful a working person is. When someone starts working, her beauty is plain for all to see. The hairstyle is elegant. Hunger and poverty hide their beauty. We can’t see it. But give them jobs and you will see it.”

Now when you think about social grants as a lever to provide people with some kind of base out of which they might create a place for themselves in the economy, are you saying that the EFF doesn’t want social grants to be part of your economic policy?

What is your position?

JM No, social grants are part of our economic policy, but they can’t be a long-lasting solution to the problem of poverty confronted by our people and it looks like there is somebody who thinks that they must be celebrated, they must be long term.

It can’t be. You can’t produce a dependency state. We need our people to be dependent, we need our people to work for their living ... they are ashamed of themselves, they are not proud of those social grants, it humiliates them.

But they accept it because there's nothing in the immediate [future] to help them, you know, reduce poverty.

So the solution is job creation, where they will work very hard and they will celebrate their hard work when they are paid those salaries, and jobs have got a way of restoring dignity and you are not regarded as a person who just receives free money and not doing anything.

It helps revive your pride and your dignity. That's what a job does and the restoration of the dignity of the black people cannot rely on social grants, child support grants. We need to give more actually to the elderly because the elderly, they look after families and they're being regarded as a dependable force by all around them and they are the ones who without fail pay for their services, they are the ones who are concerned about children going to school, they are the ones that are extremely concerned about providing food for their children and their grandchildren.

So again there is somebody sitting wherever who tries to distort what I am saying with a view to scare me that no, we lose votes, don't talk about social grants, child support grants.

It's a temporary measure, but we continue to implement it, but it is not a long-term sustainable solution for the eradication of poverty. And somebody this morning sent me an SMS and said, No, Malema, this thing of child support grants, you must not talk about it because women don't want to work.

I say, what are you talking about? It is not true. It's not true that a woman doesn't want to work, our women have proven to be one of the hard workers and who are very good at what they are doing. You give them opportunity, you will see that women want to work.

So it must never be that our women are a bunch of lazy people, who must just be given social grants, because they don't want to work.

It's not true. Women want to work. And we need to give priority especially to those with children so that they can continue to feed their children and provide for them.

So that's where we come from. We're not saying we do away with social grants, we'll give our people social grants, they are an immediate temporary relief, they are proven to have some impact.

But it can't be a long-term solution.

JS And obviously what that feeds into is one of your dominant positions, around jobs. So here we have a ruling party which has, in 20 years, not really been able to change the status quo.

So people will naturally ask, you know, as the ANC and the DA move closer together in terms of what you regard as their neo-liberal policies, they will say, what will the EFF be able to do differently?

We are confronted by a society that is dominated by the poor, that has close to a 37% effective unemployment rate.

What on earth can the EFF possibly do to change that?

JM They can't create jobs if they do not own the means of production, because neo-liberal policies encourages maximisation of profit by private capital, and private capital by its own nature has its intention to maximise profit.

Why create jobs? A job that can be done by five people, is done by two people and the salary which was supposed to go into the three others who are cut out of that job, doesn't even go into these two who are performing the job of five people.

It goes into the dividends and is declared profit, stealing from the workers. So you can't create jobs as long as you do not own the land, you do not own the minerals, you do not own the natural resources.

With the land alone and the protection of agricultural industry, you can create a lot of jobs. If you want to think of any sector, be it those who produce beef, meat – it is not protected. Chicken, it is not protected. Mealie meal, it is not protected.

There is nothing protected produced by South Africans. And it has been proven that actually the chicken from Brazil comes much more cheaper in South Africa and is sold very cheap, undermining the chicken industry.

You know, I am just giving that as an example.

And you spend R4 to buy a Brazilian chicken and R12 to buy a Zimbabwean chicken, so you will rather buy a Brazilian chicken and once you buy Brazilian chicken you are lowering the production of the South African chicken, if not killing it completely, and once you lower the production because the demand is not high, you are leading to the release of those who are working because there is no

longer production and demand and you contribute to the increase of the unemployment because of the unprotected market in South Africa.

So it's wrong, agriculture must be protected.

South African products, the things that we can produce and we are good at producing, they must be deliberately protected and not just open this economy for world exploitation without any benefits to South African markets.

So agriculture turned things around in Brazil. The mineral resources turned things around in Venezuela, you know, and gave quality healthcare, education and all sorts of things for those nationalised economies.

So you can't create jobs if you do not own your own economy. It's foreign-owned, it's driven by market forces who want to maximise profit and pay workers low wages. These two performing a job of five, that salary which was supposed to go to three, it doesn't go to them.

They also don't get a salary for two. They get less than a salary for two. So, that is extreme exploitation and that's what we will do different.

Firstly, we need to own our land, and then use our land to produce for ourselves and for the whole world, and protect every sector of the economy which produces and creates jobs for us.

JS You are talking very strongly about a food economy, which is a very important thing in light of the fact how much we export.

The next response would be – well, you have to take into account international markets, you know. The effect of those kinds of policies simply on currency, on belief in the country and so on.

How much has been built into your thinking of the attention you have to pay to Western democracies' response to the thought of a democratic socialist government in South Africa?

JM Look, the Western market forces are not even considered in this perspective because ordinarily they would not agree, it's against what they represent, which is exploitation, exclusion and dominance of the world economy.

So we will have to look for alternative markets and markets that are prepared to invest in Africa through the terms determined by

African leadership.

And the Asian markets are emerging very well ... also in terms of their population, it makes it easier for us to target them as alternative markets.

Look, the Russian market as well, which has been in consistent competition with other Western markets ... presenting themselves as an alternative and a big brother in the international economy.

They are also willing to engage in economies that are people-driven and people-owned economies. And we always give an example on how the Chinese have done it, for instance, with the tobacco industry.

Owned by 4 400 white Rhodesian families, and then the Zimbabweans seized that. Now owned by more than 40 000 indigenous African people and sells more than what 4 400 white families were selling. And the Chinese are buying the Zimbabwean tobacco. It's doing very well, you know.

So the mining sector in Zimbabwe continues to produce. The Zimplants has not closed shop despite that the people have taken a very, very clear decision of what needs to happen with their mineral resources and participation by indigenous people and all that.

They say artificial or just formal imposing of sanctions on Zimbabwe, yet go underground to want to source some of the things that they need to sustain their economies.

They speak very bad, I have never met any white person who speaks very good of Zimbabwe on the streets, but the reality is that SAA has increased the size of the plane [which flies] between South Africa and Zimbabwe, and 99% of those in those planes are white people. We are still trading with Zimbabwe.

Investors don't want ambiguous policies. They want firm, clear policy. Where does South Africa stand on this, when they didn't get approached and they say, okay, where do we get in there, how can we make money out of that type of a place?

That's what market forces want: a clear, determined policy.

China is a state-owned economy. They are trading with it, including Americans. They are owing China a lot of money. So why are they trading with China?

There is stability, the currency is consistent, they are trading internationally, they have got a well-organised market that all of us need, those who are in business. So, if you don't do business with China, one of the advantages, they have ... a population.

If you don't do business with them, it means you don't do business with almost 50% of the world population, and then you are disadvantaged.

So, Chinese have got a population. It gives them an advantage.

What do we have as South Africans that gives us an advantage? Minerals. We must be in charge of our minerals and hold them very firmly and negotiate and say, this is how we are going to engage with each other, and if you don't agree, hard luck, you are out.

South Africans need to appreciate the fact that there will be a serious backlash in the immediate when we engage in such a type of policies, but I don't expect a very harsh attitude from the Western forces if the method used is constitutional, is within the law and the democratic means are used to transfer ownership of the economy into the hands of the people.

JS I think there are two important issues here around private property. What you would envisage, and just to come back to Venezuela again, where, as we know, this is not a feature of their economy.

And secondly, just to discuss what you would envisage around a state-owned mining company and how that would play out in terms of miners in general?

JM Look, private property, it should be guaranteed. Our people should continue, particularly the residential areas.

The nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries doesn't include spaza shops, doesn't include people's private homes and all. We are speaking big industries here. But you must continue to have your saloon. Why must we tamper with it?

We must continue to have a mini-factory producing just for these people here what you produce for them.

It shouldn't be a wholesale nationalisation which restricts private participation in business. We don't talk about that. That's why I said we need socialism that will reflect the true state of South African people.

And part of which is that the people are exposed to private ownership of certain things which they can't let go. And we are not going to be taking people's houses and saying this is now communal land. No. No.

JS And farmers?

JM The farms must be integrated between the white owners and the communities which have been robbed of this land.

The process of doing that, we need to put a system in place to guarantee protection, because the integration of a farmer into the broader community should not lead to lowering of the production of that farm. So, the land should be the property of the state and the state should be able to determine how this land is going to be used.

I am saying so because if we allow private ownership, we're going to undermine our sovereignty. Bill Gates with all his money, he can buy South Africa, the whole of it and decide what he wants to do with it. I mean a place like Northern Cape can be bought and fenced with a wall. They've got money. We shouldn't allow foreign ownership of the land. We shouldn't allow private ownership of the land, because it will undermine the sovereignty of the country.

If the marked territory called South Africa is in the private hands, then what is the responsibility of the state? The state's role is minimised, if not eradicated completely. We are all under one man called Oppenheimer.

The Oppenheimers are owning a big land, bigger than many cities in Zimbabwe. For you to see it you have to go through that land, over with a chopper. And even for the chopper to go all over that land, it will have to refuel. That's how big the land is in Zimbabwe, owned by a private, individual family. We can't allow that. An individual can't have monopoly over the land, because the land is the one that determines your sovereignty and your identity as a state. What kind of a state are you if you don't have a land which gives you your sovereignty?

JS Let's talk about the possibility of a so-called 'African Spring'. Is it your view that if the ANC returns to power with the kind of majority it feels it needs, say, to even be able to change the Constitution, do you have a real concern or even a fear that this could be the outcome – if we have another five years of the ANC?

JM I don't think there will be a revolt based on the ANC winning elections. The revolt is based on the inability to change the material living conditions of our people. It can happen next year, it can happen next month. Our people's anger is boiling and the EFF is trying to give it direction.

The ANC has actually abandoned that responsibility. It is no longer speaking to the angry masses of our people. They speak to them through television, they speak to them through newspapers. When they go to them, they insult them, saying we don't want your dirty votes and all sorts of utterances, which is a clear indication that they've abandoned their responsibility to provide leadership to the poorest of the poor, and we have had to assume that responsibility.

JS Do you have any belief that the ANC can materially alter the living conditions of the poor of this country?

JM I don't have that belief that the ANC can change anything. What is it they are going to do which they have not done in the past in 20 years? Twenty years is far too long and you also become very comfortable because, despite messing up, people have kept on voting for you – and not because you are doing anything right, but because you are honouring history and they were honouring our struggle icons.

Now, liberation movements ordinarily, after 20 years, become very irrelevant precisely because they only understand the political conditions of their country, but never know the economies.

They don't know what actually constitutes the economy of the country. They never get to appreciate it before they take over the nitty-gritty of what constitutes this. As a result, when they get exposed to it, they think it's too complex and sophisticated for them. They will rather stick to politics and agitate for political freedom without any meaningful change when it comes to economic aspects.

JS But the most important thing in the life of a political party has to be the relationship between the people they represent and the economy?

JM Yes, yes. They've failed. They've failed to appreciate what the people want in terms of economic change and they've not adapted to that type of a scenario to go beyond political liberation into economic emancipation.

Mokaba used to warn that you either adapt or die. Listen to their language – they try to speak very hard now because of EFF and all that, and in a way acknowledging that the EFF is the only organisation that raises the genuine demands of our people.

So I think that, if there will be such change in the next five years, it will be as a result of the existence of the EFF, which continues to put pressure on the ruling party to either adapt and start articulating the demands of the people or die a natural death.

So the EFF would have a contribution whether it's in government or outside government through its existence. Whoever is in government would have the pressure to implement what EFF stands for.

JS Predictions are obviously full of flaws, but some analysts are suggesting that the most the EFF could get in the upcoming national election would be seven per cent. That would, in any case, give you at least 28 seats, but you're obviously far more ambitious than that.

What do you think is honestly possible, and what are the most difficult aspects of campaigning, because I would imagine some provinces are much more challenging than others. We may have a sense that North West now belongs to the EFF and that has to do with a weak ANC leadership, your response to the Marikana massacre and so on, but would it be a little more difficult in David Mabuza's Mpumalanga?

What do you foresee?

JM Look, you need to first start by asking a question: how much did COPE get in 2009? They got 13 seats and they got 1.3 million votes and if you look at how COPE was formed, and who formed COPE, and what type of support did they have on the ground, what does the EFF have and what structures does the EFF have?

COPE didn't start by building structures. It was just an organisation that was running all over and saying all sorts of things and enjoying the privilege of being covered by the SABC, unlike the EFF, which has got structures in almost all the regions of South Africa, EFF which has got membership, EFF that comes with a leadership which is youthful, energetic and it's not sleeping, and in areas where EFF actually converts Youth League structures into EFF structures.

So, if COPE had 30 seats without having had this machinery on the ground, it can't be less than what COPE got, so the flaw of that prediction is immediately exposed.

For me to get seven per cent even before I start campaigning, I'm very happy, because I start somewhere. I've not done any campaigning, nothing ... those predictions were in November, if you're talking about the November research, we've not rushed our manifesto. We've not put up any posters anywhere. We've not done rallies anywhere, except the launching rally and all that, and already we've got a pocketed seven per cent. What's going to happen when we start campaigning? When we start having posters everywhere?

In KZN, people – they're so difficult, they don't know about us. We're a new organisation. But once the people start knowing about us and what we represent, the exposure, then we know that the balance of forces will change.

It's a very exciting year in our prediction. We're not starting with 0, 1. We're starting at seven per cent before the actual campaigning, so we're likely to be a very powerful force.

And I want all opposition to increase. No opposition must lose a percentage. They must increase, with EFF increasing, and everybody increasing, that will mean the other side is reducing. And once we reduce them, they will be forced to eat humble pie and they will have to come to the table and do away with their arrogance.

We need to punish them for their arrogance. I feel we are going to do very well. I was actually shocked by Western Cape. We took a decision before we went on Christmas holidays. We said Western Cape is very weak. We need to go and reinforce there.

We were shocked when we arrived there, everywhere we went, we found people waiting in their numbers. In other areas, we just stop and start walking in the streets. People came out in their numbers, especially in the coloured areas. They came out and started raising their problems, so we are very happy.

And with the kind of a province like Western Cape, it's people who are exposed to information. They can read. They can express themselves. Now when we go to pump them with the message ... television, adverts, newspaper adverts, radio adverts, billboards, posters, merchandise all over, door to door, many rallies, I'm going

to have a big impact, because we have it now just through word of mouth ... Malema is coming. Malema is coming. Malema is coming ...

The hall gets packed. There's never been a scenario where we addressed empty chairs since the formation of EFF ... such is the response.

What about the future? What about when we start collecting resources, because people look at whether there is potential, and the EFF is shaping out nicely. You can associate with it. You can be part of it because of how it grows.

I think we will do very well and we've got a potential to go [further], post 2014.

JS What is the EFF without Julius?

JM It has got a life of its own.

JS Obviously you have to accept to some extent, even if it's not about arrogance, it's about a central truth—

JM No, no. I accept that I'm playing a role and I'm playing a leading role, and I accept that I'm the face of the Economic Freedom Fighters. But many people thought the ANC would die when Madiba left us and all those things. And it's still there today, and that applies to the EFF.

There are many cadres of our revolution who come with a lot of massive experience, a lot of qualifications for leadership, including academic qualification, which is very important.

People like Floyd, like Dali. People like Robben Islanders, people from exile, Andile, Mbuyiseni and all that ... Maggie Moonsamy ... and you look at the cream. It reminds you of OR Tambo's cabinet in Lusaka. It reminds you of the type of cream that worked with Tambo: Mbeki, Ramatlhodi, Joel Netshitenzhe, those are the type of people we have in the Economic Freedom Fighters, and therefore it will have a life even beyond Julius Malema.

JS Is that something you're setting out to do ... to attract real talent? For example, when you talk about Wikus Kotze, immediately people say this is a disaffected ex-right-winger who has lost his mind.

In fact, he's not. He was the accountant for the Ekurhuleni Municipality. He's somebody who's been part of ANC structures for

years. What's your ideal recruit?

JM First, we don't recruit people. People join. Because recruiting can cause a serious battle in the organisation, because in the process of recruitment, you make certain commitments, and where you are unable to meet them, people become disillusioned and disappointed and start leaving the organisation, and make certain utterance. So we don't recruit people. They come voluntarily.

The best of the best that you'll see amongst us are attracted by our policy. By what we're advocating, by the levels of energy we display, the kind of commitment we show towards this programme we are advancing. That's what makes people interested.

It's not like we go all out to recruit the best of the best and we are happy that we have the best. There are people who claim they fought against boers, but when you look at their characters, there's nothing to show they could have stood the test of time, including the torture that came with participating in the struggle.

So we are selling to our people the best the society could produce. The same would apply when we unveil our premier candidates. We don't want our people to vote for ghosts, and when they give us a province, they get a shock of their lives because people vote twice.

They should know what else is there for them, so you will see that we mean business.

We mean to bring to an end to the celebration of uselessness and introduce a programme that is going to change people's lives.

JS Are you particularly worried about any province? We speak about Mpumalanga—

JM Look, if there's going to be any province that must be won, it's Mpumalanga, given the highest levels of protest which characterise Zuma's government from 2009, since Mabuza became premier ... the most corrupt premier ... and he's not touched because he enjoys protection.⁸—

So if there's a province in which we must perform well, it's Mpumalanga.

There is potential.

I'm just from there now. I've been to almost six, seven places in my short stay and I was more than happy with what I saw, and

Lydenburg in particular, Mashishini ... the people are so welcoming.

So you need to know your strength.

I'm saying once we start a campaign and people begin to see us right in their postboxes, when they get leaflets about our message – it's going to be a walkover.

Remember we're not fighting against the best in the ANC. We're fighting against the weakest leadership ever in the history of the movement.

The only thing which is strong is the track record and the history of the ANC, which is very difficult for people to leave.

You know, brand is a very difficult thing.

So, ja, we are a new party. People will have doubts. People doubt new ideas. New ideas get ridiculed. But depending on how the leadership and those who are advocating those ideas respond to ridicule and show character and determination and resilience, people will say, wait a minute, it looks like it's no joke. This is a serious thing. Let's listen, even if we don't follow them, let's listen.

And they will make a mistake by offering an ear, because that's how they are going to be won over, and that's what we intend to do.

Mpumalanga is a hub of corruption and Limpopo was painted as such a province when we were there and Cassel [Mathale] and them.

It was a deliberate distortion of reality because they wanted to discredit us and paint us as the most corrupt province. I mean, Limpopo kept on winning awards from one department to the other because of good performance under Cassel.

One of the departments which performed very well was housing which was led by a very close friend of mine, Clifford Motsepe ... a former member of the NEC which I served with ... Clean audit for the first time, that department, since 1994, for the first time, three or four departments getting clean audits was under Cassel's leadership.

And one morning you wake up and are told this province is the most corrupt without even scientific evidence or a report from AG.⁹-

Why? Because Zuma thought that the resources to 'decampaign' him will come from Limpopo and had to use the word corruption to

discredit that leadership and close the so-called tap for potential threat.

And he successfully did that, helped by Pravin [Gordhan], who is a master of factional politics. Pravin is known for division in the history of the ANC and the history of UDF.¹⁰— He's a manipulator...

Things worsened after Cassel was put under administration. No ambulances. No books. If you probe the story of the books, then the people who got the tender are Zuma's friends, are Zuma's financiers.

So, it had nothing to do with corruption.

It was a political stance against the leadership of Cassel Mathale and Julius Malema who they suspected were using state resources to finance an anti-Zuma campaign.

There was never a plot. Those comrades were never even part of this, but some ended up buying into the Zuma agenda, threatened by the collective about having exclusive control. People were dying in hospitals, schools were running out of books. For me this was very clear. It was a political game.

Till today, I'm the only one who's [been] arrested. A hub of corruption, intervention by central government, 'taking over departments, and no one is arrested'.

These people, by the way, are corrupt. This is the capital of corruption. Their interventions have not helped. Many businesses have had to close.

Julius Malema, who has never worked for government, who has never sat in any tender committee, doesn't know how those things work, he's the one who is arrested for having stolen the tenders of Limpopo.

None of those people who were officially presiding over those tenders are arrested, till today, and you want to tell me it's a genuine anti-corruption stance?

It was a political move to discredit Julius. It was a political move to close the so-called resources which were going to be used against Zuma in Mangaung.

JS This is a robustly controversial area. We might as well get to that point because Limpopo became the focus. But your detractors will say that these issues which played out in the media over two, three

years – how did you accumulate the kind of money which allowed you to own two homes and a farm, a nice car, the famed watch which I see you don't have on?

These legends grew around you that you were an extraordinarily wealthy man and there wasn't an explanation for how that happened.

JM My first house in Polokwane, in Flora Park ... I bought it through the stand I bought in Sterkpark. I bought that land in Sterkpark through Nedbank which financed that bond, and then after two years, I bought that for 190-something-rand, and after two years, the valuation of that land was 600 and something, and then I sold that land.

I bought the house in Flora Park, and then the second house in Sandton was bought by comrades for me – Cassel, Matome Hlabioa ... all of them.

When I became the president of the Youth League, I rented a house, and they said, no, we need to contribute. Get a house in Sandton.

We bought a house in Sandton, and then they were all now starting to come and sleep in that house. Premiers, MECs, mayors, all types of people ... business friends I had.

Then one day they took a decision that we can't be passing each other on the corridors with towels as leadership. We need to build a proper structure here, and they all started contributing to the building of a structure in Sandton.

It was too uncomfortable in hotels. These were very senior business people – ministers, deputy ministers, who, when they were in Jo'burg, wanted to see the president of the Youth League. This is how it was. Now some, whose bonds we paid, whose school fees we paid when they could not, are being loud-mouthed.

I even said at the time, if I was to die, this house, I'll donate it to the ANC and it can be used as a lodge for comrades, especially those coming from Polokwane. Because it's not my house.

My name was used first to obtain the bond, the second bond from Absa, because I was earning a salary, and comrades contributed to get the deposit for me to qualify for a bond so we can build a home for comrades.

That's how Peter Mokaba's house was bought. It's always been like that because they all come and sleep there and settle there and do all sorts of things there. That's how the house in Sandton was bought.

The farm was not my farm. It was a company farm. I never had a farm under my name. That company had businesses which I was involved in through my family trust called Ratanang Family Trust. I was a shareholder through the trust in Guilder Investments.

Guilder Investment owned subsidiaries like On Point, SGL, Gwama Properties and all that.

Now, I wanted to buy the farm and I couldn't raise sufficient money to buy the farm. Why did I want to buy the farm? We were going to the Youth League conference and I was preparing my life beyond the position of president of the Youth League.

In case the comrades say, 'You're released', I should have something to do back at home.

I fell in love with agriculture and I developed an ambition for farming. But when I couldn't raise the money, I went to the company and said, I've identified a farm and I could raise some money, but I couldn't raise all the guarantees. Can you help me buy the farm?

They said to me, instead of helping you to buy the farm, we'll rather buy the farm as a company to grow the property portfolio of the company, and it put the company at a better level so that it could even get loans for the future if it gets bigger jobs to do.

Then I said, my money, because I've already paid something for it? They said, whether that money is in your name or in the name of the company, it's the same. This is your investment. You'll get your money back through your dividends and all sorts of things.

Then I surrendered the money that I've put into that farm, and the company took over and then completed the transaction. However, that farm was exclusively used for me because I was interested in farming. The company was interested in growing its property portfolio.

We all stood to benefit and I didn't have a problem with that type of a transaction. So, there was never too much money in my life.

There was never too much money in my bank account. There was sufficient support coming from all these places.

All that I'm telling you, SARS knows it. The people I have mentioned, I've mentioned in the SARS papers. They were given forms by SARS to declare these monies as donations.

They've paid donation tax on those monies. I bought the house in Sandton and all that. But SARS cannot leave, even when people say, we take this portion, that's our portion, we accept responsibility. We'll pay the tax on those things.

SARS still wants me to pay on top of the donation taxes paid by all those who contributed to the house in Sandton.

The Breitling watch ... I never bought a watch all my life. To be a president of the Youth League is very nice. You get all sorts of gifts from all sorts of people.

The first expensive watch I received was from a friend of mine who is well off and that was a Patek Philippe and then from there, I got those types of gifts from different types of people. So I didn't need money to go buy a watch.

I used to drive a Range Rover. It was never mine. It was a Range Rover belonging to Matome, who had adopted me like his son because he was impressed by my leadership style and the type of things I am fighting for. Till today, me and that guy who gave me the Range Rover, we are still very close.

He's treated me like one of his own and he goes all out to try and play that father figure role in my life.

So, I was involved in business and I did get a tender from the transport department and from several municipalities, but I was not involved in day-to-day running of the businesses.

I was never a director. Neither was I a manager. I was just a shareholder through the family trust. I couldn't have played any role in influencing where that tender goes to because I never used to go and negotiate tenders on behalf of our company.

No one till today from government can stand up and say I was instructed by Julius Malema to give a tender to this one or that one. I've never played that role.

Even Thuli Madonsela's investigation doesn't point at me abusing my power to influence the direction of tenders.

The only fault done by me was in receiving the money which was obtained through a company tender which was obtained illegally. How could I have known that this tender was obtained illegally? Because I'm not involved.

There are many other tenders that the company got. They've never had problems. So if it's illegal money I've received in the form of dividends, it means the staffers as well received illegal money in the form of salaries, it means the ANC has, as well, received illegal money in the form of donations.

All those are not charged for having received illegal money, but I am the only one who is charged, and I must believe that, no, it's justice, it's anti-corruption, this is fair and all that.

Like staff members, I didn't know where the money came from except to know that the company was doing very well at getting different jobs both in the private and public sector.

JS So when you look back, would you have done something different?

You've said that when you were in the ANC Youth League, you had people offering you things all the time.

JM Yes, a lot.

JS Would you behave differently now with this knowledge? Would you accept gifts? Would you perhaps be more circumspect around that kind of thing knowing that there's a chance that people can take that and use it against you?

JM No, Janet. I'm not arrested for receiving gifts. I'm not. I'm not arrested. Mandela received gifts, all of them. Zuma is number one with receiving gifts. Politicians are supported everywhere else.

It would be wrong for me to create an impression that I would be this political figure and not get any form of assistance. Then I am going to falter in that regard.

I am the victim of a political onslaught. All of them have received gifts. All of them. All of them are doing business. Tokyo. Mathews [Phosa]. Cyril. All of them. None of them has been accused of using his influence to get a tender.

Why me? Why do I get isolated like that? What did I do? The only crime I did was to stop supporting Jacob Zuma. Otherwise there wouldn't be any problem. There was nothing I did which politicians don't do.

The South African politicians are involved in receiving gifts.

I'm not arrested for wearing a Breitling watch, but I decided to throw it away because it was a distraction. Instead of people focusing on your face, they focus on your watch because they want to be distracted. So don't give them anything distracting.

But there's nothing wrong with receiving gifts. When we're in Parliament, we'll declare them. We'll comply with the law.

There's nothing I regret doing. Nothing at all. People just manipulated the system. SARS, the same thing. SARS knows very well where the money comes from. SARS didn't open criminal charges against me for tax evasion. Nothing like that, because they don't have a case against me on those things, except to say you have not complied with declaring these amounts. All those amounts combined are R4-million.

R4-million, I've said to them, I'll pay R4-million. So they put R4-million with a 50% penalty, 200% interest – R16-million.

I said I can pay the primary debt. It's done every day. It's SARS. They reach deals every day.

They refused. They took my properties. They sold them. They still are not ready to come and say, Mr Malema, now that we've sold your properties, this is how much we've collected, therefore how much can you give us as the difference? Because SARS should be able to help us comply.

SARS, especially when it comes to the young ones, it shouldn't be used as a tool to destroy them young.

I might have faltered in complying with certain tax regulations. I admit I had very little knowledge about how those things work and all that. I said to SARS, please help me to comply so that I can lead by example and encourage other young people to comply with SARS.

So I have no problem with paying taxes. The taxes must be paid. But let SARS not be used to destroy people. SARS should not be the one to close businesses of black young people, to close down black families and destroy them.

We are new in these things of complying. We come from extremely poverty-stricken families where there's no one in the

family with such exposure and knowledge so you would have all the reasons to blame us.

I was listening to one of the EFF fighters saying, no, but my employer pays tax for me, and that was my understanding for some time.

Every little cent that goes in you have to be accountable for.

Fair enough. I accept. Can I be pardoned? And then allow me to pay the primary debt, perhaps with 50% penalty.

Acknowledge that you have to dig deep. You can't just move as if nothing has happened. Let me pay.

There was a guy who came for me and said, I'm ready to pay R4-million upfront, and I phoned SARS and said this guy is willing to help, but on condition after paying the R4-million the whole thing gets scrapped and we start off afresh on a zero-zero budget, but they couldn't budge.

Because it's Julius, I must take his personal resources, his business resources. I must destroy him so that he doesn't have a leg to stand on. He can't be a potential threat.

It didn't happen. Actually it threw numbers to Julius Malema's side because people pay SARS every day, but not me.

What type of an attitude is this one? They come and share their personal stories, the lawyers, the accountants who've been in that field for more than 30 years. They say, we have never seen anything like this, and not only to me but to SARS.

What is this? It's a political agenda and it's unfortunate how SARS gets to be used like that. So, let's see what happens because properties have been sold. We wait until we've been told how much has been collected, but we must talk whether they like it or not.

We can kill each other in public but we'll still have to come together. I'm a taxpayer. They're a tax collector. We'll still have to sit down and see how do we move forward.

Is SARS a tool to destroy people? The Afrikaners, they dominate at SARS. There are Afrikaners there who are using SARS to promote Afrikaner business and to suppress African majority's business. They're there. We know their names.

There've been insults for far too long. Some of them were Special Branch policemen who are now integrated into the

compliance section of SARS and all those things. Are we really dealing with SARS or are we dealing with people who are suffering from a hangover of apartheid and anything else that seems to be representing an agenda to liberate the African majority against white supremacy?

They see it as separate and want to attack it.

I really don't know, but I don't get threatened or worried because at least I know for a fact that they are not looking for tax. They're looking for something else. If it was tax, I'd have been genuinely worried and say, let me try and resolve this and all that. The tax I've tried to resolve, they can't meet me halfway because it's not about tax. I am scared of sequestration, because you can't go to Parliament, you can't have a cheque account and so on. The fear is not only on personal credibility and legitimacy.

It's about an inability to take out a loan even and provide shelter for my son.

But I would continue. I would do it from here, at the EFF offices, from where I would continue activism, working in the squatter camps and so on.

JS So this is clearly an issue you're going to let go of? You will pursue this?

JM We're not finished with SARS. It's still on. We're still fighting. We're still trying to find each other. But what I've tried to do is to be compliant to declare my empty incomes, an asset-free man every year, and see how I get evaluated.

Remember the disputed one is a five-year assessment. But moving forward, we need to comply.

I don't allow this dispute to affect me. I've learned my lesson. In subsequent years – compliant.

JS So as you sit here now, what are you worth?

JM *[Laughs]*

JS What do you have? What do you still have?

JM I have nothing. Absolutely nothing. I think if they had their way they would have taken my clothes. I would be walking naked. They've taken everything.

There was a day they came to my house, a cousin of mine came coincidentally at the same time, and SARS was there moving

furniture. And the wife of my cousin was crying. She asked: What is this? How are they able to do this to a human being? But for me it was like, whatever.

This is what 'struggle' means. It means losing personal belongings. It means losing life. It means being imprisoned.

Our enemies will use all different kinds of attack to undermine.

So I don't have a car. I don't have a house. I don't have anything. I don't have a consistent reliable income. I'm a man who just walks out completely like this. That's me and the world. There's nothing left, but I'm very rich because I've got people around me.

You can have all the money on top there but if you haven't got people, life can be so boring.

You can't even see that this man is suffering because of the number of people who are next to me.

That is wealth. I've got human capital. We're enjoying life. We learnt our lessons and we'll do things better tomorrow and we should be grateful about still being alive.

They've not killed us. That presents us with an opportunity to correct the past and create a very good and brighter future for our children. I'm happy that it happened at a time when my child was very young and did not get to see this type of thing. It would have been very traumatic and affected him in a way at school.

So he's doing Grade 2 now. Last year, he did very well and got an A in mathematics last year in Grade 1, meaning he doesn't see all this. He's enjoying life and that's what we must do as parents. Try to protect them from these struggles that we're waging on a daily basis.

That's what matters to me. The things that I love in my life are still there. My son is there. You can't expropriate him without compensation. My grandmother can't be expropriated. My political beliefs can't be expropriated, so I'm still complete.

That's what matters. I still have life, and my family house at least has got a spare room for me so I can always go and sleep there – something that I avoid doing because it should be very painful actually for a parent to know that this child used to have all these things and now he's sharing a house with me.

So I try stay at cousins' places to avoid inflicting that pain on my grandmother. When she will see me, she will pretend to be strong. That's what parents do. Every time she sees me roaming around looking for bread and all that, she'll be like, you know, what they did to this young man is very bad.

So we avoid that by crashing at those who do not mind having you around.

The support of my cousins has been so amazing. Actually there has been a huge contestation. Where must I sleep? Where must I go and stay, and I'll get accused of having spent too much time with that side by this side.

JS It's been interesting that throughout this period, while there might have been scandals that developed around money and so on, you have not been attached to relationships that went wrong.

Ratanang's mother has never spoken out, for instance, so your personal life has essentially remained quite private. Is that largely because there is nothing to tell?

JM [*Laughs*]

JS Or do you think that you might have made mistakes? We don't have a picture of Julius who has made enormous mistakes in his personal life.

JM Look, the financial part of my life would not have been known if it were not for the recklessness of SARS which wanted to take me to court and leak to the papers.

So I don't think that even that part would have been known because I've always conducted myself in a manner that such things remained private and I've kept my family very far from the media, starting with my grandmother.

Many others wanted to interview her. I've always refused because I don't want her to be in that type of a limelight. They've chosen their life, they've lived it. This is my life and I'm not compromising.

The same thing with my son, so there shouldn't be confusion about who is the focus point here.

I think that the blunder I committed, it was to separate with Ratanang's mother because, really, from her side, there was never

serious contestation or serious confrontation or problems. So I think that should have been handled differently.

But you know, things happen and we have to move on with our lives.

She has moved on. She's married now and with her husband, but me and her remain very good friends. We speak about the child and I am responsible for my son and I contribute to his upbringing.

I think now recently there is a protest that, since the schools have opened, I have not taken him to school.

He called when I was in Mpumalanga and I said I'll make time next week to come and take you to school. That's how close we are.

The mistakes we have made in life and many of those mistakes were made, some of us we made those mistakes because we didn't have a solid family foundation which would ordinarily have taught you how issues of family, men and all that are handled.

I didn't have a father figure to look up to, to inspire me as to how to take care of relationships.

The rest, we learned off the streets, we learned from senior leaders of the ANC. So I think if we had such foundation we would have dealt with issues differently, because part of my commitment, which I betrayed, was that any woman I am going to make pregnant, I'm going to marry her because I don't want a situation which happened between me, my mother and my father where a son grows up without a presence of the father.

Having separated with the mother of that child, that father figure presence is always there and when it becomes troublesome, they tell him that, we're going to tell your father, and he changes his conduct because he knows in his life the presence of a man called his father.

My child uses my surname, which gives me all the right to be a reliable parent.

And it's fair to say mistakes were committed, but we try to help them in a very, very disciplined way. I try to have friendships with women that I get involved with, and even beyond separation, we remain friends. How any girlfriend or ex-girlfriend of mine can declare me an enemy ... I don't want to talk to her anymore. because it would have been out of serious engagement that it's not

working out between us and therefore we need to find a way of separating without declaring each other enemy.

I don't do the groupies. I don't like it.

JS Do they exist?

JM I don't regard women as groupies and all those things.

I think that when you are being appreciated as political leadership, you shouldn't confuse that. Groupies are for celebrities and I'm not in that space of celebrity. I want to be known as a political leader, as a political figure. I'm not a celebrity.

And when people come and follow you, want pictures with you and want a photograph and want to chat to you, you shouldn't see that as flirting. It must never be misinterpreted as flirting and for being a man in love with girls ... No, no.

You should see that as appreciation of your leadership and humble yourself, and those who come with such intentions, me being a political figure, sometimes that comes with a little bit of paranoia. You become very suspicious about why are they making such different signs and immediately you want to disengage.

I think there were enemies out looking for me. If I committed such stupid mistakes, they would have destroyed me. But it doesn't mean that there are no women that when I see, I feel like, Hello! And have a drink.

I do have my moments. I enjoy the company of beautiful women, because all women, by the way, are beautiful. I'm young. I'm not married. I'm looking. I'm looking for a reliable partner.

My grandmother always uses different tricks to try and get me to get married. She was saying to me now that people are saying you must leave the ANC to vote EFF, but how do we put you on a position if you are not married? You can't vote for people who are not married. You have to get married before you get elected.

That's trying to put pressure because, before this one, it was: "If I die, I want to see you with a woman." So it's always like that. But I'm still very young. I don't want to compromise people in the process where they get into a marriage and they end up being married to the houses they stay in without a husband who runs all over.

I want to be that type of a husband who's present. The type of a husband who receives the wife when she comes home and listens to her stories and hears about people who are troubling her and making her unhappy at work ... Getting to know those people even before you meet them. And sit there and appreciate the smell of a good meal being prepared with love and children running around.

If it was my way, I would want to have lots of children because we should be able to have kids and love them and provide for them, but the economic situation may restrict us ... because it becomes expensive.

And that's me. I want a good woman who is qualified, beautiful, tall, not very big. Not that I discriminate against the big ones – and she must be articulate. I don't want to be told about Kardashians permanently in my house. There should be issues of substance that get to be debated. I must be taken on, on some of the policy pronouncements we're making. How such would not work and how such would work and that type of a conversation at home. That can make a very good family.

It remains a wish because you may never know. You may fall in love with a different kind and the whole concept just collapses because falling in love is not like making it through to Christmas Day which is there, guaranteed that it will come.

JS And chemistry is unpredictable.

JM You know! We fall in love with different kinds. That's how complex the issues of love are and you can't spend too much time trying to understand them. You must go with the flow. That's what is going to make you happy.

I haven't met such chemistry. There hasn't been much.

JS I hope your grandmother gets to see you in this role.

JM By not getting married, I'll keep her alive. She'll live long waiting for that to happen because my suspicion is that, when I get married, she's going to die and say, 'No, mission accomplished.' I'm still enjoying her presence and still learning a lot from her as a woman in my life.

JS What happened with Kenny Kunene?

JM Kenny came to join us and we welcomed him, but as we were proceeding, others became uncomfortable.

There's no bad blood. When we meet, we talk.

He came, he saw, he left. Even now there's no problem.

He's a very active person. He works very hard if he believes in a cause. If you're looking for someone to deploy, he's always there.

JS Let's look at the battle in KZN. I think it was very interesting the way in which Zanele Magwaza-Msibi responded. She was extremely angry. She felt that you'd conned Buthelezi when you met with him and later had a press conference about co-operating with the IFP during the elections and putting the past behind you.

She suggested that he's an old man and you'd used him because it's very difficult to get into IFP strongholds, and here you had secured that. But then a very interesting story emerged earlier this year that suggested even Zuma did not have as much control in KZN as we imagine, that some regional leaders are vacillating and they're not entirely sure which way to go.

Every South African, when asked what is going to be your biggest challenge, would surely say KZN. How do you feel about that? Was it a good idea for you to engage with Buthelezi like this, and did it really come from the heart?

Obviously there was a political side to it. I doubt that you didn't express that strategy to him.

JM No, the political strategy is to expose the organisation to parties that have been in the political field for quite some time and also to introduce it to the elders. If I had a way, it would be Buthelezi. It would be Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It would be Ma Mbeki, the mother of President Mbeki, and President Mbeki himself. Just to express how I feel about the country and how we think we have been let down and to get to hear them sharing their experiences and their expectations of democracy.

And that was the genuine agenda when we went to see the IFP leader. We were also looking for that type of a relationship and protection in places like KZN where the ANC has become so violent and politically intolerant. And we felt that the IFP has been around there. They understand what's happening.

We didn't only meet the IFP president. We met the whole executive. So Magwaza, I don't think she knows what she's talking about because they are extremely young, including the leader of the

Youth Brigade of the IFP who was in that meeting. So if she uses the age of the president to want to undermine the type of engagement we had, that would be disingenuous. They are much younger than her and very articulate.

We had a two-hour meeting and engaged on all types of political questions, including on ideological questions, and how we can actually make South Africa better. We looked at how things have worked in other countries... Nyerere, Ujamaa, all that ... we engaged them on that. So it was not just about Julius and Buthelezi. It was far beyond that type of simplicity.

And only to find that we're agreeing on expropriation of the land, except that they're saying it must be compensation. We're saying there shouldn't be compensation.

But laying the foundation and basis of engagement, we are agreeing on some things and we may disagree on this or that. We thought it was, you know, a very successful and useful meeting. We're meeting different formations because the mistake political parties do, after forming the organisation, they just hit the ground running without talking to the players that have been there before to appreciate how does this terrain look like. Look at Holomisa, when he spoke at our rally—

JS When he walked in on the day of your launch [at Marikana], I was surprised to see him. I spoke to him directly afterwards and he was very positive.

JM But look at what he says about the IEC, the SABC – such an enormous and rich experience. This is what we are coming to experience. He warned us in Marikana and then things happened the same way that he said they were going to happen.

Had we not received such a warning from an elder, we would be surprised. We'd be frustrated and we'd be moaning. We're not being covered. But when he sees us, he says, welcome. And then when you see these things happening, you won't get shocked. You are not troubled by them. You are forewarned by the experience of elders.

That's the importance of doing these rounds. You come to appreciate where these people come from. Where does the terrain come from and what is to be expected. And that is being African, for the elderly to shape the younger ones, for the young ones must

appreciate the experience so they use the experience to chart a way forward.

JS Let's return to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. Now, you have said your relationship with her is certainly not about getting her to join the EFF. Of course, if you were to announce that she had joined the EFF, this would be a huge thing in South African society.

JM Yes, yes.

JS There's a great deal of trust still placed in her as a reservoir of knowledge, as a figure of enormous strength. Is it still something you would like to see happen, her joining the EFF, or is that not what this is about.

JM I think she's better off in the ANC. We'll be expecting a lot from her. It's like asking your grandmother to fight for divorce, it would be shocking. For what? After so many years? She would rather die in there.

It teaches us, actually, to be loyal to our organisations as the young kids. Especially as we grow into these organisations and become the veterans of such organisations. So I think she's fine. If it was out of her own wish and will, you can't undermine it, but we are not going to be the ones to take an initiative to try and recruit Winnie. Actually that would be equal to undermining Winnie and we don't want to be seen to be undermining Winnie.

JS You must have appreciated her support because she was very vocal around how she felt you were being treated and so on. You must have had a sense that you at least weren't lonely in that structure. You had somebody very important who batted for you.

JM Ah. Me and Winnie, it has been like that, she has been coming, covering me, for quite some time. I remember when we marched here in Johannesburg [*laughs*], eh, the police were looking for us—

JS Was this the COSAS march?

JM Yes, yes, and we ran to her house to say, eh, now it's difficult. And she took us to the police station, saying, Ja, you, you're not listening ... I'm taking you to the police station. She took us there, there they charged us and all those things, and when they were supposed to lock us up, eh, she fought and said, no I didn't bring them here for you to lock them up. They have messed up. Charge them. Let them

be released on warning and I will take care of them and they will come to court.

And they did exactly that and we then went to convene the hawkers' organisation. We had a meeting with all those people because cars were damaged. They all came. Mama came. And when we're there, we convinced all those people to drop cases. And they did. Hawkers dropped cases. And then the state withdrew the charges against us.

JS That was a very difficult day, Julius. You must have, at some point, become terrified.

JM It was, yes.

JS Did you feel that it was getting out of control, and did you honestly not know what to do?

JM That's why we ran to her. We felt there must be an elder with some experience to help us with this type of situation. And the imagination of a village boy being arrested in Hillbrow Police Station. It was traumatic, but Mama helped very well.

We were there with her when she was accused of fraud and all those things. And she came to the ANC DC and warned me. But Winnie has been like that.

Even when we went to Polokwane, she warned us. She said, the levels of divisions are going to put us into a permanent crisis. Let's allow Thabo and Jacob to continue in their positions until we find a solution after and beyond this crisis. And from there, I ran away. I was no longer interested to talk to her because she was advocating for something different. And later on, we came to appreciate that she was correct.

Had we allowed that cooling off period, perhaps it would have brought some different reasoning.

JS Hence your impetus now to have the wisdom of the elders. That was obviously a very important lesson.

JM And she went to warn the ANC when they were trying us in the DC. And she came there, she said, no, I'm not here to do anything, and I'm not here to justify whether the young boys are correct or not. I'm here to tell you that thinking of expulsion or suspension is not an option. They are doing what they are doing because we as

elders have failed and we must take responsibility and teach them correct politics, if there are such things as correct politics.

But on Botswana, on the land, she said, 'All these things, we have said, them as the ANC, they learned them from us.' And you can't now turn around and charge them, and I'm warning that if you expel these people, you are going to create a problem for the ANC.

She came to speak. No one asked her questions because of how she spoke to the whole meeting. We were all, like, we can't respond to her. Not even Derek Hanekom. No one. She actually took them through.

She said, I know almost all presidents of the ANC. Since the formation of the Youth League, none of the presidents has ever been comfortable with the utterances of the Youth League, including Dr Xuma. She said, Xuma came to my house, looking for Mandela. He was screaming, angry, and when he couldn't find him, he said to me, you must tell Mandela and Sisulu that the ANC doesn't belong to them.

Angry as he was, as much as he was disturbed by the activities of the Youth League, he never ever thought of expelling them from the ANC.

That's Winnie for you and we are privileged to have had an opportunity to have learned from that kind of leadership. That calibre of leadership is very inspirational. They've got a foresight. They operate as prophets. They can see it coming. They can tell you, take this or that step. This is where you're going to land up.

Exactly all her predictions were correct. Not because she's a prophet but because she's got an experience. And many of these others want to undermine her experience and they don't listen.

JS In terms of Mbeki, another reason why Zuma and you became alienated was Mbeki, and that relates to their own history. Do you have a sense of a role that Mbeki can play in the life of the EFF, even at an intellectual level among yourselves? Or do you simply regard him as a great force in the ANC upon whom you can model certain aspects of your leadership?

Why do you champion Mbeki, and why did you champion Mbeki, knowing that this would get you into a lot of trouble?

JM We need to have elders as a country. People to look up to who you can always bounce our ideas off, and for President Mbeki to say, he's not going to be involved in South African politics. For me, that was wrong. I think that we need to start identifying such individuals. Mbeki, Winnie, Desmond Tutu, Prince Buthelezi and bring them together and form a council of elders which will not have any executive powers, but as an advisory body to express themselves.

Why are they able to express themselves? Because they are no longer looking for anything. Because they are moving straight into their next life. They're done. They've played their role. And many people have mistaken our call for President Mbeki's recall to feel hatred against him.

No. We've never hated President Mbeki. We've always admired him, and even his levels of articulation and understanding of theory and his intellectual capacity to relate to issues, it was very amazing.

We may disagree with him about neo-liberal policies, privatisation, policies that seek to impress the market forces, but he's one of the best. We think that he still has got a role to play because a country must have its elders. He shouldn't be a threat to anybody.

The only things that we disagreed with President Mbeki was third term because it was constituting a threat to our constitution. And that's where we came from. Not because we hated him. The second thing, when we championed for his recall, President Mbeki and President Zuma were not talking to each other and the government was becoming more arrogant.

Remember, government charges Zuma. Immediately after being elected. They were planning whether he must be charged at the airport. It was like the State versus the ANC.

Hey, what are you doing? That's what we were asking. What are you doing? Are you trying to create voter instability? This was going to plunge the country into a crisis. And we said there must be one circle of power because if there's no urgent immediate intervention here, the country's heading for a crisis. That's why we came on recalling him. Not because he didn't have capacity. Not because he was not this good leader.

People can learn this or that from him, and the older he becomes, the more sharper he becomes, you know, like a matured wine. We are now enjoying him more. We're longing for his voice. We're longing for his poetic speeches. We're longing to hear something we don't know because others they say everything that is being said by the people on the pavements. Nothing very different.

So, that uniqueness. We miss that. And desire to want to research more because the things that the president has said are actually beyond you, and you feel like reading more. You get some motivation to want to read, to be more equipped and to want to come to a level where, if President Mbeki gives me an opportunity to engage with him, I must be three steps ahead of him.

So, this is what we are celebrating. We're celebrating brains, not mediocrity. Not dancing and singing. That can't be life?

You can't want to reduce a society to dancers and singers. Well and good. We do that when we are happy, but we need to produce a society that celebrates ideas, the mental capacity of a person to think and be innovative, and come with new ideas on how we can better society. That's what we are celebrating.

And I didn't know that President Zuma hates President Mbeki like that. He hates him with everything. He doesn't want anyone to praise him. If you want to be wrong with Zuma, you must praise Mbeki. You can say, Mbeki's dressed in a nice suit today ... You're going to be lectured on how you must be careful.

Before I led a campaign on the recall of President Mbeki, I had a discussion with Zuma. He made it very clear that he can't work with Thabo and that Thabo must be removed, and we carried that mandate and we pushed it. We don't regret that. We don't at all because the situation would have been worse than what it was at that time had it continued for far too long.

The president of the ANC and the country are not talking to each other, that thing of standing up there to greet each other in Polokwane was a publicity stunt. They couldn't do anything. They have to be seen to be. But the physical engagement and the seating arrangement will tell you that they're not feeling each other.

And other people were becoming extremely arrogant in government and thinking they can pay a revenge through State

institutions for having defeated Thabo in Polokwane and all those things. It was wrong. We had to put a stop and we're happy we did that because after a transition, the country went back to its normality until the man took over and messed it up.

On his own, he messed it up. No one else messed it up. He messed it up.

JS What is the relationship with Vavi? What role is he going to play, not necessarily in the EFF but in a workers' vanguard? Or do you think he's been so damaged by the allegations against him that, in fact, it would complicate what must roll out now before the election?

JM I don't think Vavi's damaged. He will come back and play a leading role in the struggles of the working class. He's loved by many of our people.

I think that we need to appreciate that individuals make mistakes. I don't think that Vavi's mistake is so damaging that he can't bounce back.

What Vavi did, they all do it. The unions. Among the union leadership, it seems to have been an acceptable practice. Not all, but the majority of them sleep with their juniors, have kids with their juniors, they employ people unprocedurally because they've become a law unto themselves. There are no unions in the unions. You know?

Ja, so he was just going on with how they lived their lives. All of them. The problem was that Vavi continued with such things even when he realised he was in the spotlight and the enemy was out to get him. He should have been more cautious and perhaps stopped those things, and focused.

The credit card, the abuse of the credit card, it looks like it's their daily bread. They do that, Madisha, all of them. People have got that history in the trade unions. There are dynamics in every union. Those dynamics have never destroyed any leader. So I think he's got a role to play.

A workers' party could play a very important role. We all have got a role to play in the politics of South Africa. There are even ex-convicts forming parties, they think they've got a role to play. So it's worse for Vavi.

He's got 99% chances of playing a role in South African politics and don't write him off.

JS And NUMSA? This is an unfolding process.

JM Look, Vavi's also got the background of COSAS. COSAS is a very, very strong organisation because it teaches people resilience at a very early age and it's very difficult to break people who come from such a background.

They started politics at a very early age and they've seen it all. They've seen things happening even in areas where they thought they were destroyed, they still bounced back and still played a role, so that's what builds, what gives him that character, and that's why it would be wrong to write him off.

And NUMSA plays a very important role. Wonderful. We appreciate it.

I've seen something that they're saying that our ideologies are different and all that. I don't know, maybe somebody we still have to educate, because the majority of people who are contributing to the ideological orientation of NUMSA are people that contribute to the EFF's ideological work as well, so there will never be such fundamental differences.

Well, they want to appear unique and all that. I don't know for what, I really don't know. But, you know, to form a union and to form a political party are two different things. They are extremely different. Union. You get people on a shop floor. They want to go to the same toilet with white people. Their demands are very simple. They want an increase. They are here.

Political formations – you have to move from village to village. Sometimes you arrive and you'll not find anybody coming to your meeting and all that. It's more complex than organising a union, so NUMSA, we don't want to engage with them in public. We have to sit down and discuss what really are the ideological differences between us, because Irvin Jim acknowledges this political report that the founding manifesto of EFF has got very clear positions that are similar to those of NUMSA.

Expropriation of land, fight for socialism. Nationalisation. And then they come from the other side and they say, we are not very clear whether EFF is fighting for socialism or not. But our

constitution articulates that very clearly, so it means that somebody has not been reading.

But also, such observations are made if parties are not talking to each other. If we were to talk to each other, we'll actually appreciate that there's no fundamental differences in terms of ideology. We may not be in the same struggle of personality cult and wanting Vavi at all costs and all sorts of things. Well and good, but ideologically, in terms of principle, we agree.

We agreed with NUMSA when we were in the youth league. COSATU will come this side. ANC will come this side. We come with the ANC delegation. We speak on issues. NUMSA and the Youth League will be moving from the same perspective. Gwede will even say: but you guys came with us but you speak like the other side.

It's not about who we came with, it's about issues we agree upon. So why and how it changes? It becomes different. I still want to be educated about that.

JS It's a very interesting situation because now you have some talent in NEHAWU's Fikile Majola, Sdumo Dlamini, and so on, possibly entering Parliament for the ANC, and then they're lost to COSATU because the federation's regulations say they have to resign if they become MPs. They must go. And then you wonder ... how do agendas change, because if they are in Parliament now but no longer part of the structures, will they truly represent?

JM Ai, those ones. They're going to be extremely rich now. I mean, they've already started it when they were still in the unions.

They must go to Parliament. They are the ones who are going to implement wage subsidy. They are the ones who are going to be defending labour brokers. That's what that Parliament does.

Ah. Those ones, they must go. At least if they're leaving COSATU maybe Jim will then capture COSATU. It's an opportunity for those comrades to emerge in COSATU and reposition that divided institution around the workers' struggles.

I think that it's a blessing in disguise for Majola, the president of NUM. Sdumo – they must go. They must all go and the unions must remain in the safe hands of reliable fighters. Otherwise it will be the end of COSATU, just to continue with those comrades.

They've killed it. They've killed the Communist Party. And in COSATU, once they've done, they'll unveil the tombstone for the ANC.

It's dead.

BIOGRAPHIES

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Born in Malamulele, Limpopo Province, Floyd Shivambu is a political activist and revolutionary. Shivambu was a spokesperson for the ANC Youth League (2008-2012) and member of its National Executive and Working Committees (2008-2012). Shivambu is currently a commissar responsible for Policy, Research and Political Education with the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), in South Africa.

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[51](#) Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961.

1 Congress of South African Students

2 Students' representative council.

3 Member of the Executive Council.

4 Disciplinary committee.

5 Widely reported in November, 2013:

<http://www.citypress.co.za/politics/julius-malema-lets-rip-boer-spy-ramaphosa/>

6 Secretary General

[7](#) Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans' Association.

8 Widely reported in January 2014:

[http://www.citypress.co.za/politics/julius-malema-lashes-mpumalanga-
mafia-premier/](http://www.citypress.co.za/politics/julius-malema-lashes-mpumalanga-
mafia-premier/)

9 Attorney General.

[10](#) Malema refers to Document 86, ANC memorandum on factionalism in the UDF, Lusaka, late 1986 (abridged), p455, From Protest to Challenge Volume 6, Gerhart & Glaser, 2013.