

Third **NPA**
12-15 DECEMBER 2024
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY
NASREC EXPO CENTRE | JOHANNESBURG



POLITICAL REPORT



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12 – 15 DECEMBER 2024



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DEFEND | REBUILD AND ADVANCE
THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM!



PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF
Julius Sello Malema



Opening and Acknowledgements

The National Chairperson, members of the Central Command Team, leaders of the Provincial and Regional Command Teams, international guests, distinguished members of the diplomatic corps, comrades from EFF structures across the African continent and in the diaspora and all revolutionary delegates gathered here today, I stand here before you to extend a heartfelt and revolutionary welcome to this historic 3rd National People's Assembly of the Economic Emancipation Movement.

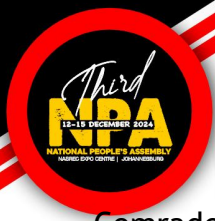
We acknowledge with great appreciation the presence of delegates from our branches and regional and provincial command teams, whose unwavering commitment to the revolution is the bedrock of our movement.

To our comrades representing the Central Command Team, international guests, and the diplomatic corps, your solidarity inspires our collective struggles. We extend revolutionary greetings and express gratitude to all those who sent their well wishes but could not join us. To those who have been able to join us, your presence reaffirms the solid power of the call for economic freedom in our lifetime.

Comrades, I stand before you today to welcome you all to this great festival of the branches of the EFF, the 3rd National People's Assembly of our Economic Emancipation Movement.

Fellow Fighters, today marks the achievement, yet again, of what many thought would not be possible as we stand before you to mark the continued life of this organisation of the working class.

We stand here today as a generation that has inherited the struggle for liberation and declared for all to know that we are a generation of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime.



Comrade Delegates, we stand here not representing ourselves, but our ancestors who bled so we can stand here today and continue the historic struggle for the land and the economy to return to the native people of Africa.

We stand here resilient, fearless and determined to attain the goals and objectives of the millions who have come before us, who died fighting against colonial domination and exploitation.

Fighters and Compatriots, our presence here is another act of defiance and a page in the history books of the revolution which should never be forgotten.

We have earned our rightful place and stand on the shoulders of giants who demonstrated that no determined effort to break us will ever succeed because we represent the wills and aspirations of liberation heroes who died for our freedom.

We stand on the shoulders of the Khoi and the San people, King Hintsa, Chief Maqoma, King Sekhukhune, King Makhado, and King Shaka ka Senzangakhona, who, despite being armed with less sophisticated armaments, displayed conviction and fearlessness that gave them the strength and resolve to wage courageous wars of resistance.

We stand on the shoulders of Mama Winnie Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Peter Mokaba, Chris Hani, Muammar Gaddafi, Thomas Sankara, Amilcar Cabral, Queen Nzinga and many African giants, who, despite a system determined to break the spirits of our people, refused to die and continued to live because of the ideas they represent.

Fellow Fighters, our presence here, after deliberate and coordinated efforts to destroy us, is another sign that the African Spirit can never be broken.



Purpose of the Gathering

Delegates and the people of South Africa, the National People's Assembly of the EFF is the highest demonstration of democracy within the EFF and an exhibition of our commitment to being an organisation that belongs to its members.

In the past 11 years, we have held a gathering of this nature, which constitutes itself as the highest decision-making body of our movement, on two occasions, having held the 1st National People's Assembly in Mangaung in the Free State in 2014, and the 2nd National People's Assembly here in NASREC in 2019, Johannesburg.

Since our inception, despite the negative caricatures of the EFF as a movement characterised by dictatorship, we have remained committed to this internal democratic process without fail.

The NPA is a political sitting defined by ideas that will shape not only the direction of our movement but also the direction of the country, the continent, and the posture of the left on international affairs.

The NPA is a gathering of delegates from the most basic and organic units of our movement, the branches, and it is here that we will reflect on the gains, losses, and future of our organisation.

This NPA will determine the political direction of the movement, receive reports, engage in discussion documents, and ultimately give a mandate to a new crop of leaders who will constitute the Central Command Team for the next five years.

Fellow Fighters, all our National People's Assemblies have occurred at definitive moments in the history of South Africa, and after these sittings, the EFF has managed to dictate and determine political discourse in our country.



The 1st National People's Assembly occurred when the nation was reeling from the tragedy of the brutal massacre of the 34 Lonmin mine workers in Marikana, and the former liberation movement had a firm electoral grip on our democracy, which gave them a sense of impunity, resulting in high levels of unchecked corruption.

It was the formation of this people's movement that brought the Marikana Massacre into the corridors of Parliament and shook the former liberation movement to its core, disrupting the hegemony it held over our political system.

It was the 1st National People's Assembly that resolved that we would be the representative of the poorest of the poor and the dejected masses of our people, and that we would be found on the streets, in the picket lines, in the villages, on the farms, in the townships, in councils, in legislatures, and in Parliament.

It was at that 1st National People's Assembly that a weapon was given to the abused and forgotten masses of our people: a weapon for domestic workers, garden cleaners, petrol attendants, miners, hawkers, the millions of unemployed youth, and those in the corporate sector who suffer at the hands of racism on a daily basis.

It was from that moment that the political terrain in South Africa was redefined and changed for the better.

The years following the 1st National People's Assembly saw fear being struck in the hearts of racists and within the white supremacist and capitalist power structure itself, as a true revolutionary alternative had arrived to take the baton of centuries of struggle against colonial domination.

Fighters and people of South Africa, the 2nd National People's Assembly happened at a point when the white capitalist establishment was cementing itself in South Africa, and as a result, it identified the EFF as "enemy number one." This identification of our



movement as an enemy resulted in a concerted campaign to destabilise this movement through smear campaigns.

We resolved, at that assembly, to solidify our posture as an anti-racist and anti-capitalist movement, despite these challenges.

At this 3rd NPA, we are faced with a new moment, wherein the EFF has experienced its first electoral decline and suffered unprecedented levels of sabotage and infiltration. It is for this reason, delegates, that the theme for this NPA is "Defend, Rebuild, and Advance the Struggle for Economic Freedom," because, for the first time, the revolution is under a genuine threat of disruption that risks delaying our freedom for generations to come.

We have a duty to **Defend** the gains of our emancipation movement and the ideas of the revolution from distortion and sabotage because the attempts to destroy the EFF will set the freedom of our people back for another 100 years.

It is our duty to **Rebuild** this economic emancipation movement and the faith our people have in the principles of economic freedom and justice because the EFF remains the most potent and viable weapon for the liberation of African people.

It is our revolutionary responsibility to **Advance** the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime because our diagnosis that political freedom without economic freedom is meaningless remains true, and we as a collective and a movement remain the most reliable vehicle to carry the baton forward towards true liberation.

It is these basic principles that must shape all our interactions at this 3rd National People's Assembly, and we must bear in mind at all material times that the fate of generations to come rests in our hands.



EFF Ideological Orientation

Delegates and people of South Africa, inherently, the EFF is a movement rooted in ideology and tools of analysis that have shaped revolutions across history and continue to do so today.

In the EFF, we purposefully subscribe to Marxism to analyse the class contradictions in society, Leninism as a guide to our perspective on the state and the purpose of forming a leftist organisation, and Fanonism to appropriately characterise the impact of colonial conquest and racism.

Marxism:

Fighters, in order to know who we are, we must appreciate what we stand for and ask ourselves: What is Marxism? When we call ourselves Marxist, we must be able to explain it in the simplest terms so that we can relate it to ordinary people in our communities.

We have seen many self-proclaimed Marxists fail to break down this revolutionary ideology, even in their mother tongue, yet they claim to understand the theory of Marxism. Those are not Marxists. They are petty bourgeoisies who are engaged in what we characterise in our Organisational Character and Re-Design Discussion Document as Academicism.

“Academicism refers to the trend that separates theoretical development from practical activity. This trend supposes that organisation is less important than theory, to apply the Marxist method without focusing on the revolutionary socialist implications, to over-intellectualise Marxism by focusing on its academic applications, which only relate to the few who have received an elite education, and do not attempt to translate Marxism-Leninism to common language.”



Fighters, Marxism was developed in the mid-1800s by Karl Marx and his comrade, Friedrich Engels, who together formulated the Communist Manifesto. Some of the other important works of Karl Marx and Engels are the three volumes of Das Kapital, which provide a critique of Capitalism and the Political Economy.

To understand Marxism, we must grasp two of its foundational principles, namely, Historical Materialism and Dialectical Materialism. We must ask the question: What is Materialism?

Materialism, unlike idealism, is a philosophical principle that places the material world at the centre of political and social reality. In other words, according to materialism, what we experience is informed by the material world around us, and all social and political changes are functions of our material reality and experience.

However, without Dialectics, the theory is incomplete. Dialectics, as developed by Hegel, can be understood as the union of opposites. In Dialectics, we see the triad of **Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis**. History as we know it can be explained through these tensions.

In the first stage, a thesis is presented. The thesis is met with an antithesis, which opposes the initial thesis. Ultimately, the Thesis and Antithesis reconcile, giving rise to the Synthesis.

Although this idea of Dialectics was conceptualised by Hegel on the basis of idealism, for Marx and Engels, Dialectics became a science of the laws of motion and the development of human society, nature, and thought. In other words, without a Bourgeoisie, there is no Proletariat; without a Master, there is no Slave; and without the Oppressor, there is no Oppressed.



Fighters, Dialectical Materialism covers three foundational laws and principles that must guide our scientific analysis as we engage in the struggle. The first is the unity and struggle of opposites; the second is the transformation of **QUANTITY** into **QUALITY**, and lastly, the negation of the negation.

The Unity and Struggle of Opposites:

At the centre of the Unity and Struggle of Opposites is the Law of Contradiction, which is the basic law of materialist dialectics. It states that everything has its own external and internal contradictions that determine its resolution.

Fighters, the unity and struggle of the opposites help us understand the nature of struggle and conflicts between social groups, such as the class struggle between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

All things in the universe exist in a constant state of change and development. Conflict, therefore, through the Marxist lens of Dialectics, is not always negative, as it can be a necessary part of the process of revolutionary change and development.

This law also helps us to understand that change is interconnected and that change in one aspect of our revolutionary struggle can lead to change in another aspect. We must, therefore, assert that the struggle we are engaged in, and the conflict with the capitalist mode of production, is necessary to bring about social development and change towards the attainment of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime.

The Transformation of Quantity into Quality:

Fighters, the law of the transformation of quantity into quality explains that revolutionary qualitative change is a product of gradual quantitative changes. In other



words, to understand change, we must locate its foundations in the transformation of quantity into quality.

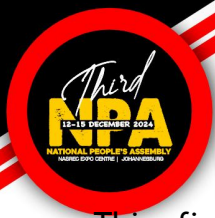
In our context of struggle, revolution represents qualitative change. The contradictions in the capitalist mode of production represent quantitative differences, as they gradually change either positively or negatively, but the net effect is a revolution, which constitutes qualitative change.

For example, the contradiction within our party can be resolved by methods of criticism and self-criticism, whose net effect is qualitative. Meanwhile, the contradiction between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat is resolved through a socialist revolution, which brings about a fundamental change that, through the lens of dialectical materialism, is qualitative. Revolution is qualitative.

The Negation of the Negation

Following on the law of the transformation of quantity into quality, the final foundational principle of Dialectical Materialism is the Negation of the Negation. Fighters, this law can be simplified and understood as the new replacing and superseding the old. In Chapter 32 of the first Volume of *Capital*, Marx wrote:

“The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual property, as found in the labour of the proprietor. But capitalist production produces, with the [certainty] of a law of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of the negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era: [That is], on cooperation and the possession in common the land and the means of production.”



This first negation occurs when the old reaches its limit before a qualitative transformation occurs. Subsequently, the second negation occurs at the full realisation of the new state.

Be that as it may, in the Marxist sense, negation does not mean the complete destruction of the old state. Rather, in the process of transforming from one state to another, remnants of the old state remain in the new state.

From slavery to feudalism, feudalism to capitalism, and even in socialism, remnants of all three epochs will remain, and this, Marx argued, would be overcome by the attainment of global communism.

In simple terms, Negation of the Negation means the transformation from the old state into a new state. Fighters, this is why, as Marxists, we argue that progress is not linear. It does not travel in a straight line. Progress travels in spirals. In the words of Lenin:

“Human knowledge is not a straight line, but a curve which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral.”

Our ideas, therefore, are always in a process of gradual changes, which can build up into revolutionary qualitative changes due to the contradictions within them.

These, Fighters, are the three laws which form the basis of Dialectical Materialism. They are scientific and universal and must thus guide our reading of the prevailing conditions and our engagement in the struggle.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx argued:



“The history of all [up to this point] existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed.”

In other words, Marxism characterises the engine of history and driver of social change as the conflict between classes: the conflict between those who own the means of production and those who are forced to sell their labour to the owners of the means of production. The Haves and the Have-Nots. The Oppressor and the Oppressed.

In Marxism, class is defined by the relationship that a particular group shares with the means of production. In the Feudal Era, which organised society under European royalty, a Lord was a Noble who owned land, and a Serf was a peasant who worked the land in order to live on the land.

The subsequent fall of European Feudal societies and the rise of Capitalism gave birth to two new but not-so-different contending classes: the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat, whose contradictions were also informed by the relationship they shared with the means of production.

Much like the Noble during the Feudal Era, the Bourgeoisie owned and controlled the means of production, whilst the Proletariat, like the Serf, sold its labour to the Bourgeoisie.

Driving expensive cars and wearing designer clothes does not make one a Bourgeoisie. Living in Sandton, Camps Bay, Umhlanga, or any other affluent suburb in South Africa does not make one a Bourgeoisie.

The Bourgeoisie are those who own the banks that finance and control these expensive cars and houses you buy. They own the factories where the material for your expensive clothes is mass-produced. They own the land on which affluent estates and houses are built. They own the mines that exploit our mineral resources.



The Bourgeoisie own the farms, the forest and ocean economy, the banks and the mines, and all other commanding heights of the economy. While we, the Proletariat, must sell our labour to them at very exploitative rates to survive.

Fighters, this is the most basic and fundamental case made by the Founding Manifesto of the EFF and the 7 Non-Negotiable Cardinal Pillars. Economic power is the foundation of all organised life. Our relationship with the economy and the productive forces constitutes the Base, whilst all else—politics, religion, spirituality, art, and science—constitutes the Superstructure, which is informed and influenced by the Base.

Where will we worship our God, perform our customs and rituals, or advance politics, the arts, and sciences if we are alienated from the mineral resources of our land of birth? Even the basis of law arises out of the need to mediate the economic relations between the Oppressor and the Oppressed. The economy is everything.

This is why we must never separate the theoretical development of Marxism, which is our guiding tool of analysis, from practical activity. As Marx put it in Thesis Eleven of his *Theses on Feuerbach*:

“The philosophers have [until now] only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.”

This must not be misrepresented to reject theoretical discourse and dialogue or seen as a call for mindless activism. Rather, our call for land reform, the nationalisation of the banks and the mines, and ownership and control of all our mineral resources and their local beneficiation must be located within this Marxist law of the development of human history.

Our primary enemy, therefore, remains Monopoly Capital, both locally and globally, which owns and controls the means of production. The motive forces that stand to



benefit from the ultimate defeat of the Bourgeoisie are the Proletariat. The Proletariat are the ordinary people of South Africa, who remain landless, economically dominated, and excluded.

Our fight for Economic Freedom in our Lifetime must be located within the Marxist ideology of all history up to this point in existing societies. Ours is a class war. A class war against Capitalism, Imperialism, and the alienation of our people from their mineral resources and wealth.

The economy must be brought back into the hands of the people, and the victory of the poor and working class, who do not own means of production, against the elite and exploitative Bourgeois class will sow the seeds of a Socialist State where all of us will share in the wealth and riches of our land.

A government of the EFF will see the obliteration of all classes and the creation of an egalitarian society where all shall be free and equal, and none will benefit at the expense of another.

The understanding of classes is the cornerstone and foundation of understanding all Marxist theory and its application. If you have a full grasp of our class struggle, its historical development, and contemporary application, you will begin to appreciate Marxism as a tool of analysis and go on to explain it to our communities.

Leninism:

Comrades, President Vladimir Lenin, one of the ideological pillars of the very EFF we claim membership to, in his writing “*Should We Participate In Bourgeois Parliaments?*” reflects on the importance of why we ought to participate in the electoral process.



Many among us forget why we participate in councils, legislatures, and Parliament, and mistaken our participation as a means of personal enrichment instead of it being part of our revolutionary task as a leftist organisation.

In his paper, Lenin reflects on a question that was troubling leftists in both Germany and Russia in the 19th century regarding the relevance and necessity of parliaments and where the vanguard party should locate itself with regard to participation and the national consciousness of the working class at the time.

He writes:

“Parliamentarianism is of course ‘politically obsolete’ to the Communists in Germany; but—and that is the whole point—we must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses. Here again we find that the ‘Lefts’ do not know how to reason, do not know how to act as the party of a class, as the party of the masses. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. That is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You are in duty bound to call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices what they are—prejudices. But at the same time, you must soberly follow the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements). . . participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary [platform] is obligatory on the party of the revolutionary proletariat specifically for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, and for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden and ignorant rural masses. Whilst you lack the strength to do away with bourgeois parliaments and every other type of reactionary institution, you must work within them because it is there that you will still find workers who are [mised] by the priests and



stultified by the conditions of rural life; otherwise, you risk turning into nothing but windbags.”

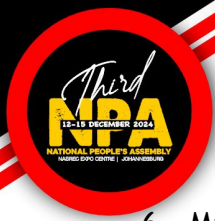
Lenin continues, noting in his reflection on the progression of the Russian revolution in different periods how the Bolsheviks tactfully located themselves within parliament to reduce it to absurdity, while simultaneously organising Soviets for the overthrow of parliaments that were initially deemed the paragon of democratic practice. He says:

“There is great usefulness, during a revolution, of a combination of mass action outside a reactionary parliament with an opposition sympathetic to (or, better still, directly supporting) the revolution within it.”

The mass action comes in the form of strikes in demand for various socio-economic changes that a bourgeois parliament simply cannot meet. While inside the very same parliament, there are legal parliamentarians who make the same demands. This is the most tactful way of forging a revolutionary programme.

The EFF exists in legislatures to fulfil the minimum revolutionary programme, and the basis and blueprint of our revolutionary programme, which we must always pursue while in these legislatures, is the Seven Non-Negotiable Cardinal Pillars of the EFF:

1. Expropriation of land without compensation for equal redistribution in 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 abolishment of tenders.
4. Free quality education, healthcare, housing, and sanitation.
5. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wages to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor.



6. Massive investment in the development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice in the entire continent.
7. Open, accountable, corrupt-free government and society without fear of victimisation by state agencies.

We, therefore, comrades, are in pursuit of state power not for self-interest, but for revolutionary purposes, as described by the leader of the great October Revolution of 1917, Vladimir Lenin.

Fellow Fighters, the 3rd National People's Assembly is not a task we are undertaking for its own sake; it is an integral part of what constitutes a revolution premised on Leninism.

It is Vladimir Lenin who teaches us that the revolutionary party, constituted by the revolutionary class and led by professional revolutionaries, must always be in the practice of democracy.

It is Lenin who writes:

“. . . the whole Party organisation is now built on a democratic basis. This means that all the Party members take part in the election of officials, committee members, and so forth, that all the Party members discuss and decide questions concerning the political campaigns of the proletariat, and that all the Party members determine the line of tactics of the Party organisations.”

Fighters, Lenin also taught us that we must work tirelessly to ensure that all higher-standing bodies are elected, accountable, and subject to recall.

This, along with Democratic Centralism, which Lenin described as freedom of discussion and unity in action, forms the fundamentals of building an organic vanguard and revolutionary party that will liberate the working class.



There is often a temptation and some confusion, and in some cases, misuse of the concept of Democratic Centralism. At times, some Commissars and Fighters, and people outside our movement attempt to impose their personal preferences and decisions on lower structures under the pretence of Democratic Centralism.

But as Lenin teaches us, true Democratic Centralism requires that decisions are made through a genuinely democratic process - characterised by robust participation, open debates, persuasion, and collective agreement. Only such decisions, born from this democratic process, can be considered legitimate under the principles of Democratic Centralism.

Once a decision is democratically reached, all of us, as members of the organisation, are bound to respect and uphold it as a collective mandate.

We are not here at the 3rd National People's Assembly because we have no other tasks; we are here because, ideologically, we are obligated to do so. Internal democracy is sacrosanct, and without it, we are doomed to follow the path of fascism.

There is no single individual who possesses so much revolutionary wisdom that they can assume leadership responsibility without a democratic mandate. We must defend this principle, Fighters, without any doubt that we are ideologically correct.

There is no genuine revolution that can be led outside of revolutionary and socialist democracy—not bourgeois democracy, but people's democracy.

If you doubt democracy because it has the potential to be corrupted, then consider: if a collective can be corrupted, what makes you think an individual cannot be corrupted? We must never surrender a people's organisation to the whims of an individual.



It is for this reason, comrades, that all issues we have proposed in the public domain are open for discussion, agreement, or disagreement here at this National People's Assembly.

We have diagnosed that we need to establish sub-regional structures and possibly do away with regional structures so that our movement and its leaders emerge organically from where they reside and lead their own communities.

It is part of our organisational experience that the regional structures in the EFF are not fit for purpose. This reflects an error in organisational design inherited from the former liberation movement, which we must now do away with.

Additionally, we have proposed that we establish an EFF Youth Command and do away with the EFF Students Command, so that we may appeal to all the youth of South Africa. The gift of democracy is that this NPA will resolve on these questions, and no single individual has the right to impose their will on anyone.

Compatriots, internal democracy does not mean weakness or the absence of decisive leadership, which we are often villainised for. The West has a tendency to create the impression that one of the problems confronting the continent and liberation movements is that of authority.

The notion is that the absence of authority leads to freedom and prosperity, and that all attempts at running communist and socialist states have failed primarily due to the so-called authoritarian character of their leadership.

President Robert Mugabe, Brother Leader Muammar Gaddafi, Captain Thomas Sankara, Comandante Fidel Castro, President of the People's Republic of China and the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Xi Jinping, and President of Russia Vladimir Putin are all accused of being authoritarian—as though the West is governed by the most democratic of ideals. Put differently, it is as though democracy itself lacks authority.



Authority refers to the imposition of the will of one sector of society onto another. In democracy, authority refers to the will of the majority prevailing over the few. Authority is ever-present. For any system to function, there must be a command from a superior to subordinates.

To demonise authority within the revolution—within the context of our war against capitalism—is either ignorant or a deliberate attempt to sow confusion.

What liberal thinkers fail to understand in their hypocritical critiques of authority is that authority exists under all economic and political systems, and even capitalism thrives on authority.

Capitalism survives because the state, which currently exists to protect the interest of the capitalist class, operates with the authority of a monopoly on violence. Authority refers to the system, hierarchy, and legitimacy conferred by the people or bought by money and state violence in the case of Capitalism.

As socialists, we are engaged in a war against the most perverse global economic system known to humankind. The absence of authority in our revolution is a guarantee of failure. The West wants us to lack authority so that we become chaotic and disorganised. We must never allow our enemies to define us.

We must always subject ourselves to the authority of leadership—a leadership that draws its legitimacy from the masses—not to reactionary or liberal definitions of democracy, which strip the revolution of its essence.

As Marxists, we seek the authority of the poor and the working class, who do not own the means of production, to surpass that of the bourgeoisie. Marxism teaches us that the working class must destroy the authority of capitalism, which thrives on private property, profit-driven economies, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.



In simple terms, as Marxists, we believe in the authority of the people over the means of production—not the authority of the bourgeoisie over the people and the economy.

So, no one, Commissars and Fighters, has any ideological basis to call the EFF authoritarian. The very capitalist system we live under thrives on authority—and it is the authority of the few.

We must expect an aggressive onslaught from captains of industry and their media puppets. We have seen this especially since we celebrated a decade of existence at FNB Stadium, where we united more than 120 000 people under one roof, as a symbol of the common purpose and unity we share as a movement.

There will be attempts to discredit our achievements as non-existent or disruptive. This is because the agenda is to undermine that which capital does not control.

Our duty is to expose this and be consistent in our message: that the EFF remains the only incorruptible and uncaptured organisation capable of delivering socialism in our lifetime.

Frantz Fanon

Fighters and compatriots, one of our defining ideological features is our commitment to the ideals of Frantz Fanon. There are two aspects of Fanon's work that we must re-emphasise, which must always guide us whenever we seek to understand our role in the post-colonial world.

Two chapters of particular significance are from his book *The Wretched of the Earth: The Pitfalls of National Consciousness* and *On Violence*. These chapters are significant because one provides guidance on why liberation movements fail post-



liberation, and the other diagnoses the necessity of violence and the inherent violence existing in a colonial and neo-colonial society.

If we want to learn from the mistakes of those who came before us, Fanon is instructive. He tells us what not to do and what not to become.

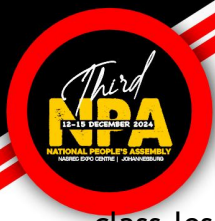
The problem we confront internally as Africans is the persistence of liberation movements that sustain themselves on blackmail and through the use of law enforcement agencies to suppress the people's demands for the promises of liberation.

Most recently, the liberation movement here in South Africa, when faced with an existential threat, aligned with our historical enemies, characterising the EFF as a threat to the nation, because when ideas are lost, blackmail and swaart-gevaar become the strategy. We are told that, if the EFF is in government, it will be doomsday for the people of South Africa.

Fanon teaches and illustrates that liberation movements have no potential to lead us into the future. They are preoccupied with reminding our people of the past during every election cycle and periodically through meaningless celebrations of so-called independence. These movements are led by a class of triumphalist politicians who resent the masses and categorise them as ungrateful for the leadership of the liberation movement.

The former liberation movement began to build a wall between itself and the masses while impatiently accumulating petty wealth in alliance with the West. Fanon's lessons are important because he shows us how post-liberation national leadership reconstitutes itself as a mediator of capital's interests, turning the nation into a brothel for imperialists.

Fanon reveals that this decay in the relationship between the people and the liberation movement creates a political class that no longer relates to the people. This political



class loses sight of the continued poverty of the masses and its inability to reconstruct society away from the grip of colonialism.

Because of this, the former coloniser tightened its grip over the resources of the former colony through concessions, loans, and other mechanisms that entrench our underdevelopment and dependency on the West.

The national bourgeoisie, also underdeveloped to lead strategic sectors of the economy, turns back to the colonialists and relies on the protection and support of Europeans. Their failures led to the collapse of not only the nation but also the liberation movement itself.

This is what the EFF must always guard against as our presence increases in governance and places of political influence.

We must not resent our people because they do not vote for us, even though we fight bitterly for their dignity. We must resist the temptation of crumbs imperialists leave for the political class and never forget the genuine purpose of our struggle for liberation.

We must avoid accumulating so much personal wealth that the hunger of our people for land, jobs, education, and a decent life becomes nothing but slogans we chant to celebrate ourselves.

Our reflection on more than a decade of selfless struggle for Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime must not become a parade of self-praise or a tool to immobilise our people. It must serve as an occasion to renew our passion and commitment to liberating our people.



Fanon writes painfully:

“After a few years, the break-up of the party becomes obvious, and any observer, even the most superficial, can notice that the party, today the skeleton of its former self, only serves to immobilise the people. The party, which during the battle, had drawn itself the whole nation, is now falling apart. . . The party is becoming a means of private advancement.”

We must hold Fanon’s prophecy close to our hearts to ensure that the Economic Emancipation Movement fulfils its strategic mission for economic freedom in our lifetime.

Comrades, these are the internal contradictions we must avoid to ensure that we do not betray the mandate of liberation.

This is a self-reflective diagnosis that we must internalise as we enter a second decade of struggle, so we do not use our history of resistance or the external pressures of imperialism as excuses to avoid accountability to the revolutionary expectations of our people or to entrench self-interest and corruption.

The second of Fanon’s insights that we must hold close to our hearts is his assertion that *decolonisation is always a violent phenomenon*.

This is critical for a militant organisation like ours because we are tasked with reawakening the consciousness of a society convinced of the possibility of reconciliation without justice.

The EFF exists in a country indoctrinated to believe that the contradictions between the African Black Majority and the White-Capitalist ruling class can be resolved peacefully and that violence, in any form, must be avoided and condemned.

This belief is simply untrue, and we must explain this truth to our people.



When the South African Human Rights Commission takes us to court for saying that, ultimately, our revolution will require us to kill, we must be prepared to contextualise what we mean.

When the Human Rights Commission and the racist lobby group, Afriforum, take us to court for declaring that we are in a war with White Supremacy, we must be able to explain to our people what Black Consciousness is and why it cannot coexist with the idea that white people are inherently superior. **One must die.**

Fanon is important here because he gives us the tools to explain to our people that the conditions within which they live are violent. It is violence to segregate African people into underdeveloped townships and villages without services. It is violence for a white minority to have complete control over the means of production in Africa. It is violence that the majority of the land remains in the hands of a white minority.

Colonialism is institutional and structural violence, and reversing it requires violence. Changing legislation to allow for land expropriation without compensation is a form of organised violence against white supremacy, but this violence is rooted in justice. Our message is simple: there can be no unity and reconciliation in South Africa without justice, and that justice will be violent for those who are comfortable at the expense of African people.

Ultimately, there will be a need to take up arms, as this is the eventual outcome of all struggles against injustice met with resistance. This conclusion arises because the white-capitalist class feels entitled to the wealth and resources they accumulated through crime and will violently defend their right to exploit and oppress African people.



In the face of this arrogance, violence is inevitable. This is what we must coherently and logically explain to our people. Decolonisation questions the colonial situation, casts it into doubt, and makes the native an active participant in reshaping the world order.

Decolonisation is a substitution and radical reorganisation of society, wherein the last shall be first, and the first shall be last. As Fanon tells us, this process demands that we be prepared for violence at any stage because it is impossible to transform a society born out of and sustained by violence without violence itself.

Colonialism was born from the blood, suffering, slavery, and destruction of Africans and African identity. Without the violent subjugation of Africans, the colonial system ceases to exist.

- **Our people being denied education is violence.**
- **Our people living in shacks is violence.**
- **Our people working in mines for little wages while enriching global capitalists is violence.**
- **The erasure of our history is violence.**

The fact that labour such as domestic work, gardening, and security services are reserved for Africans in service to white people is violence. The fact that a white child's first encounter with an African is often as a servant is violence.

The entire existence of Africans is imagined through the eyes of the coloniser, and to radically change this and reimagine ourselves through our own eyes and traditions will be a violent process.



Fanon’s concept of the two zones of reality—where the town of the European is filled with tarred roads and lights, while the land of the native is filled with poverty and overcrowding—perfectly describes South Africa’s violent social and economic situation today, which must be transformed.

These are the realities we must explain to our people. We must show them how abnormal their situation is so that the prospect of violence does not offend them. Our people must never be offended by violence because their very existence is a manifestation of violence.

Commissars and Fighters, alongside internal contradictions, we must consider the external challenges that threaten the revolutionary project for African independence. These challenges are posed by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Many liberal thinkers like to credit the failures and collapse of African states to the leadership styles of African leaders, blaming socialist and anti-imperialist policies. Imperialists and so-called governance experts argue that African economies fail because independent states resist the anarchy of the markets, constantly calling for increased privatisation as a solution to economic problems.

By the anarchy of the markets, we mean the following:

- The capitalist class and its proponents want democratically elected states to allow policy direction and economies to be dictated by an "invisible hand" known as the independent market.
- This market downgrades and rates economies based on whether they are “investor-friendly” according to their narrow political, social, and economic preferences.



- The market manipulates prices and encourages collusion by the private sector to maximise profits, regardless of the impact on ordinary people.

This capitalist madness, which ignores the basic needs of the people, is a breeding ground for corruption. Resistance to this disorganised and undemocratic system through decisive state intervention and a planned economy is dismissed as authoritarianism.

Imperialist nations propagate these arguments to mask their role in Africa's underdevelopment and to legitimise capitalist hegemony. They assume that the only valid form of governance is Western-oriented authority while attacking non-Western systems as inherently flawed.

As Marxists, we must understand that our problems are from global capitalism and its advanced manifestation—imperialism. To dismantle this system, we must first understand Marxism, the concept of authority, and why global capitalism mobilises itself against alternative ways of organising the economy.

Delegates, another question we must respond to and reflect on is the question of unity.

Fighters, there has been much debate and discussion across our nation about the cause of black unity and unity amongst progressive forces. As part of the preparation for this 3rd National People's Assembly, we were questioned by our own branches as to what constitutes progressive forces.

We must have a coherent response to our own branches as to what continues to motivate certain alliances we have in society, but for the interest of defining our political moment, we must define what characterises the progressive left in South Africa.

To merely say you are progressive does not make you progressive. To merely state that you are on the left or that you are black-conscious, does not make you leftist or black-conscious.



To belong to these categories is proven through actions, through ideological persuasion, and through practice. Black unity is and has always been imperative in South Africa, but blackness should not be used as a shield for opportunism or to escape one's own wrongdoing.

The desperate need for black solidarity must not be taken advantage of by individuals who manipulate the black identity to avoid accounting for how they have jeopardised the cause of black liberation.

There are forces in South Africa today who have discovered the cause of black unity after they previously undermined it while they were in power, and this discovery is manipulative.

You, as delegates, must ask yourselves: Where was this black consciousness and black unity when the Marikana workers, whose blood nourished the birth of this economic emancipation movement, were killed, while the so-called new leaders of black unity were sitting as State Presidents and even justified the killing of mineworkers?

Did the need for black unity not exist when the youth of this country were shot, jailed, and killed for demanding free education under the new messiahs of black unity?

When the EFF offered its 6% in Parliament to amend the Constitution of South Africa to expropriate land without compensation, and this was rejected by the former liberation movement, where was black unity then?

Fighters, we must never allow black consciousness to be misused to con our people into forgetting, nor allow it to sanitise the legacy of failure and corruption.



There are individuals who committed themselves to undermining the liberation of black people while in government, and now, in an attempt to rescue their legacy of compromise and collaboration as head of state, directors-general and CEO of strategic state-owned enterprises, they reach for black consciousness as they approach the grave.

It is our revolutionary responsibility to vehemently reject black unity born out of convenience and opportunism and to tell those who lived lives of betrayal while they governed that Steve Biko will not welcome them on the other side because they are non-whites and agents of capital.

Black consciousness is a political conviction that not only relies on the colour of your skin but also on your consciousness itself. You can be black yet advance divisive politics of tribalism. You can be black yet act as an agent of white supremacy and corruption. You may identify as black, but your character can still be defined by deception and dishonesty. You can be black and still sell out your brothers and sisters for a few pieces of silver.

We, as the EFF, do not subscribe to unity based on skin colour alone in our pursuit of liberation. We subscribe to a political unity defined by ideological conviction and honest politics—a unity that will bring about the defeat of our strategic enemy.

Our enemy knows that it is the EFF that is the true liberation movement and not a pocket knife for individuals and self-gratification. In our history, we have never betrayed our people. As a result, we do not merely claim to be the home and inspiration of black people and black unity—we have earned this role.

It is the flag and the logo of the EFF that strike fear into the hearts of the white capitalist establishment, and this is because we have earned the fear of the enemy. For this, you must be proud.

The EFF is not in a fight for its own survival because we already live in the hearts and minds of our people.



We are now in a fight to defend the cause of liberation from losing legitimacy because criminals want to use ideology as a weapon of self-defence. If we allow the politics we subscribe to, to be delegitimised by criminals masquerading as messiahs of black unity, it will take decades for the left to regain credibility, and right-wingers and capitalists will rule us for centuries to come.

Our triple tasks as revolutionaries today, as we Rebuild, Defend, and Advance the Struggle for Economic Freedom, are to combat liberalism, revisionism and opportunism.

We must not allow opportunists to revise history, nor ideology to die at the hands of liberalism while we live through the brutality and reactionary rule of those who preach black unity today.

Ideology must never be used as a tool to wipe away the practical failures of those who have led this country. We must defend Steve Biko, even in his grave, from being used by syndicates that serve individualism.

Fighters, one thing we must be proud of as this National People's Assembly is that the majority of the delegation is women in this conference, which proves our commitment to allowing women to be at the centre of political decision-making in the EFF.

Out of 2 513 (two thousand five hundred thirteen) delegates, 1685 (One thousand six hundred eighty-five) women were nominated as delegates from their branches, while 828 (eight hundred twenty-eight) males were nominated. Fellow Fighters, this organic representation of women in our conference is a sign that the narrative that the EFF does not appeal to women can no longer stand.

66% of delegates to this conference are women because the EFF is an organisation that has begun to appeal to women, and these women form part of the highest decision-making body of the EFF in their majority.



The EFF subscribes to the notion of Thomas Sankara, wherein he states that “there is no true social revolution without the liberation of women. May my eyes never see, and my feet never take me to a society where half the people are held in silence. I hear the roar of women’s silence. I sense the rumble of their storm and feel the [Anger] of their revolt.”

Our nation is one where women live in permanent fear and silence, where women are murdered, undermined and subjected to triple oppression, where they are oppressed because they are black, they are poor, and they are women.

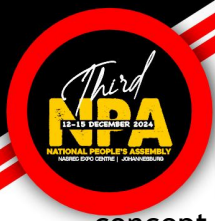
The participation of women, therefore, at this level, is not something to be taken lightly because women must lead their own emancipation, and we want to salute the branches of the EFF for not paying lip service to the women’s struggle but electing them to determine the future of our movement and our nation.

On Key Resolutions From the 2nd NPA

Comrade delegates, as part of holding ourselves accountable and tracing what we committed to do as this leadership elected at the 2nd National People’s Assembly in 2019, we must reflect on the resolutions made at the conference and account for what has been achieved.

In instances where there have been resolutions that have not been implemented, we must stand here honestly and explain what the material challenges were. It is this NPA that must resolve on “What Is To Be Done” to ensure that these ideals are achieved.

Delegates to the 3rd National People’s Assembly, part of the resolutions on the Land Question at the 2nd NPA was that, even though other political parties support the



concept of land expropriation without compensation, they do so for completely different reasons—reasons that may be against the ideals the EFF stands for.

It was therefore resolved that the EFF must object to any amendments to the Constitution that would not result in the fundamental restructuring of the property rights regime in the country.

Furthermore, the 2nd NPA resolved that the EFF must object to any amendments to the Constitution that would entrench the status quo and produce only superficial changes.

It was, therefore, on the basis of this resolution that we, as the EFF, after fearless participation in Parliament and numerous bilateral meetings with the former liberation movement, rejected the proposed amendment to Section 25 of the Constitution intended to entrench compensation for land expropriation, and willing buyer, willing seller in the constitution. We rejected this.

This amendment was a distortion of the original EFF motion as it pertained to compensation and custodianship, as the former liberation movement remained committed to a failed restitution process that is premised on compensation and title deeds, as opposed to state custodianship.

Delegates, in terms of the resolution regarding broadcasting and the media terrain, the EFF 2nd NPA resolved that there must be the immediate removal of Section 60(3) of the 'Must Carry Requirements' altogether from the Electronic Communications Act.

There should also be an amendment of the Electronic Communications Act in a way that allows the SABC to freely negotiate re-transmission consent agreements on commercial terms with other players in South Africa and internationally.



As I stand before you today, after the hard work of the EFF in Parliament, it was on the 1st of April 2022 that the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) amended the Must Carry Regulations, and they now require subscription broadcasters to carry the public broadcasters' channels "subject to commercially negotiable terms."

The EFF was at the forefront of correcting a historical wrong that had given subscription broadcasters the right to carry SABC channels "at no cost" since the enforcement of the Must Carry Regulations in 2008.

Delegates of the 3rd National People's Assembly, in 2019, it was resolved that the EFF must establish alternative broadcast, radio, and print media to guard against the negative characterisation of socialist ideals and the left in general.

Seated here today, the EFF has its own state-of-the-art studios at Winnie Madikizela-Mandela House, wherein we record our own weekly podcast. We remain the only political party to have established its own consistent podcast platform.

Delegates seated here today, the EFF has its own newsletter, **The Radical Voice**, which publishes the work of the EFF in all spheres of government and reflects on both internal and external political phenomena.

Fellow Fighters, it was the EFF that resolved that South Africa should direct its focus to primary healthcare and building a caring system that provides comprehensive, educational, accessible, and community-based care that meets the health needs of individuals throughout their lives.

Further to this, we resolved in the 2nd NPA that the 6th Parliament should finalise the National Health Amendment Bill to ensure clinics are open 24 hours. Today, we can report to you that the EFF has indeed fought in Parliament that clinics must operate 24 hours, and this was rejected by the former liberation movement.



We did not allow this to be an obstacle, however, and through our MMC of Health in Johannesburg, we have opened Orchards Clinic here in Johannesburg, a state-of-the-art facility that operates 24/7—to demonstrate that it is indeed both practical and possible to have clinics open 24 hours 7 days a week.

Fighters, as part of our 7 Non-Negotiable Cardinal Pillars, we reaffirmed our posture on the nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and placing it under the direct ownership and management of the state. Further to this, the 2nd NPA resolved that we must call for the expansion of the South African Reserve Bank's mandate to use monetary policy to boost employment and increase capital available in the economy.

Comrades, I can report proudly as I stand before you today that, through the efforts of the EFF, the 7th Parliament is currently looking at ways in which we can nationalise the Reserve Bank and expand its mandate. Public hearings are being hosted as part of the process of ultimately reclaiming the sovereignty of our currency and fiscal policy.

Comrades, as a leadership collective, we were mandated to continue to expose, reject, and campaign against independent power producers (IPPs) who signed contracts with Eskom to generate electricity and sell it back to Eskom. To this day, it is only the EFF that waged a massive protest against Eskom in 2020, demanding an end to load-shedding and, amongst other things, calling for an end to the parasitic role of IPPs at Eskom.

Fellow Fighters, the 2nd NPA mandated us to continue to call for an end to the occupation of Palestine by apartheid Israel and to call for the complete isolation of Israel by South Africa. In all international bodies, apartheid Israel should not be allowed to participate in international sporting platforms such as the World Cup, the Olympics, and other international sporting bodies.



To heed this mandate, it is the EFF that marched to the Israeli Embassy, calling for its closure because we cannot host genocidal nations that murder women and children, bomb hospitals, and target sites of religious worship. We went further and proposed a motion in the 6th Parliament of South Africa calling for the expulsion of the Israeli Embassy and the cutting of all ties with Israel - a motion supported by the majority of Members of Parliament and adopted by the National Assembly.

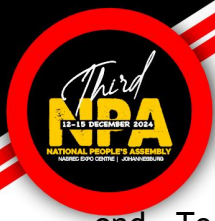
The cowardly President of South Africa, who speaks with forked tongues on the genocide against Palestinians, has, to this day, not implemented that resolution which successfully passed in Parliament.

Comrades, the 2nd NPA condemned the despotic and unjustifiable absolute monarchy of Eswatini and demanded that there must be true democratisation in Eswatini. The 2nd NPA was clear that the despotic King of Eswatini must not be allowed to use the country's finances as his personal purse, where he lives in absolute luxury while ordinary people live in absolute poverty.

It was from this rallying call that the EFF protested at all border gates connecting South Africa and Eswatini, in solidarity with the calls for democracy in Eswatini. We have gone as far as supporting liberation movements such as the EFF in Eswatini and PUDEMO, and we will continue to do so until the despotic regime of Mswati falls in memory of Mario Masuku, former President of PUDEMO and Nombulelo Motta, the first President of EFF Eswatini.

Fighters, it was the EFF at the 2nd NPA which called for all correctional service facilities and programmes to be managed by government and not private corporations or companies.

Following the escape of Thabo Bester, it was the EFF that came out strongly against the control of Mangaung Correctional Centre by Israeli-linked G4S and pushed for the announcement that the public-private partnership to run this prison must come to an



end. To this day, G4S controls this prison, and we must intensify the call for this relationship to completely end now.

With all these successes, Fighters, some resolutions have not been met, including the resolution to establish a school named Winnie Madikizela-Mandela Comprehensive School. This delay is a result of the disruptive COVID-19 pandemic and the incompetence of the municipality.

However, we can assure you, Fighters, that the land for the school has been secured, the architecture has been developed, and even some of the journalists seated here today have been on the farm where the school will be built. They can also confirm that the work is ongoing.

Commissars, we must additionally acknowledge that the resolution to form a Women's Command has not been fulfilled, as the challenges of COVID-19 almost completely closed the EFF's ability to operate normally as an organisation. As a result, we had to focus on rebuilding and organising ourselves again.

All the resolutions taken by the 2nd NPA must be revisited, and this 3rd NPA must take a decision on a way forward. It is the duty of this 3rd NPA to either reaffirm their necessity or determine what is to be done. The Secretary General will provide a detailed report on the implementation of all resolutions of the 2nd National People's Assembly.

Annual Themes and Programmes

Delegates, the EFF has, for over a decade, remained the only organisation that has confronted existing conditions in South Africa and brought light to the issues that have, for the longest time, been kept under the rug, such as the need for expropriation of land without compensation and the need to crush the remains of the legacy of colonisation and Apartheid.



Over the past five years, the Organisation has, among other things, called for the unsealing of the CR17 documents, which were wrongly sealed in the name of accountability, and mobilised the working class, calling on South Africans to participate in the Public Hearings of Land Expropriation without Compensation.

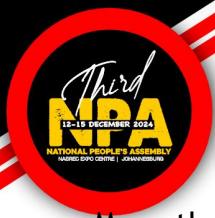
In the history of South African politics, no organisation has emerged as a prominent voice consistently championing the rights of the working class and the economically dispossessed through its various Programmes of Action.

Fighters, on the 13th to the 16th of December 2019, delegates from branches across the country gathered here at the Nasrec Expo Centre under the theme ‘CONSOLIDATING THE GROUND TOWARDS SOCIALIST POWER’ for the organisation’s 2nd National People’s Assembly.

These 3,180 delegates who attended the 2nd National People’s Assembly had an organisational obligation to reflect on the policy position of our organisation, re-strategise, and reposition it to provide solutions to the problems confronting South Africa, the continent, and the world—and as such, gave the new leadership a mandate for the next five years.

In the weeks following a successful 2nd National People’s Assembly, a Plenum was convened in February 2020, which adopted the programme for the year, as well as the theme of the year: ‘THE YEAR OF ACTION AGAINST THE RACIST FINANCIAL SECTOR.’

This came from the understanding that the lack of transformation in the economy, the lack of jobs, as well as the privatisation of State-Owned Enterprises such as Eskom will further impoverish our people.



More than 90.5% of total banking sector assets are controlled by the top 5 banks, such as Standard Bank, FNB, Absa, Capitec, and Nedbank—all of which are white-owned. The same is true of the insurance sector and many other sectors in the country.

Moreover, there are more than 8.1 million young people between the ages of 15-34 who are supposed to be transitioning from dependency to becoming independent, productive members of society—adding value to the country's GDP—but are not in education, training, or employment.

COVID-19

The Year of Action Against the Racist Financial Sector also marked seven years of the organisation's existence, allowing it to evolve into a reliable, genuine, and credible movement of hope for our people.

However, it must be noted that this was during a critical moment in the history of the country and the world, as we witnessed the surge of the Coronavirus pandemic—a pandemic that resulted in sickness and the deaths of many, both domestically and abroad.

This COVID-19 outbreak led to the cancellation of many of the organisation's programmes and tested the strength and survival of the EFF, as circumstances forced us to adapt to conditions that were against our usual way of doing things.

Fellow Fighters, we navigated this through the collective wisdom of the organisation, which provided solutions and showed its capacity to influence the political landscape on what needed to be done—doing so with conviction.



Amidst this global crisis, the organisation's character as the last hope of the people was successfully maintained through active engagement in organisational activities, such as the online membership system, virtual meetings, and the EFF Book Club.

COVID-19 Solidarity Fund

It was during this period that the organisation donated R15 million to the COVID-19 Solidarity Fund as a result of the dedicated and disciplined EFF Public Representatives who sacrificed a third of their salaries to contribute to the fight against the spread of COVID-19.

The time then came to fight against the power of White Monopoly Capital in our country. We called upon all formations on the left, from trade unions to community organisations, to embark on a National March to the Eskom Headquarters.

The march denounced load-shedding, the privatisation of Eskom and other state-owned enterprises. Eskom was a significant threat to the fiscus and the South African economy, and its collapse would have led to an unimaginable failure of the country.

Following the anti-Black racism displayed by the pharmaceutical outlet Clicks in a racist advert, the EFF embarked on direct action at Clicks stores nationwide to demand accountability and confront racism.

It is now commonplace for the oppressed—whether at school, at work, or in business—to call on the EFF for intervention when confronted with racism, as was the case with Clicks.

At all material times, we condemn racism and provide cogent accounts against myths that undermine the programme and Cardinal Pillars of our organisation. As such, a clarion call was made to stand in defence of the judiciary and state assets against racist, right-wing groups in Senekal, in Free State Province.



In 2021, the world continued battling an invisible enemy called the Coronavirus, raising questions of relevance, decisiveness, and leadership regarding our revolutionary organisation. This period tested the character of the organisation as the public sought empirical and workable solutions to their problems.

As an organisation, we reflected on organisational, domestic, and international challenges, and took concrete resolutions to guide the economic emancipation movement in the period ahead.

Despite the senseless lockdowns imposed by the government, which closed the political space and prohibited accountability and campaigning activities—even during an election year—we carried out our programmes.

One of the wars that the organisation successfully engaged in was against vaccine apartheid, where we demonstrated in the March to Save Lives at the South African Health Products Regulatory Authority, SAHPRA, Offices, also highlighting the failure of the government's vaccination programme, the loyalty of government to vaccine producers aligned to capitalism and the West, the capture of SAHPRA, and the demand for the Coronovac vaccine produced by Sinovac, and the Sputnik-V vaccine from Russia.

Our correct conviction was that it is only through scientifically tested and proven vaccines that the world could permanently contain the spread of the Coronavirus.

Fighters, it was through the March to Save Lives at SAHPRA that, a few days later, the Coronovac vaccine was authorised for distribution in South Africa, demonstrating that we are the only organisation that prioritises our people.



Visit to Nkandla

Fighters, the integrity of our judiciary is paramount, and we may be critical of our judiciary at times, but we must protect the ideal of the rule of law and the Constitutional supremacy, especially in volatile situations, even if it means paying a visit to try and convince a former president to comply with the Constitutional Court and the Zondo Commission.

The rule of law in South Africa is applied selectively, and a section of the judiciary is co-opted. Despite this, an intervention needed to be made when there was an ill-advised decision to arrest the former State President, and in an attempt to plead with him to comply with the directive of the Zondo Commission, we visited him at his homestead. We did so publicly and transparently during the day.

This was necessary because, at the time, we foresaw the bloodshed to come, which would come in the former state President's name, and we knew that this was avoidable. It is unfortunate that our plea fell on deaf ears and that today our intervention is misrepresented as part of some political ploy gone wrong.

We, as the EFF, will never associate with individuals who have stolen government money and resources for their own benefit, nor will we ever associate with any faction in any political party. Our interest at the time was to protect innocent lives that would be lost, and for attempting to do this, we regret nothing because we did it out of love for our people and the nation.

We were vindicated when the former President was arrested, and his arrest led to the 21 July 2021 unrest and senseless killings of black people. Had our interventions succeeded, the tragic loss of black lives massacred in Phoenix and other parts of Kwazulu-Natal could have been prevented.



Regional People's Assemblies

Fighters, we have reflected on the importance of internal democracy, and consistent with this, we convened Branch People's Assemblies and presided over 52 Regional People's Assemblies across South Africa.

The Central Command Team (CCT) resolved that, prior to the 2021 Local Government Elections, all EFF regions must convene Regional People's Assemblies to elect regional leadership and adopt localised election campaign programmes that resonate with the EFF Election Victory Manual adopted by the CCT and endorsed by the Plenum.

If we were dictators, we would not have held these organisational programmes and activities. We would have ignored the principle of elected leadership and simply held onto power.

However, because we genuinely believe in democratically elected leadership, we continued with these programmes. The majority of programmes we carried out were successful, despite the conditions at the time, such as the senseless and poorly managed lockdowns by the government and the closed political space.

Year of the Branch (2022)

The year 2022 marked nine years since the formation of the EFF, where the CCT resolved on a campaign to recruit one million active and dependable members under the theme 'Year of the Branch.' This was also a means to raise the political consciousness of the people while ensuring that the EFF is represented in every corner of South Africa.

The campaign was officially launched on the 18th of February at Hector Petersen Square in Soweto. As part of the programme, all EFF branches, sub-regions, regions, and



provinces were given their own targets based on the voting population and past performance.

Before the end of December 2022, all regions and provinces reached their targets, with a total of 1,085,843 (one million, eighty-five thousand, eight hundred and forty-three) paid-up members in good standing, exceeding the target by more than 85,000 members.

Leaders and members of the EFF across all structures, this massive victory was made possible by your dedication and commitment. As we speak now, the EFF has verifiable membership across the length and breadth of our country.

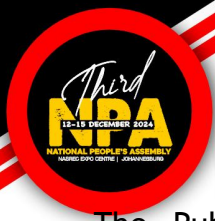
Limpopo Rebuilding

Fighters, the campaign of the Year of the Branch, ran at the same time as the 3rd Provincial People's Assemblies, which elected new leaders and adopted a programme of action.

Following the electoral decline of votes and seats in Limpopo, the CCT resolved to disband the Limpopo Provincial Command Team, all Regional Command Teams, and Branch Command Teams to rebuild all constitutional structures and recruit members towards the Provincial People's Assemblies.

Induction of Public Representatives

On the 24th of January 2022, we convened an Induction of all Public Representatives. The induction was attended by the leadership from various structures and more than 1,100 Public Representatives, including 1,066 Councillors across South Africa.



The Public Representatives deliberated on the Founding Manifesto of the EFF, Revolutionary Code of Discipline, and Code of Conduct for all caucuses and public representatives, and were made to understand the responsibility entrusted to them by our people.

EFF Land Day

The need to accelerate the call for the expropriation of land without compensation remains key. This is why we led a confrontation of Johann Rupert at his properties in Stellenbosch, demanding the return of our land and exposing his influence over the economic and political scene of our country.

Public Protector Picket

We picketed with other opposition parties in September 2022 after the Acting Public Protector failed to release the Phala Phala report.

Chapter 9 Institutions must never be allowed to be co-opted into factional and crime-hiding activities to the extent of protecting an individual.

Pan-African Parliament

Our organisation has been fighting for the Pan-African Parliament to mould itself into an institution with legislative authority across the continent.

We also advocated for the principle of rotation at the Pan-African Parliament, which resulted in Chief Fortune Charumbira, a member of Parliament from Zimbabwe, being elected as the President of the Pan-African Parliament, and the first leader from the SADC region.



2023

The year 2023 marked 10 years since the formation of the EFF—a remarkable achievement that is a testament to the ideological and organisational strength of this Economic Emancipation Movement. It was a year marked as The Year for Massive Political Education and Voter Registration.

This deliberate effort was taken to convert the quantitative strength of the EFF into quality through mass-based political education to ensure that all 1 million members of the EFF understand and comprehend the policies of our organisation and are able to advance and defend the agenda of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime.

We also understood that the electoral victory of the EFF, as well as the integrity and sustainability of the democratic project in South Africa, is dependent on the elimination of voter apathy. Moreover, it was now time for our organisation to create its own voter population ahead of the 2024 National and Provincial Government Elections.

The launch of the Mass Voter Registration Campaign took place in April 2023 at Diepsloot, an area with the highest number of unregistered eligible voters.

By-election Victory

We started the year with a decisive victory in the by-elections in Ward 10 in Polokwane, Limpopo. The victory in Ward 10, coupled with the remarkable increase in votes for the EFF in Ward 17 in Blouberg Municipality, Limpopo, from 302 votes to 953 votes, further painted a promising picture of the rebuilding process in Limpopo.

Over the past 10 years, the organisation has exceptionally grown, reaching a stage where we are ready to govern. One of the ways this was demonstrated was through the Andries Tatane Clean-up Campaign, launched in February 2023. This campaign was named after a fearless community activist who was brutally killed by the ruling party for

protesting and demanding water, electricity, sanitation and service delivery in Ficksburg, Free State, in April 2011.

Holding the Executive Accountable

As a revolutionary and responsible movement of the people of South Africa, we engaged in the following activities:

- After the revelation of millions of dollars stuffed at the Phala Phala farm, we wrote questions to Cyril Ramaphosa in Parliament, requesting him to explain the source of the money and to disclose any other millions hidden in his properties.
- We further sought to hold Cyril Ramaphosa accountable for presiding over the collapse of South Africa during the State of the Nation Address (SONA) in February 2023.
- We engaged the South African Reserve Bank, South African Revenue Service, Financial Intelligence Centre, and all relevant structures, demanding that Cyril Ramaphosa be held accountable.
- Our organisation approached the Courts of South Africa to compel Parliament to conduct a thorough and transparent investigation into all crimes committed by Cyril Ramaphosa, with the aim of building a solid case for impeachment.
- We also approached political parties in Parliament to engage in a motion of no confidence against Cyril Ramaphosa as President of South Africa.
- An independent panel, led by former Constitutional Court justice Justice Sandile Ngcobo, appointed by the Speaker of the National Assembly found that the President had a case to answer.



- When the National Assembly resolved to ignore the independent panel report and its findings, we approached the Constitutional Court to challenge this decision as irrational and an abdication of its constitutional obligation to hold the President accountable. The matter was heard by the Constitutional Court last month and the judgement is reserved.
- For as long as the EFF exists, Phala Phala will not die until the person in the Office of the President today is arrested and appears before a court of law. It is a matter of when, not if it will happen.

Fighters, we further planned a National Shutdown due to:

- The rising cost of living for all South Africans.
- The rising levels of unemployment and poverty.
- Increasing levels of crime, particularly murder and gender-based violence.
- Rising levels of corruption, lack of service delivery, and collapsing public infrastructure, particularly hospitals and roads.
- Former liberation movement's decision to close down coal power stations without consultation with the people of South Africa.
- The Phala-Phala scandal involving numerous criminal activities.

This National Shutdown called for the immediate end to load shedding and the resignation of Cyril Ramaphosa, sending a clear message to the sitting government that enough is enough.



In the past five years, we refused to fold our arms and turn a blind eye when the living conditions of our people continued to deteriorate, with the increasing price of food, transport, and electricity pushing many deeper into poverty.

This National Shutdown was the most revolutionary act. We successfully shut down the economy and brought many towns and cities across the country to a standstill, demonstrating the collective power of the people.

The National Shutdown was made possible by the unwavering commitment and hard work of our Commissars and ground forces, who mobilised communities and organised actions that shook the foundations of the establishment.

Today, we are vindicated as we witness over 250 days without electricity blackouts and decision to stop the premature closure of coal power stations, ensuring a more stable energy supply.

These victories are not incidental—they are the tangible outcomes of the EFF's National Shutdown.

10th Anniversary: 10 Years of Unbroken Struggle

Our organisation also celebrated its 10th Anniversary at the FNB Stadium on the 29th of July 2023, in what was the biggest-ever festival of the poor. Thousands flocked to the stadium, and society bore witness to a celebration that re-energised our movement towards the liberation of Africans from the chains of humiliation, landlessness, and oppression under the theme: 10 Years of Unbroken Struggle.

The lead-up to the Festival of the Poor included celebratory events such as:

- Visits to Old Age Homes, Orphanages, and Disability Centres.



- The travelling play titled Leruo that was viewed across all 9 provinces.
- The 10th Anniversary Exhibition.
- The launch of the 5th Jazz Hour Album.
- The Commemorative Walk, EFF Carnival, and Public Lecture.
- The 10th Anniversary Ceremonial Birthday Celebration in Marikana.
- The Gala Dinner and the Diplomatic Breakfast.

It must be noted that no other political party has dared to attempt what we achieved at the FNB Stadium. We extend our gratitude to all councillors and public representatives who demonstrated unwavering discipline and adhered to the directive of the leadership by bringing buses filled with ground forces to the FNB Stadium.

It is their collective commitment, dedication, and tireless efforts that made this historic gathering possible, showcasing the strength and unity of our revolutionary movement.

Parliament Work

Comrades, Fighters, Commissars, and compatriots, the Parliamentary work of the EFF stands as a testament to our unwavering commitment to the struggle for economic freedom, accountability, and justice for all South Africans. Since its inception, the EFF has worked tirelessly to ensure that Parliament becomes a site of genuine representation, robust debate, and decisive action to address the pressing issues facing our people.

Between 2019 and the present, the EFF has demonstrated its position as the qualitative official opposition, even when not numerically dominant. We have transformed Parliament into a platform where the voices of the oppressed are amplified, where the executive is held accountable, and where progressive ideas take centre stage. Our



interventions have made Parliament accessible to the people, ensuring it addresses their lived realities.

While the former liberation movement abused its majority to block progressive reforms, the EFF consistently pushed for legislation that reflects the aspirations of the masses. We spearheaded efforts to amend Section 25 of the Constitution to allow for the expropriation of land without compensation, a cornerstone of the economic emancipation struggle.

Despite reactionary neoliberal forces hijacking the process by diluting the proposed amendments, the EFF maintained its principled stance, rejecting any compromise that fell short of full state custodianship of land.

Governance has been a critical focus of the EFF's Parliamentary work. Through its elected representatives in Parliament, Provincial Legislatures, and Municipal Councils, the EFF has conducted rigorous oversight of the executive, ensuring that the interests of the people remain paramount

During the global COVID-19 pandemic, when governance structures were disrupted, the EFF adapted to ensure that oversight continued unabated. Our Members of Parliament secured special permits to conduct inspections of public health facilities, exposing the government's failures in managing the crisis. We demanded accountability for the widespread corruption in COVID-19 procurement processes, ensuring that the looters of public funds were brought to public scrutiny.

Land Reform and the Fight for Economic Justice

The EFF introduced and supported progressive legislation that seeks to transform the socio-economic landscape of South Africa. Key among these is the National Health



Amendment Bill, aimed at ensuring that clinics remain open 24 hours a day to improve access to healthcare.

While the bill was rejected by the former liberation movement with an excuse of fiscal constraints, the discussion about 24 hours clinics found expression in the highest legislative office in the country.

Other legislative initiatives have included the South African Reserve Bank Amendment Bill, which seeks to nationalise the central bank, and the Student Debt Cancellation Bill, aimed at alleviating the financial burden on young people pursuing higher education.

Although met with resistance, these efforts underscore the EFF's commitment to putting the needs of the people above neoliberal austerity measures.

The EFF has been unrelenting in exposing corruption and mismanagement at the highest levels of government. From the Phala-Phala farm scandal implicating the person in the office of the Presidency to the maladministration in Parliament itself, the EFF has held those in power accountable.

When the Speaker of the National Assembly was implicated in corruption, the EFF led calls for her resignation, vindicated when charges were eventually laid against her. Fellow Fighters, our Parliamentary work has also confronted the systemic failures of the justice system, the collapse of state-owned entities, and the neglect of public infrastructure. We have consistently called for the reopening of Komati Power Station and demanded funding for the maintenance of Eskom's fleet, exposing the sabotage of state-owned enterprises to advance private sector interests.

The EFF has defended the Constitution from attacks by reactionary forces seeking to undermine the democratic gains made since 1994. We have opposed attempts to weaken Parliamentary processes, including the decision to relocate Parliament to inadequate facilities following the fire in 2022. Our call for the relocation of Parliament to Tshwane



remains rooted in the principle of aligning legislative and administrative functions for greater efficiency.

The EFF's Parliamentary work extends beyond the confines of the legislature. Through public hearings, submissions, and direct engagements with communities, the EFF has ensured that the voices of the marginalised are heard.

We have mobilised support for the Basic Education Laws Amendment (BELA) Bill, fighting against those who seek to use language as a barrier to access state-funded schools. Similarly, our engagement with artists, creatives, and legal experts on the Copyright Amendment Bill has positioned the EFF as a defender of cultural and intellectual property rights.

ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS

2021 municipal elections

Delegates and the people of South Africa, the last time we addressed a gathering of this nature, in 2019, we made an honest and objective assessment: the EFF had not built adequate internal capacity to win municipal ward-based elections. We raised this as a huge challenge because municipal elections are partially ward-based. We acknowledged that we needed to build capacity to win wards in order to win municipalities.

South Africa's fifth municipal elections, held on the 1st of November 2021, were the movement's second municipal elections. Despite our honest and objective assessment in 2019 about the need to build adequate internal capacity, the 2021 municipal elections took place under trying and difficult circumstances.



While South Africa, Africa, and the world were contending with the COVID-19 pandemic, unimaginable loss of lives, disrupted livelihoods, and an economic crisis, we had to contend with municipal elections.

Fellow Fighters, soon after this 2nd Central Command Team was elected in December 2019, starting on the 26th of March 2020—not more than three months later—the country went into lockdown, entering alert level 5.

This was the most stringent level of the national lockdown, meaning that all political activities were prohibited. We had to close our offices, cancel all activities and mobilisation programmes, and adapt to an unprecedented reality.

This was our reality for most of 2020 and 2021, as the government implemented different levels of lockdown. We spent much of this time attending funerals of loved ones, friends, fighters, while still having to think about elections. It was under these conditions that we had to plan for the 2021 municipal elections.

The first election date was announced in April 2021, and we were told that the elections would take place on the 27th of October 2021. However, the COVID-19 pandemic proved to be unpredictable, which led to a change in the date of the elections.

Eventually, the government announced in September 2021 that elections would take place on the 1st of November 2021. This effectively meant that the second Central Command Team, without any meaningful interaction with structures of the organisation or members, had no more than 41 days to establish election structures.

Commissars and Fighters, we remind you of this important background because it is this very context, together with our honest and objective assessment about the absence of internal capacity to win municipal wards, that we must keep in our minds to understand and assess the performance of our organisation in the 2021 municipal elections.



We relied on the spirit, commitment, and dedication of Fighters and ground forces, as well as the experience of the 2014 and 2019 national and provincial elections, and the 2016 municipal elections, to contest against 324 political parties, including independent candidates, for more than ten thousand municipal seats across all 257 municipal councils.

We contested all 4,468 municipal wards and received more than 3.2 million votes. Not only did we maintain our 2016 electoral support, but more importantly, we increased it. It was these votes that gave us a total of 1,066 municipal council seats, increasing the organisation's seats by 240. While this was not what we hoped for, we increased the number of ward seats we won from 11 in 2016 to 19.

Comrades, it was the 2021 municipal elections that marked the first time since the dawn of democracy that the former liberation movement lost its electoral majority and fell below 50% in an election. And we said, "It is not going to get better for the former liberation movement."

It is this performance that solidified the EFF's place in South Africa's political landscape. It is this performance that silenced the doomsayers who claimed that our 2016 electoral success was a fluke. It is this performance that sent a strong message: the EFF is indeed a government in waiting.

Fellow Fighters, it is this performance that solidified the EFF as a national party—not a tribalist party or a cultural group; not a regionalist party confined to one province; not a racist party serving the interests of white people; and not a sexist, patriarchal party dominated by men at leadership level.

You will find a Fighter and a ground force in Musina in Limpopo, in Malalane in Mpumalanga, in Gopane in the North West, in Upington, in Saldanha, in Gqeberha, in



Lusikisiki, in Xolobeni, in Kwadukuza, and in Mahlungulu near the border between South Africa and Mozambique in Kwazulu-Natal.

Comrades, we were among the first political parties to thank the people of South Africa who voted in the 2021 municipal elections.

We were the first political party to welcome the election results as the expression of the wishes and will of the people, a testament to our maturing democracy.

We were the first political party to acknowledge that the 2021 municipal elections were not perfect, understanding that it was impossible to have perfect elections organised within such a short space of time.

We were also the first political party to call on all political parties to put their ideological and political differences aside and prioritise the delivery of services to our people. We called on all political parties to prioritise the delivery of clean, drinkable, and dependable water, proper sanitation, and reliable electricity.

We called on all political parties to sign a pact committing that within the next five years, no home or school in South Africa would lack proper sanitation.

We made it clear that we are willing to listen and engage with everyone, as long as the priority remains our people and restoring their dignity. We made it very clear that we would not compromise on coalition positions for power's sake.

We said we were willing and prepared to vote for anyone who is committed to giving the people of Hammanskraal water within the first six months. We said we were willing and prepared to vote with anyone who had a clear programme of action, with specific timelines and measurable deliverables.



And we said that should any political party not agree with us, we were happy to sit on the opposition benches. We did this because we refused to impose ourselves on the people of South Africa.

We accepted that only when our people are ready to embrace our radical policies will we take full control of these municipalities. We are not guided by uncontrollable ambitions, egos, or a hunger for power, especially when it risks compromising the EFF's strategic mission.

EFF in governance

After the 2021 municipal elections, we played a meaningful role in governance in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, taking strategic positions as deputy mayors in municipalities such as uMhlatuze, Uthukela, Mtubatuba, Nongoma, Amajuba, Dannhauser, Maphumulo, and Zululand.

Today, this organisation has councillors who are members of mayoral committees through political arrangements in the City of Johannesburg, the City of Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, and Nelson Mandela Bay, responsible for public safety, health, environment and waste, water, electricity, finance, and corporate services. The EFF Regional Chairperson and councillor in eThekweni is the Chairperson of the Human Settlement and Engineering Committee.

The people of Tshwane, in Hammanskraal, Soshanguve, Mabopane, and the CBD, are enjoying a clean city because of the work of the EFF MMC.

The people of Ekurhuleni, in Mooifontein, Tembisa, Winnie Mandela, Vosloorus, Thokoza, Duduza, and Springs, witnessed a city-wide cleaning of illegal dumping sites because it is the EFF MMC responsible for environmental resources and waste management who launched the "Clean Your Kasi, Manje Namhlanje" campaign.



The people of Johannesburg, Soweto, Alexandra, Diepsloot, Hillbrow, Newtown, and Braamfontein are beginning to witness metro police visibility because it is the EFF MMC responsible for public safety who, through his campaign "Operation Nomakanjani, Manje Namhlanje," has deployed boots on the ground.

The people of Nelson Mandela Bay, in Walmer Ward 4, have electricity today because it was the EFF MMC of Electricity and Energy who responded to complaints when the area did not have electricity in a long time because of damaged cable.

Today, it is because of the EFF Chairperson of Human Settlements Committee in eThekweni that the people of Umlazi and KwaMakhutha have moved from hostels to newly built houses and have seen hostels converted into family units, restoring their dignity.

It is through these deployments that our organisation is at the forefront of service delivery. The EFF is no longer just a government in waiting—we are in government.

Our councillors are chairs of strategic committees in many municipal councils, they are chairs of chairs, chairpersons of municipal public accounts committees, whips of councils, speakers of municipal councils including being the Speaker of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipal Council. We have solid governance experience.

The people of Tshwane are enjoying exemplary government under the leadership of the EFF, with visible service delivery and hands-on governance that directly addresses the needs of the people.

However, the people of Johannesburg are being denied the same experience, because the EFF is deliberately excluded from strategic portfolios that would bring our MMCs into direct and daily contact with the communities to resolve service delivery challenges.



2024 General Elections

Comrades, we warned that, while we accept that revolution is about longevity—it is not a sprint but a marathon, a long-distance marathon—there would be an intensive campaign by the white capitalist establishment to prevent the EFF from ascending to state power.

The white capitalist establishment knows that the fight for state and economic power in South Africa is between the EFF and the neoliberal forces—no one else.

When it became clear that the former liberation movement was going to lose its majority electoral support in the national elections, the white capitalist establishment came out of the shadows and began attacking the EFF, both directly and indirectly.

The 2024 general elections marked the first time that the descendants of white supremacists and mining conglomerates, alongside a billionaire who amassed his wealth through poorly regulated and exploitative online gambling that preys on the poverty of our people, came out from the background and shadows. These forces, including the Stellenbosch billionaires, openly donated millions to neoliberal forces and political start-ups.

These start-ups were deliberately designed to divide black votes as part of a calculated strategy to block the EFF from going to government. Their actions exposed a coordinated effort to undermine the revolutionary movement and maintain the status quo of economic and political power in the hands of a privileged elite.

Some of these political start-ups, despite receiving millions, even failed to meet the most basic requirements, such as securing the minimum number of 1,000 registered voters required to register of political party.



These families, individuals, and their trusts contributed nearly half a billion rand between 2021 and 2023 to fight and demonise the EFF. This is only the amount reported to the IEC, and we believe there is even more money that was not reported to the IEC.

To the racist, white supremacist capitalist establishment, the 2024 elections were supposed to surgically remove the EFF from South Africa's political landscape, and they were willing to go all out and spend millions.

We went into these elections knowing very well that we would be fighting for our survival—to protect the strategic mission for economic freedom in our lifetime.

To defend the legacy of the Marikana workers.

To defend the legacy of Andries Tatane, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. For us, it was a war for survival.

We established our election machinery in August 2023 by setting up Branch Election Task Forces in South Africa's 4468 wards and setting up Voting District Election Task Forces in South Africa's 23,296 Voting Districts. We also travelled across the country between November and December 2023, capacitating ground forces through Provincial Ground Forces Forums.

The year 2024 marks the 3rd National and Provincial Elections that the organisation contested after the 2014 and 2019 General Elections. These elections took place 30 years after the dawn of democracy, with research pointing to no obvious winner compared to previous elections.

We began the year 2024 by joining the ground forces and community members of the eThekweni Region, KwaZulu-Natal, in preparation for the Manifesto Launch, which was successfully held on the 10th of February 2024 at the Moses Mabhida Stadium in KwaZulu-Natal.



The 2024 Elections represented a massive opportunity for change and the upliftment of the lives of South Africans. As such, when the Independent Electoral Commission, the IEC, announced its second Voter Registration Weekend, we called on all people of South Africa to come out in their numbers, mobilizing ourselves in all voting stations across the country to ensure maximum participation in the voter registration process.

The Manifesto of the EFF was then unveiled to the public and voters at the Elections Manifesto Launch Rally. This was preceded by an intensive media drive to unpack the manifesto, including media engagements, television interviews, and dialogues addressing various issues. We also engaged with ordinary South Africans in all provinces through the Presidential Campaign.

Before the much-anticipated elections, we engaged in community outreach projects, donating and handing over boreholes, building homes, and inaugurating a Youth and Development Community Centre in Ga-Maja.

As part of engagements with the media and members of the academic community, the President and Commander in Chief hosted a brunch with editors, political journalists, and analysts from various media houses.

Moonshot Pact and GNU

Fellow Fighters, the Grand Coalition Government of neoliberal forces originated as the Moonshot Pact, which included the former liberation movement. The former liberation movement has always been part and parcel of this Moonshot Pact, which later evolved into the Grand Coalition Government, so-called Government of National Unity, GNU.

This is the Moonshot Pact that was formed to reject the NHI Bill—the National Health Insurance Bill, to make universal health accessible for all.



The Moonshot Pact that was formed to reject the BELA Bill—the Basic Education Laws Amendment Bill to make our education accessible for all regardless of race and language.

The Moonshot Pact that was formed to oppose the creation of a state-owned bank and a sovereign wealth fund to transform the financial sector.

The Moonshot Pact that was formed to fight progressive labour relations legislation in favour of exploitative labour laws. They want to hire and dismiss workers as they wish, without being accountable to anyone.

This same Moonshot Pact was formed to fast-track the privatisation of electricity generation and transmission, as well as the treatment of water and sanitation.

It is this Moonshot Pact that was converted into a Grand Coalition Government of neoliberal forces, and the former liberation movement has always been part of this arrangement.

When we accepted the election results and said we were ready to go into government, little did we know that the former liberation movement was already embedded in the Moonshot Pact.

We gave the former liberation movement the benefit of the doubt—that they would engage with consciousness and negotiate for service delivery that restores the dignity of black people, transfers the wealth of this country to the majority, provides our people with affordable and dependable electricity, and delivers long-overdue justice to victims of apartheid and the Marikana workers.

Instead, those who have successfully hijacked the liberation movement chose a coalition rooted in racism and colonial economic structures. They chose a coalition that is eroding the state and fast-tracking the implementation of privatisation.



Under this coalition of neoliberal forces, the state is being eroded, and our people will suffer the consequences.

Everything—from electricity, water, sanitation, waste removal services, policing and public safety, health, education, and all other public services—will be rendered by the private sector for profit, while strategic state-owned companies are told to compete without any support.

Delegates and the people of South Africa, our country is facing an economic crisis, and it is a crisis caused by poor economic policy choices and by prioritising the interests of the white capitalist establishment over the lives and well-being of our people.

It is a crisis rooted in the cowardly decisions of the former liberation movement to entrench the unjust sunset clauses, allowing white people to keep the ill-gotten gains of colonisation and apartheid, which have now become perpetual and permanent clauses.

The economy of South Africa is not growing and has not been growing for the past 15 years. Between 1994 and 2008, South Africa's economy grew by an average of 3.6% annually. However, from 2009 to 2023, the GDP collapsed to an average of 1.2% per year, while other emerging and developing economies grew by an average of 6.3% per year.

Under the 4th and 5th administrations, the economy grew by an average annual GDP growth of 1.9%, but this has further collapsed to an average annual GDP growth of 0.5% under the current president. This is empirical, indisputable evidence that the past 15 years have been disastrous for our economy.

In the past 15 years, we have witnessed a 24% decline in public investment by central government and public corporations. This decline in public investment has directly contributed to the collapse of our country's infrastructure, critical services and the economy. It is this decline that has led to:



- The collapse of electricity generation capacity,
- The collapse of logistics and transport networks,
- The collapse of water infrastructure,
- The collapse of telecommunication services.

This decline is what has brought about the destruction of Eskom, Transnet, Denel, PRASA, the South African Post Office, the SABC, and many other once-glorious, competitive state-owned institutions that served as critical extensions of government to deliver public services. Today, many of these institutions are shadows of their former selves.

We are facing a crisis of joblessness. Today, South Africa's unemployment rate sits at 41.9%. More than 12.2 million people are unemployed, and 3 million of them have given up even looking for a job. Unemployment has increased from 6.4 million in 2009 to 12.2 million today.

These 12.2 million people wake up every day with nothing to do. They wake up to loiter the streets, pushed into lives of crime, substance abuse, and gender-based violence. The failure to address unemployment has created a lost generation, condemned to hopelessness by an economic system that prioritises profit over people.

It is this unemployment that affects black people, women, and young people the most. The unemployment rate among black people stands at 46%, while for white people, it stands at just 10.8%. The unemployment rate for people between the ages of 15 and 24 stands at an alarming 70.7%. Among women, unemployment stands at 45.7%, compared to 38.5% for men.

Today, there is no practical, believable, or implementable plan to address this crisis. Instead, the biggest so-called economic reform since 1996 promises to create only one



million jobs over ten years—a drop in the ocean compared to the millions of unemployed South Africans.

Comrades, our country experienced economic sabotage when there was an attempt to switch off power stations. The EFF was the only organisation that properly characterised this attempt as economic sabotage.

The people who decided that the only way to establish their private energy generation businesses, make profits, and put themselves at the centre of South Africa's economy by controlling energy and electricity generation and transmission, declared war on the people of South Africa and its economic interests, security, and sovereignty.

When the former incompetent and racist CEO of Eskom—appointed more for the colour of his skin than his capacity—said in 2021 that South Africa would face power cuts for another five years, it was the clearest indication that a war was being waged against South Africa's economy.

The intention was clear: collapse Eskom, sabotage state-owned energy and generation capacity, refuse to maintain the current coal power fleet, close power stations under the pretense of their lifespan ending, and then, when the nation is desperate from blackouts and Eskom's failure, bring in the private sector as the "saviours."

This is the modus operandi everywhere, where the parasitic capitalist establishment inserts itself into economic areas dominated by state-owned entities.

Today, we are told that load shedding has cost South Africa R35 billion over the 12 years between 2007 and 2019. Millions of jobs were lost because of load shedding.

We were the only organisation that spoke openly about the parasitic nature of Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers (REIPPs) and the power purchase



agreements that forced Eskom to buy electricity from cronies of the person in the Office of the Presidency at prices far higher than what it would cost Eskom to produce the same electricity.

We called for the cancellation of all power purchase agreements with Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers. Our logic was so superior that even the former Minister of Public Enterprises and Minister of Mineral Resources agreed that these contracts needed to be cancelled.

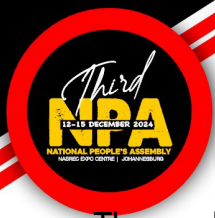
We were the only organisation that spoke openly about the appointment of the racist CEO who failed to manage a plastic packaging company yet was appointed to run a complex and sensitive power utility without engineering or generation experience.

We were the only organisation in Parliament, when it was not fashionable, to join workers in Komati to reject the premature closure of Komati Power Station and to demand its reopening. The criminals in charge of Eskom, waging economic war against the country, were allowed to unplug 1,000 megawatts without providing a plan.

We consistently called for adequate funding to maintain Eskom's fleet when National Treasury waged war against Eskom by refusing to allocate funds for maintenance.

We exposed how Eskom was overpaying for coal, particularly from Optimum Coal, once chaired by the person in the Office of the Presidency, as part of a scheme to milk billions from the power utility.

We are happy that the current management at Eskom, led by an engineer, has begun to turn the institution around. While we remain concerned about the overall direction of energy policy in South Africa, we are pleased that there is now agreement to stop switching off coal power stations and to continue maximally utilising our coal resources.



Those who took money in the name of the "just transition" will one day have to explain their actions and possibly stand trial for crimes against South Africa's economy.

We call for a commission of inquiry into the loadshedding that our people were subjected to for more than a decade while people were stealing money by burning oil and benefitted from IPPs. We need to know who the culprits were behind the economic sabotage.

South Africa needs a state-led and state-owned energy policy that will expand Eskom's generation capacity, reverse the privatisation of Eskom, and invest in building additional coal power stations. We must increase the energy mix by building nuclear power stations, hydroelectric power plants, and investing in renewable energy.

Eskom must be given a new lease on life. The Public Investment Corporation (PIC) must take over Eskom's debt in exchange for partial ownership, among other measures. This will require decisive intervention to reverse the counter-revolutionary decisions to privatise electricity generation and transmission.

If we allow the privatisation of electricity, our people will not afford it. Even today, electricity is unaffordable for many, including middle-class families.

Fellow Fighters, our public transport infrastructure and logistics network have collapsed. This is why our highways are congested with trucks. Trucks are killing people on the N2 between the mines in Mpumalanga and Richards Bay because the former liberation movement has neglected railway infrastructure.

Transnet has collapsed, and the neoliberal coalition government is working day and night to privatise transport and logistics networks, including ports, before we remove them from power.



Privatising logistics and transport networks means leaving development and economic growth at the mercy of private interests whose only priority is profit, not the national interest.

PRASA has collapsed, and Metrorail is in shambles. The poor and working class spend the majority of their wages on transport, commuting to work. They leave home in the early hours of the morning and return in the dark, enduring unsafe and unreliable services.

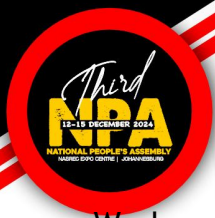
The taxi industry continues to operate without guiding legislation, regulations, or formalisation, and it receives no financial support or subsidies from the government. This is why the majority of minibuses on our roads are not roadworthy and are at the centre of the carnage on our roads, and the Department of Transport is nowhere to be found.

Comrades, South Africa's economy does not produce the things we use on a daily basis. We don't produce many of the electronics, plastic products, clothing we wear, or even much of the food we consume.

Despite the advanced technology to build military equipment, including the Rooivalk—produced by Denel and one of the most sophisticated and sought-after war machines in the world—we still do not have a "Made in South Africa" car.

We are not talking about assembly plants that import car parts from Europe, America, and Asia in boxes to be assembled in Silverton, Rosslyn, Gqeberha, and East London. We are talking about creating a car from scratch and putting it on the market, supported by the state through off-take agreements and subsidies.

We have watched as our country has de-industrialised over the past 30 years, with manufacturing's contribution to GDP falling from 24% in the early 1990s to just below 15% today.



We have lost the war against crime. It is only the provincial commissioner of Kwazulu-Natal who is committed and willing to meet criminals in the streets head-on. Everywhere else, we have lost this war.

More than 27,000 people are murdered annually, and there is no plan to stop the high murder rate.

In the past 10 years, nearly half a million cases of rape were reported to the police, and many more went unreported. Yet, as a country, we still do not have a plan to stop the scourge of rape.

In the past reporting year, there has been an increase in the number of contact crimes, including murder, sexual offences, attempted murder, common assault, common robbery, and robbery with aggravating circumstances. Yet there is no plan to confront criminals head-on.

Our men and women in blue are underpaid and work in poor conditions—blocked toilets, collapsing ceilings, and inadequate sanitation. They lack political support and the necessary infrastructure, yet they are expected to fight crime effectively.

The former liberation movement has deliberately neglected our defence capabilities. Former Minister of Defence told Parliament last year that we must decide as a country whether we want defence capabilities or not because, at current funding levels, South Africa's defence force exists only on paper.

Our courts and justice system are broken. Access to justice depends on money. We still have a judiciary that remains untransformed, rooted in racism and colonial structures. Those without money, in particular black people, are victims of an unjust system. Judges and magistrates are working under very difficult conditions. Many are depressed, yet they are expected to deliver justice.



The NPA has lost all legitimacy. It is clear that the incompetent National Director was appointed for factional reasons and to serve a specific agenda. She has failed to turn the institution around and has, instead, worsened its state.

Over the past five years, we have been subjected to senseless and questionable decisions, the appointment of more incompetent individuals, and blatant attempts to hand over the NPA to the control of white capital interests. The institution, once a pillar of justice, has become a shadow of its former self.

There is also a growing crisis of abandoned mines in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and the North West. The mining companies responsible for rehabilitating the land after extraction have been allowed to escape accountability.

As a result, the failure of government oversight has paved the way for unregulated artisanal mining and criminal syndicates to exploit the gap.

Communities are suffering, people are dying in sinkholes and illegal mineshaft, and the government's response, sanctioned by Cabinet, is to forcefully "smoke them out" instead of addressing the root causes of the problem and arrest culprits who are part of wider network of criminal syndicates selling these minerals in the black market.

The senseless killing of women and children has become an epidemic. Weak men, emboldened by a lack of consequences, are targeting the most vulnerable, waging a war against women and children. Women are subjected to extortion, forced to leave money on their windows to avoid being raped.

Despite the promises made by the individual occupying the office of the President, nothing tangible has been achieved. Empty promises and useless consultative meetings have done nothing to stop the daily murders of women and children.



Police stations are ill-equipped to handle gender-based violence (GBV) cases, lacking dedicated and safe spaces for victims to report crimes. To this day, there is still no mechanism for victims of GBV to report crimes from the comfort and safety of their homes.

South Africa's justice system, law enforcement, and governance have failed to protect the people, women and children in particular. Instead of a coordinated and effective response, we are met with silence, inaction, and misplaced priorities because of weak political leadership.

The Department of Home Affairs, together with Defence, is responsible for protecting our sovereign borders, but this is only in theory. In reality, people come and go as they please.

There is no capacity to document everyone in South Africa, and as a result, we have put our people in serious danger. Those seeking economic and political asylum are also endangered, and this lack of control promotes lawlessness.

The public education system continues to deteriorate. The government has neglected public education, forcing many black middle-class families into private schools, while white families continue to benefit from well-resourced former model C schools funded by the state.

These schools have libraries, sports facilities, and laboratories, while schools in rural areas and townships remain overcrowded, poorly resourced, and stuck in the conditions of 1994. Teachers in these schools work under difficult conditions, struggling with unruly learners, substance abuse, and crime on school premises.

Many teachers are choosing to resign without alternative jobs because it is better to be unemployed than to endure the hardships of public schools.



This is why racists rejected the BELA Act and forced the Office of the Presidency to succumb to their demands. They want to use language as a barrier to entry into state-funded schools. We reject this and demand the full implementation of the BELA Act.

Despite the revolutionary fighting spirit of the #FeesMustFall generation, we still do not have free higher education.

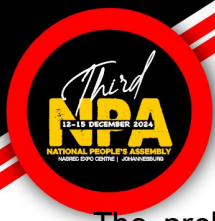
Public healthcare has collapsed. Public hospitals have become places where our people go to die. Senior citizens prefer to stay at home when sick rather than go to hospitals because they know they are going to die.

Clinics are underfunded, cannot operate 24 hours, and face general shortages of personnel and medication. Windows are broken, toilets don't work, and patients are told to bring their own food, water, and linen when admitted.

Instead of building comprehensive primary health care, ensure that there is a clinic in every ward, the former liberation movement is obsessed with the poorly considered NHI that has no capacity to solve the crisis facing public healthcare.

Municipalities have completely collapsed. The majority of municipalities are failing to deliver basic services, and they will not succeed if we continue with the current funding model.

Municipalities receive only 9% of the revenue collected nationally by SARS and cannot collect enough of their own revenue. Only metropolitan municipalities—such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Ekurhuleni, and eThekweni—collect some revenue. However, even these metros cannot deliver services to all their residents effectively.



The problem is worsened by incompetent and corrupt municipal managers and chief financial officers who treat municipal funds as their personal money, distributing patronage while our people continue to suffer.

Our people do not have clean drinkable water, reliable and affordable electricity, and proper sanitation. They are still subjected to the indignity of bucket toilets and potholes on a daily basis.

The former liberation movement has failed eradicate housing backlog. Our people are forced to build shacks in flood-areas, riverbanks and unsafe places. When it rains, informal settlements are swept away and our people immediately become homeless.

Comrades and compatriots, our fight for economic freedom cannot succeed without reclaiming the state as a vehicle for radical and progressive transformation.

Central to this mission is state-led industrialisation, a decisive intervention to reverse decades of de-industrialisation and create sustainable jobs for the millions excluded from economic participation.

South Africa's economy must be restructured to ensure that it produces the goods and services we consume daily, eliminating dependency on imports that enrich foreign economies, at the expense of our own economy.

State-led industrialisation will focus on building industries that manufacture the essentials we rely on, from clothing to electronics, and from agricultural equipment to vehicles designed and manufactured entirely in South Africa.

To complement these efforts, we must restore the state's capacity to direct the economy through bold interventions.



The state must directly invest in revitalising industrial zones in underdeveloped regions, ensuring that previously neglected areas such as Mogwase, Phuthaditjhaba, Botshabelo, and Shayandima become epicentres of manufacturing and innovation.

By doing so, we will tackle regional inequality while creating employment opportunities closer to where people live.

A progressive industrial strategy must be underpinned by research and development led by state-funded institutions. South Africa must become a leader in new industries such as green energy technologies, medical innovation, and advanced manufacturing.

Our academic and technical institutions must partner with state-owned enterprises to develop homegrown technologies that meet both local and global demands.

We must also ensure that industrialisation drives job creation for the most vulnerable. Labour-intensive industries, such as textiles, agro-processing, and the assembly of renewable energy infrastructure, must be prioritised. Government procurement policies must guarantee market access for these industries, ensuring that public spending benefits the people directly.

This agenda demands a robust state-owned banking sector to finance industrial expansion. The establishment of a state bank will ensure that affordable loans are made available to emerging businesses and cooperative enterprises.

Furthermore, the Public Investment Corporation must play a critical role in channelling resources towards long-term industrial development rather than speculative markets that do not serve the interests of the people.

Comrades, reclaiming the state for industrialisation is also about asserting national sovereignty. South Africa's vast natural resources must be used to build local industries. Our mineral wealth must no longer be exported as raw materials but



processed domestically into high-value goods. This will not only create jobs but also ensure that the wealth of our nation benefits its people first.

To achieve this, we must reverse the privatisation of key sectors, including energy, logistics, and telecommunications. Privatisation has weakened our capacity to plan and build for the future.

We must reclaim Eskom, Transnet, and other State-Owned Enterprises because they are at the centre of state-led industrialisation

Comrades, this is not just about building factories and infrastructure. It is about rebuilding the hope of millions who wake up every day without work or purpose and a fight against neoliberal forces.

At the heart of South Africa's economic crisis is the National Treasury, an institution that has systematically failed to use fiscal policy as a developmental instrument to rebuild our economy and transform society.

While often praised as competent, the reality is that the National Treasury operates as a protector of neoliberal orthodoxy, advancing the interests of the white capitalist establishment at the expense of our people and our own development.

The Treasury's refusal to finalise the establishment of a state-owned bank, despite clear mandates from Parliament and the former Minister of Finance, reflects their disregard for transformative policies. Similarly, they have deliberately delayed the establishment of a sovereign wealth fund, a critical tool to secure the nation's economic future.

This is no accident—it is the result of a revolving door between the National Treasury, private banks, the Reserve Bank, and the Financial Sector Conduct Authority, where officials serve the interests of capital rather than the people.



Captured by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the National Treasury functions as a satellite office for global financial institutions, enforcing austerity measures that cripple public services.

Even when officials' contracts end, they are often reappointed through the backdoor, ensuring continuity of neoliberal policies. It is this captured Treasury that has resisted every attempt to expand state-led industrialisation, undermine public investment, and reinforce a broken economic model.

It was the same National Treasury together with the late Former Minister of Public Enterprises who wanted to sell South African Airways for R53. First, they sabotaged it, allowed it to collapse and come with their group of friends to loot public assets.

It was the EFF that fought tooth and nail, at all times, for SAA to remain a state-owned company. Today, SAA is reporting profit.

We must dismantle this structure and reclaim the Treasury for the people, transforming it into a tool for radical economic transformation and development.

Progressive Government

Comrades, our intention is to form a progressive government within the current balance of forces. We want to be part of a political arrangement at national and provincial levels that will prioritise resolving the land question. The return of the land to its rightful owners is not just a political or economic necessity—it is a moral imperative. Without the land, there can be no true liberation.

We want a progressive government that will prioritise the transfer of wealth to the majority of the people and eliminate racialised inequality. A progressive government



must actively dismantle the entrenched structures of white monopoly capital that continue to deprive our people of their rightful share in the economy.

We want a progressive government that will champion state-led industrialisation to revitalise industries in Mogwase in the North West, Phuthaditjhaba and Botshabelo in the Free State, Seshego and Shayandima in Limpopo, and all other industrial sites in the old Transkei and Ciskei that were abandoned by the post-apartheid government.

These industrial zones must once again become the hubs of economic activity, employing thousands of workers and producing goods that will reduce our reliance on imports. Through state-led industrialisation, we will bring jobs and hope to the more than 12 million unemployed people, pushed to the periphery of the society to life of crime, violence and substance abuse.

We want a progressive government that will deliver free, quality, and decolonised higher education, ensuring that every young person in South Africa, regardless of their background, has the opportunity to develop their skills and contribute to the economy. Education is not a privilege; it is a right, and through education, we will arm our youth with the tools to break the cycle of poverty.

We want a progressive government that will prioritise quality healthcare for all, with a focus on primary and preventative healthcare. Our people deserve a healthcare system that is well-resourced, accessible, and free from the inequalities created by privatisation.

We want a progressive government that will deliver housing for all, repairing and upgrading water and sanitation infrastructure, and cleaning our cities and towns to restore the dignity of black people. It is unacceptable that millions of our people still live in squalor without access to basic services. A progressive government must declare



war on poverty and underdevelopment, ensuring that every South African has a roof over their head and clean, drinkable water in their homes.

We want to reclaim the state for progressive change to fight the racist and colonial economic structures and defeat the neoliberal forces that have captured the state to serve private interests. We reject the idea that public goods and services should be commodified and sold to the highest bidder. The state must serve the people, not profit.

Comrades, a progressive government must also confront the scourge of poverty that continues to plague our society. South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world, and this inequality is not accidental—it is systemic. More than 18 million of our people live below the poverty line, unable to meet their basic needs.

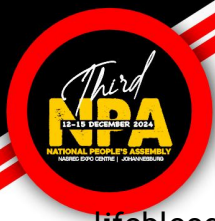
A progressive government must create jobs and opportunities for the millions of unemployed people who have been excluded from the economy.

Through state-led industrialisation, infrastructure development, and investment in key sectors such as agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and renewable energy, we can put our people back to work and create an inclusive economy.

Comrades, the progressive government we envision is one that will fundamentally change the structure of the South African economy, shifting it away from extractive practices and towards sustainable development that benefits the many, not the few.

We will use the wealth of our land—our minerals, our soil, our industries—to uplift our people, not to enrich white capitalist establishment rooted in racism and colonial economic structure.

We want a progressive government that owns and controls electricity generation, ensuring that power is cheap, dependable, and accessible to all. Electricity is the



lifeblood of economic activity, and no nation can claim sovereignty while relying on private companies or foreign entities for such a critical resource.

A progressive government must reclaim control over railways, ports, and harbours to ensure that the movement of goods and people serves national interests and not the profits of monopolies.

Our telecommunication infrastructure must also be owned and controlled by the state, providing affordable and reliable connectivity to every South African, from the most remote rural areas to urban centres, as a basic necessity for participation in the modern economy.

We need a progressive government that will build bullet speed trains from Johannesburg to Musina, from Johannesburg to Durban, and from Johannesburg to Cape Town to reduce the carnage on our roads.

We need a progressive government that will invest in building robust defence capabilities—not for imperialist adventures, but for human development, disaster response, and the protection of national economic security. A state that cannot defend its people, its resources, or its critical infrastructure is a state at the mercy of Western imperialist powers, even on principle matters.

We must explore the build-operate and transfer model for large and urgent infrastructure. We must finance all our infrastructure and partner with countries and private companies that have capacity to bring their skills and operation experience to build large-scale infrastructure water, rail, roads and energy infrastructure.

We can collaborate with Russia to build a nuclear power station.

We can collaborate with India to build telecommunication infrastructure.



We must collaborate with China to build large roads and railways, bullet trains and rebuild our defence capabilities. These are our partners and allies, and we must partner with them.

And we must limit this to a short period of operation and management to short period of 20 to 30 years.

Fellow Fighters, we believe that there is a possibility that, together with the progressive forces, we can still achieve a progressive government.

Financing the Revolution

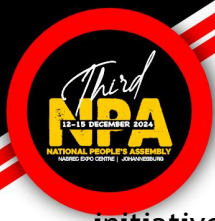
Comrade Delegates, one of the major challenges we still face is that since we exist as an enemy of the capitalist establishment, we remain confronted with reluctance to fund us for fear of victimisation.

This situation is made worse by the advent of the Political Party Funding Act, which requires those who donate to political parties above a particular threshold to be declared publicly.

In a context where you can be denied opportunities by the ruling elites based on your political association, the EFF as an anti-capitalist movement continues to face challenges with funding.

This, however, should reaffirm all of us Comrades, that we are indeed a reliable vehicle for anti-imperialism and for the democratisation of our economy, because the enemy has for so long tried to undermine us by denying us funding by any means necessary.

The EFF has, over the past five years, thrived through these conditions, and managed to sustain its own offices, its own staff and its own programmes, including outreach



initiatives such as the pilot programme, building of boreholes and homes for the needy, in the face of an onslaught from capital.

We must, however, in this Assembly make a meaningful reflection on how we intend to Finance the Revolution up until the branch level. A leader, whether in the Central Command Team or the Branch Command Team must be an all-rounder, and part of being an all-rounder means you must have the ability to fundraise.

To fundraise does not mean you must be corrupt, but you must selflessly identify those who are aligned with the EFF in society, and urge them to fund the revolution, and you must never use the name of the EFF to fundraise for your own personal gain.

Of utmost importance, is establishing a sustainable financing model for the EFF at this Assembly, in a manner that will not compromise the integrity and image of the EFF

We will therefore be paying close attention to the resolutions of the Commission which will be dealing with Financing the Revolution.

On Media and Traditional Media

Delegates and people of South Africa, the EFF has existed with a love-hate relationship with the media for the past 11-years, and this has not changed, but what we must express is that we have maintained a healthy relationship with the media and been critical when it is necessary.

It is an accepted ideological and political fact that certain interests within the capitalist establishment own and control the media and exist to undermine progressive organisations and the ideals which the EFF represents.



The past five-years, especially in the lead up to the elections we witnessed how the media began to interact with the ideas of the EFF in a negative manner. The establishment moved away from targeting individuals and smear campaigns in the EFF and fought the EFF directly by trying to discredit the ideas we represent.

Comrades, it therefore became important that, we as the EFF and as a revolutionary movement, establish our own propaganda machinery.

Media spaces becomes saturated with bias, and the media space in general develops, while traditional media houses dwindle into insignificance.

The EFF has managed this terrain well, and many of those who have made it their mission to fight us have been so focused on the EFF, that the media space has left them behind, as digital media is orchestrating the collapse of traditional media platforms such as newspapers and broadcast television.

It is the biasness and capture of traditional media platforms, that has led to consumers progressively ditching newspaper formats and television news outlets, for new forms of media such as podcasting, streaming and digital means of consuming the news such as on social media, where the truth is spoken unfiltered.

The EFF must continue to keep up with media trends, and avoid dying along with traditional media platforms, because of their legacy or their brands. As a movement of the future, we must begin to develop and craft discourse in an innovative manner and not die with the fossils who control traditional media platforms.

In the past elections, we have witnessed how aggressive the media was, and how it was complicit in villainising the EFF and its leadership. These elections were a clear demonstration of the capture of mainstream media, and as a result, we must intensify our internal communications machinery, and each and everyone of us bear the



responsibility of defending the movement both in private, in public and particularly on social media, from all enemy forces.

International Relations and Geo-Politics

Fighters, the tectonic plates of the Global Balance of forces are shifting. The escalation and aggression we see today from the United States and its Western allies, against the Russian Federation has reached levels we have not seen since the defeat of the Axis Powers which were led by Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

After benefiting from the help of the Soviet Union to defeat fascist regimes in Europe, the United States of America developed the Truman Doctrine to pledge financial, military, and political support to government regimes which aligned with the fight of America against Communism.

What we see in Ukraine today is nothing but a continuation of the America's attempt, through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), to consolidate global territories against Russia, and instil a unipolar-global Western hegemony.

We stand with Russia, and President Putin, in his fight for a multipolar world against NATO. Ukraine is too small a country for us to believe that it is in a war with Russia. This is not a Russia-Ukraine War. This is an American and NATO war against Russia and her sovereignty.

Fighters, we must once again express our appreciation of Cuba, which continues to stand as a revolutionary force in the world. It is the Left-orientated government of Cuba, which led the anti-imperialist agenda in Latin-America, and the establishment of a government with socialist principles. It is Cuba that stood with us during the dark days of Apartheid, and we dare not forget.



The Global media establishment will not tell you that in Cuba there is Free Healthcare, which has resulted in a higher life expectancy than America. Cuba continues to produce the best Doctors and Health Practitioners to the point of sending them to other countries to aid them, including the United States. Cuba is able to achieve this because it has the highest doctor-to-resident ratio in the world.

In Cuba, more than ten percent of the budget is spent on education, resulting in their high literacy rate, and small class sizes in primary and secondary education, giving their teachers an opportunity to give special focus to all learners. Lastly, the United Nations ranks Cuba in the top 49 on the index of democracy, equity, and development.

We also salute the progressive leaders of the Sahel region. The struggle against the colonial powers, in particular France, waged by the Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali, affirms their undying resistance against neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Their resolve to defend their nations' sovereignty and dignity by any means necessary is an example of true left and progressive leadership in the region. They have expelled French companies, diplomatic representation, and military operations.

Fighters, we welcome the International Criminal Court (ICC) decision to issue an arrest warrant against the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and his former Défense Minister, Yoav Gallant. The two are responsible for crimes against humanity committed against the Palestinian people in the Gaza strip, using starvation as a form of warfare, murder, persecution, the intentional targeting of civilian populations, and genocide.

South Africa, as a signatory to the Rhome Statute and participant in the International Criminal Court (ICC), has a legal obligation to arrest Benjamin Netanyahu without bias. We will never stop standing with the people of Palestine against the tyranny of the genocidal Zionist State of Israel. We reaffirm our commitment to the human rights and self-determination of the people of Palestine.



Fighters, on 1 December 2024, South Africa assumed the Presidency of the Group of Twenty (G20) under the theme, “Solidarity, Equality and Sustainability”. The G20 is an intergovernmental economic forum comprising 19 countries and two regional unions, the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU). G20 countries account for almost two-thirds of the global population, over eighty-five percent of the world’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and over seventy-five percent of Global Trade.

Over the years, the G20 has been a global stage and platform to consolidate major global economic issues, sustainable development, health, energy, trade and other geopolitical topics. Since its establishment, no single African country has presided over the forum. Therefore, this presents a good opportunity for Africa to rise to the occasion and stop reducing herself into an inactive and powerless bystander of geopolitics.

South Africa, having assumed the Presidency of the G20, must lead the discussion to reposition Africa as an equal player on the world stage.

When South Africa hosts the G20 Summit, next year, it must be hosted in here in Nasrec, so that it may be accessible to local businesses and the township economy. Taking this forum to Cape Town would be a failed opportunity to empower our local economies, as the spatial planning of Cape Town relegates our people to the outskirts of economic activity, and far from the business districts.

As an integral member of BRICS, South Africa, must uphold Diplomatic Immunity for our Russian ally, President Putin, when he attends the Summit next year. What we saw during the BRICS summit was nothing short of global humiliation and exposed the South African government as a spineless global player who cannot protect its allies against imperialist aggression.



Fighters, we must never abandon the struggle to support the people of Western Sahara, against the colonial occupation perpetuated by Morocco, and one of the struggles we must champion is breaking the hold that Morocco has over the sporting world in the continent. We must isolate Morocco not only diplomatically, but even in the sports, academically and otherwise.

Comrades, we owe our African sister nations, true solidarity, and this means that we must strengthen institutions that ought to protect African sovereignty and democratic institutions. The Pan African Parliament, and the Africa Union, must be brave institutions with teeth, to protect the continent from Western interference.

We must never have a repeat of the betrayal suffered by Brother Leader Muammar Gaddafi, where he was surrendered to NATO by the former state President of South Africa and other African Nations. We must speak unity of purpose, and that unity requires strong African institutions, such as a stand alone military army, a powerful pan African parliament and pan African court, and ultimately on unitary African currency and one African President

Fellow Fighters we must observe keenly the political changes in the SADC region, where former liberation movements are all being defeated by popular opposition parties, which are characterised by a young leadership. The wave of the defeat of former liberation movements is a sign that our people are breaking away from the past, and this is not only in Botswana, and Zambia, but even here in South Africa, the former line movement has been defeated and holds onto power due to its alliance with white supremacy.

In Zimbabwe, the ruling party holds onto power through state sponsored violence, intimidation, and suppression of the democratic will of the people, and in time they too will be defeated.

We must begin to be alive to the possibility that Africa is changing, and the direction of our region and continent will now be determined by politics of the youth and the future,



as the politics of old are dying. The EFF must begin to position itself as a force within the SADC region and draw lessons from our counterparts on how not only to defeat former liberation movements but ultimately usurp power and govern.

On the Struggle for Pan-Africanism

Fellow Fighters, the EFF remains the only liberation movement on the continent, that is determined to build African unity.

It was President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana who once said, “The core of the Black revolution is in Africa, and until Africa is united under a socialist government, the Black man [and woman] throughout the world lacks a national home.”

It is for this reason, fighters, that we must fight jealousy for the independence of Africa, and that independence relies on the use of Pan Africanism.

Pan Africanism is our scientific response to the Western World which has turned Africa into a place for cheap exploitable labour, and the theft of our resources. It is the conscious decision that we need to unite as African people and defend Africa and her people from being the slave site of the world, towards continental unity that is defined by economic, political, cultural and social co-operation.

It is a battle we have inherited from the slaves who were stolen on our shores and made to build the economies of our white colonial counterparts.

Fellow Comrades, we must never tire of pursuing the principle that Africa must unite, from Cape to Cairo, from Morocco to Madagascar, we only have each other because everywhere in the world, the black child is hated.



We must unite because it is our unity that will place us at the centre of the global economy, not as spectators but as participants whose people meaningfully benefit from the wealth of our land.

We are not fighting to be slaves of capital; we are fighting for self-determination. We are the Pan-Africanists of Robert Sobukwe, and our journey must be to give Africa a more human face.

For too long, we have been made to hate each other because of our cultural or religious differences. For too long we have been made to feel inferior. For too long we have fought tribal and ethnic wars amongst ourselves, and for too long our continent has bled while our colonisers benefitted.

Let us adopt the Pan Africanism of Thomas Sankara and work our own land while we refuse to pay colonial debts. Let us live by the Pan-Africanism of Julius Nyerere and build a nation that is self-reliant and works together as a collective for the greater good of the African child.

Let us walk side by side, and be the Pan-Africanists of Robert Mugabe, and be arrogant in the need for African unity, and undermine imperialism wherever it rears its ugly head. It is Pan-Africanism which will liberate us, and liberate all of Africa.

We have suffered too much; our blood has turned the soil of Africa red, and it is time for us to resist this pain, and give Africa a future of happiness.

Let us march together, Africa; let us march together towards liberation. It is victory or death!



Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to thank all the Commissars who are here today and have committed their time and resources towards this organisation. It was at this very same venue five years ago, during the closing address of our 2nd National People's Assembly, that we asked each and every one of you to go and tell your families that for the next five years, you would be servants of the revolution and would not always be available.

All of you, in your majority, must, after this National People's Assembly, go home and report that you are trusted soldiers of the revolution who, even when it seemed like our movement was faced with death, did not waver. You did not betray this organisation, the only dependable and trusted weapon in the hands of the poor and the working class. I pray that the Revolution remembers each and every one of you, regardless of the outcomes of this Assembly on the election of the leadership.

Commissars, you must all know that our ancestors who started this struggle are proud of you.

Fellow Fighters, I want to extend a special thanks to the Secretary-General, Commissar Marshall Dlamini, who steered the ship when it was difficult to do so.

The Secretary-General of the EFF is a firm comrade who, at all times, operates with maximum discipline and commitment in a very militant way because of his extreme loyalty to the EFF and the liberation of our people. Many have tried to doubt him and cast doubt on his capabilities, but I want to say here today, unashamedly, that in our Secretary-General, we have a loyal and dependable soldier of the revolution.

On behalf of all members of the movement, we want to thank you, SG, for being a man who finishes what he starts with conviction. Even though you started politics here in the



EFF, you are one of the most reliable comrades I have encountered in my long political career. You focus on the task at hand without seeking any glory. You are not an attention seeker, and we have come to know you for paying attention to finer details.

I salute you for remaining strong in the face of criticism and after difficult election outcomes. Under your administration, our movement has grown, and you have not disappointed us. You have served us with dignity and humility and are one of the best among us. We thank you.

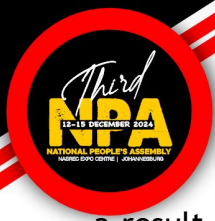
Comrades delegates, I also want to thank the Treasurer-General, Commissar Omphile Maotwe, who has looked after the finances of the organisation even when there was not much to work with and the white capitalist establishment was pouring billions into neoliberal forces and political start-ups.

The EFF is not a movement that receives massive financial support, and even with that reality, you made sure that no event or programme of the EFF—whether it is social outreach or rallies—has ever failed because of resources.

Equally, under the leadership of the Treasurer-General, the EFF has never gone a month without paying staff members of the EFF—the backbone which makes this organisation what it is. They seek no praise yet ensure our organisation operates effectively on a day-to-day basis, from security guards, cleaners, researchers and administrators.

Together with her team, they have always paid for regional offices of the EFF and sustained and accounted for all of our assets without fail. She has always put the organisation before any relationships or friendships and has played her role to ensure that there is no wasteful expenditure of the limited resources that we have.

I want to thank the EFF staff members, who were unsure whether they would wake up with jobs after the EFF did not perform to our expectations in the previous elections. As



a result, they understood that difficult measures had to be implemented to manage the decrease in money allocation that comes with a marginal electoral decline.

Many of our staff members were not sure if they would remain employed once there was an attempt on the life of their organisation and its leadership. Yet, even with that doubt and opportunities for better-paying jobs, they remained loyal and continued to serve their organisation.

To the ground forces, leaders of the regions and provinces, who are always on the receiving end of the consequences of our political decisions and pronouncements—even when they know nothing about them but trust in the democratic processes—your revolutionary discipline is what keeps and safeguards our movement from opportunists and revisionists driven by egos and uncontrollable ambitions.

It is because our regional leaders and provincial leaders took a constitutional oath to defend the EFF in private and in public that our members and structures were able to close ranks and ensure that, when we were under attack, our organisation remained solid.

The provincial general assemblies, which were all successful and had no incidents of disruption or violence, proved to us that you have built solid and dependable structures in your regions and provinces. Those who predict the death of the EFF will always be disappointed because the EFF has strong collective leadership at all levels.

We thank everyone who prayed for us during our election campaigns, events, and private spaces when it seemed like our movement was collapsing. Your prayers have given us strength, and continue to do so.

I want to thank the pastors who prayed for this organisation. Through their prayers, we have remained stable and faithful to the cause of liberation. We survived without



knowing where these prayers came from, and we do not take this for granted. It is not always easy to associate with a radical movement, but you remind us of the role of faith in the struggle for freedom.

We also thank the traditional leaders who counselled us, took their time to listen to the leadership, opened their homes, and allowed us to campaign in their constituencies.

To the protectors who risked their lives during campaigns and exhibited loyalty during times of difficulty—you have our gratitude. It is through your sacrifices and professionalism that we have remained strong.

We want to thank the Defenders of the Revolution, our internal defence mechanism against sabotage and threats to the programmes of the movement. The DOR is an essential part of our movement and must continue to grow from strength to strength, with the potential to be professionalised.

We also extend our gratitude to the security companies who ensure the success of our events and provide important services in addition to our own security capacity.

We appreciate all the service providers who have been patient with us, including those who have been paid and those who are still awaiting payment. We thank them for their understanding of our internal financial systems and the objective reality that, at times, we rely on institutions to finance us, which can cause delays in fulfilling our responsibilities. We appreciate and value your patience.

We thank the external staff members and management who participated in the delivery of this 3rd National People's Assembly, especially the JOC team and the management of NASREC, for their kindness and patience.

We also extend our gratitude to the business people who have stood with us, particularly the young entrepreneurs who have contributed the little they have to support our



movement and its programmes. It is not always easy to remain aligned with us, especially in the face of internal challenges and external attacks on the EFF. Public perception often dictates how people choose to support institutions, yet despite this, these businesspeople have continued to support our organisation, even when facing the risk of being sidelined or targeted.

We commend their contributions, even as they have declined in recent times due to the challenges we have faced.

Support for the EFF from the business sector has diminished because many of those who initially supported us were opportunistic and possibly corrupt. They thought they could gain something in return. However, those who supported us with genuine intent remain with us today. They have continued to contribute the little they have to help us succeed.

Those who continue to make contributions are under no obligation to contribute to the EFF, yet they take the risk. We deeply appreciate their contributions. Over the years, they can clearly see where their money goes because no organisation can match us in honesty and delivering on what we commit to.

We wish them more success and pray that their efforts are rewarded. Wherever their resources come from, we hope they are blessed with even greater prosperity for their personal and business growth.

Fighters, on a personal note, I would like to thank my late grandmother, who remains my guardian angel. Even in moments when I feel like giving up and surrendering due to attacks and difficulties, her spirit and fearlessness continue to inspire me. She is the one who named me her soldier, and as a result, I have become a soldier of the people. Her solid courage motivates me to remain committed to this movement and to the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime.



I honour her memory and strive never to disappoint her, even as she watches over me from heaven. For this reason, I will never abandon this movement. She entrusted me with the role of being a father figure and a parent to the destitute and forgotten masses of our people.

I extend my appreciation to my family – my wife, children, and all my extended family and friends – who suffer the consequences of my activism. They experience the same pressure as I do due to our actions as an organisation, yet they have stood behind me without fail. Their firm support is a testament to me that it is possible for black people to build strong families and place love at the centre of their lives. I love them and, most importantly, thank them for their patience with me and for their role in this revolution.

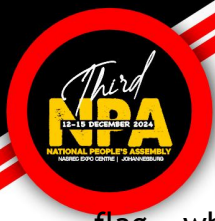
I also extend my gratitude to you, the delegates of the branches who are present here today.

Since my youth, there has been an unrelenting effort to demoralise and discourage me, to tire me out, and force me to concede defeat to the establishment. However, the faith you have placed in me, like you have done with many commissars and leaders of our revolution, keeps me going.

They will never succeed because I will never sacrifice my life for anyone other than the EFF and the revolution. We will not be bought or swayed, for we owe our life to all of you; we owe our lives to this revolution.

The highest honour you can bestow upon me is to have my coffin wrapped in the red flag of the EFF. Such an act would signify that I have been a loyal servant of our people and did not betray the revolution.

Loyalty and disciplined membership of the EFF will ensure that, when the time comes, we are honoured as revolutionaries. You will bid us farewell by burying us with the red



flag, which you will hand over to our families when we join the other fallen revolutionaries in eternal rest.

We are grateful that you have elected us. We do not feel entitled to these positions but are humbled by the opportunity to serve. We are always available to serve in any assigned role. We are not the best among the best, but we are loyal to you and your freedom.

We have been chosen for this task, and we have tried to fulfil it to the best of our abilities.

We thank you and wish you a productive National People's Assembly.

Comrades, with the powers vested in me as a democratically elected President and Commander-in-Chief by the 2nd National People's Assembly, I declare this assembly open. I end on this note, with a quote from Martin Luther King Jr.: "In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends."









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