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1. EFF Elected National Leadership

First National Assembly Elected Leadership

Top Six Officials



**President and Commander in Chief:
Julius Sello Malema**



**Deputy President:
Floyd Nyiko Shivambu**



**Secretary General:
Godrich Ahmed Gardee**



**Deputy Secretary:
Hlengiwe Hlophe-Maxon**



**Treasurer:
Magdeline Moonsammy**



**National Chairperson:
Dali Mpofu**



Elected additional CCT members



ADDITIONAL MEMBERS INCLUDING TOP SIX (FULL COMPLIMET CCT)

1. President and Commander in Chief :
Julius Sello Malema
2. Deputy President: Floyd Nyiko
Shivambu
3. Secretary General: Godrich Ahmed
Gardee
4. Deputy Secretary: Hlengiwe Hlophe-
Maxon
5. Treasurer: Magdeline Moonsammy
6. National Chairperson: Dali Mpofu
7. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi
8. Shirley Mokgotho
9. Rodger Xalisa
10. Nkagisang Mokgosi
11. Phumza Ntobongwane
12. Tseko Mafanya
13. Ciliesta Motsepe
14. Marshall Dlamini
15. Lerato Duba
16. Fana Mokoena
17. Mbatha Siphon
18. Natasha Louw
19. Tilivhali Mulaudzi
20. Leighn-Ann Mathys
21. Dumisani Ngcongwane
22. Dr Suzan Thembekwayo
23. Vuyokazi Ketabahle
24. Vuyokazi Ketabahle
25. Mlungisi Rapolile
26. Thembinkosi Rawula
27. Mathapelo Siwisa
28. Makhosini Mkhonza
29. Portia Malefane
30. Thembi Msane
31. Nazier Paulsen
32. Deisile Ngwenya
33. Reneiloe Mashabela
34. Mabatho Mokause
35. Tebogo Mokwele
36. Jabavu Sebolai
37. Sam Matiase
38. Veronica Mentse
39. Lawrance Motsetela
40. Dr Younis Vawda
41. Dr Hlaiseka



Organisational Development

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Organisational Development

Noting that

1. In less than two years since establishment EFF was able to do tremendous progress both in the public domain discourse and internally as an organisation faced with a task to build organisational capacity, which is an ongoing process.
2. The EFF contested 2014 National Elections without launched structures nonetheless it was able to reach each and every corner of South Africa with its message of hope, economic freedom in our life time, and had made inroads in all wards across the country. Without organisational capacity and strength to match the existing political formations and without resources and proven historical record in governance and political leadership, the EFF partook in the 2014 general elections and recorded what was largely interpreted as success for a new political party
3. EFF contested 2014 National Elections without sufficient resources, however it was able to get 6, 25% of the national vote, which is translated into 25 seats in the National Assembly. At the National Council of Provinces we have 6 seats and 30 seats combined in all Provincial Legislatures.
4. The organisation was able to recruit 527 343 members on record since its inception 26 July 2013-December 2014. This is not a
5. Our membership data capturing system, card processing and card delivery procedure are not in good shape for they make people to stay long waiting for their cards. And this requires a prompt and comprehensive intervention, so that the system must be seriously overhauled which will bring efficiency and reliable membership system.
6. Massive membership recruitment at branch level was done vigorously towards launching preparation of assemblies. However most of the membership forms were not availed to the national audit team because branches wanted to quorate and to pass audit on basis of 100 members' status. Most branches with membership exceeding 300 only submitted 100 members in order to reach the constitutional and guidelines requirements.
7. Almost all branches were not inducted on the organisational values after they launched and this impacted negatively on branches' capacity and the ability to develop their programme of action. This nearly opened a political vacuum to anarchist and element of political opportunism.
8. As Lenin noted that, "Without a strong organisation skilled in waging political struggle under all circumstances and at all times, there can be no question of that systematic plan of action, illumined by firm principles and steadfastly



carried out, which alone is worthy of the name of tactics”.

9. The 1st National People’s Assembly also completes the ongoing process of democratisation of the Economic Freedom Fighters as a revolutionary democratic movement and organisation fighting for leadership role of all economic freedom struggles in South Africa and the entire African continent. Democratic participation and involvement is vital for any organisation to sustain itself and for the leadership to be held accountable within the principles of the organisation. Democracy is vital in that no single individual has the complete prescriptions of what should happen.
10. The EFF’s achievement is however far below what majority of the members and leaders of the EFF anticipated, but largely reflected the amount of organisational and political work done in various regions and provinces.
11. The question of the quality of leadership at all levels of our Movement and its structures should at the centre of any discussion on building the organisation. This is crucial in the sense that we cannot have a strong, radical and militant activist movement that can ‘lead and guide the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime’ without a strong and quality leadership cores at all levels. The leadership cores which is able to wear all storms and continue to lead the struggle for economic freedom in our lifetime.
12. As we are heading towards 2016 local government election and 2019 take over it is imperative for EFF to safeguarding EFF character and values which is critical in current conjecture.

Therefore the 1st NPA resolves that:

13. The Youth Command structure be included in the EFF constitution and be established.
14. The EFF Youth Command shall be the youth wing of the Economic Freedom Fighters which organises youth people under the banner of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime and primarily guided by the EFF’s constitution, policies and resolutions.
15. The Youth Command shall be autonomous, yet integral part of the EFF, in that it shall have its own constitution, programs, activities and campaigns and be a legal persona
16. The membership of the EFF Youth Command shall be open to young people between the ages of 14 and 35.
17. Its main objective shall be to rally young people behind the vision of economic freedom in our lifetime.
18. It must champion, defend and advocate for the rights, interest and aspirations of young people
19. It will serve as a political breeding ground for the young people of the EFF
20. It shall organize the young intelligentsia in the institutions of higher learning, professionals, employed and unemployed youth in townships, villages, suburbs and informal settlements and, everywhere else where young people are found



21. The CCT should develop process for this structure to be established.
- 22. Resolve on the Women's Command**
23. The Women's Command structure be included in the EFF constitution and be established.
24. The EFF Women Command shall be the women's wing of the Economic Freedom Fighters which organises women under the banner of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime and primarily guided by the EFF's constitution, policies and resolutions.
25. The Women's Command shall be autonomous, yet integral part of the EFF, in that it shall have its own constitution, programs, activities and campaigns and be a legal persona.
26. Every woman who is 18 years and above can be a member of the Women's Command.
27. Its main objective is to raise the political consciousness of women into understanding that patriarchy is a societal ill and to this end must organize and mobilize women collectively with men if needs be, into ending patriarchy by putting the patriarchal, white-supremacist, capitalist oppression of women to an end.
28. Moreover the purpose of the Women's Command is to promote the rights of women and in this regard to remove all impediments to their development as full and equal members of society.
29. We must sustain the EFF birthday and continuously use it to campaign and to popularise 26 July Revolutionary movement within our situation as we mobilise the broader society.
30. The 1st NPA resolved that in our campaigns there must be visibility of EFF t-shirts, however, that would be determined by the availability of resources.
31. Branch, regional and provincial organisers should capacitated with the organising and campaigning skills.

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

32. The First National Assembly has resolved that political education and ideology training should be given a priority and be castigated from branches up to CCT level.
33. Cadre development programme for fighters, should be done systematically, with a core focus on our ideologically orientation as prescribed in the Founding Manifesto, Constitution, organisational human capital development and capacity building.
34. Extensive branch induction to be done continuously to elected and the general membership.
35. Political Schools to be held continually at all levels including all legislature and parliamentary caucus.
36. Technology to be used effectively, so to enhance political and ideological work.
37. The Founding Manifesto to be translated into all South African languages.

On Organising



38. The Founding Manifesto to be developed into Audio format.

Sub Regions

39. . Sub regions are a very important component as it pertains to coordination of collective of activities branches and campaigns.
- i. The sub region is not constitutional structure; however they assist in coordinating campaigns.
 - ii. The Sub-region will be established on the basis of clustering branches.
 - iii. Each branch will send one person to be a representative to the sub-region coordinating committee. The branch representatives will elect a coordinator and convener and the rest will form part of the sub-regional coordinating team.
 - iv. The CCT should develop process for the sub-region coordinating structure to be established.
 - v. The structures that have constitutional executive powers is BCT, RCT, RCT, PCT and CCT

Membership

40. The First National People's Assembly has further resolved that the membership fee be retained at R10.
41. The EFF membership system must be upgraded for it to be efficient and professional
42. EFF should engage on an extensive membership recruitment campaign.
43. Membership that was not submitted during branch audit to be submitted and be captured.
44. Members to be inducted about the member's oath as adopted in amended constitution.

Constitutional amendments:

MEMBERSHIP

45. Recommendations by members to join—this section should be removed.
46. INCLUSION--Membership Oath be included under membership in the constitution: "I fighter..... solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims, objectives and radical policies of the Economic Freedom Fighters as set out in the Constitution of the EFF. I voluntarily join the EFF without any motive of personal gain or material benefit, and understand that I am not entitled to any positions or deployments. I will participate in the life of the Economic Freedom Fighters to strive towards total emancipation of South Africa, Africa and the oppressed of the world and will do so as a loyal, active and disciplined Economic Freedom Fighter.
47. I further declare to defend the proud and militant legacy of the fallen heroines and heroes. To work



towards a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it. Defend the African revolutionary tradition against all forms of tendencies that promote hatred, division, underdevelopment, corruption and social discords. I vow to defend and selflessly pursue the realisation of the seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars as a primary political program of the EFF contained in the Founding Manifesto.

48. I further commit to abide by the principle of democratic centralism which is that the individual is subordinate to the organisation, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and decisions of the upper structures are binding on the lower structures.”

49. Rights of members:

- a. To participate in meetings and all other activities organised by the EFF, unless decided otherwise by constitutional structures of the EFF.

50. Eff structures terms of office

- a. BCT – 2 years
- b. RCT – 3 Years
- c. PCT – 4 years
- d. CCT – 5 Years
- e. Branches of the EFF shall be ward-based, but can be recognised in demarcations decided by the CCT.

51. 10: RCT and PCT shall compose of :

- a. 10 (ten) additional members for the RCT:
- b. 16 (sixteen) additional members for the PCT

52. National People’s Assembly

- a. The NPA shall be constituted of delegates, and

90% of these shall be from branches of the EFF.

53. SECTION 13: CCT

- a. (1) (d), The Deputy Secretary general and Treasure General, who shall be a fulltime officials of the EFF based at its Headquarters, unless decided otherwise by the CCT.

54. Responsibilities of Command Structures:

- a. The responsibilities and duties of all Command structures should be clearly stated in the constitution.
- b. Should include a provision that says that members who miss 3 meetings in sequence without sound apologies shall be removed from the Command Teams.
- c. No member of the EFF shall be allowed to occupy two organisational positions at the same time. Once elected to the other structure, the member is automatically no longer a member of the structure they served before, and General Assembly shall be the only platform to replace the vacated position.

55. MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL:

- a. The CCT shall put in place efficient mechanisms on membership systems and membership renewal.

56. REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL CO-ORDINATING Command

- a. RCT shall have a Regional Co-ordinating Command which shall be the Top 5 plus 3 Members of the RCT.
- b. The PCT shall have a Provincial Coordinating Command which shall be



composed of the Top 5 plus 6 Members of the PCT.

57. THE WOMEN'S COMMAND

- a. Joining shall be Age 18 years and above.

58. EFF student command

- a. The Student Command shall be established as an autonomous structure existing in all institutions of higher learning and post-secondary education and training institutions.

59. Organisational principles:

- a. (3) The entire organisation is accountable to the National People's Assembly.

Believing that:

1. The Economic Freedom Fighters Founding Manifesto remains the fundamental political and ideological programme on how the organisation approaches and deals with matters of economic transformation and socialist revolution.
2. A thorough implementation of the Founding Manifesto cardinal and complementary pillars will require that the EFF captures political power, the state and transforms or revolutionises the economy for the benefit of all.
3. Even prior to capture of political power, the EFF will utilise all the platforms it occupies to advocate for the implementation of a radical economic transformation programme.
4. The current domestic and global balance of forces are not hostile to a radical economic transformation programme and revolution in the same manner they were hostile when South Africa made a political transition from apartheid to the post 1994 political system.
5. The legacy of colonialism and apartheid continues to reproduce the

Economic Transformation

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Economic Transformation for Economic Freedom in our Lifetime

patterns of development and underdevelopment in our society.

6. Minerals are at the strategic centre of South Africa's economic, political and social development.
7. The central and most pressing challenges we face are unemployment, poverty, under-employment and inequality.

8. Corporatives

Noting that:

1. South Africa continues to export a substantial majority of its mineral resources with little or no efforts for beneficiation and industrialisation of the mineral resources.
2. Legislation that govern minerals in South Africa, particularly the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act, which acknowledges that:
 - a. minerals are non-renewable resources and they belong to the nation with the state as the custodian
 - b. there is an obligation to ensure their sustainable development and to protect the environment



- c. results of past discrimination should be redressed through, amongst others, equitable access and promotion of local and rural development
- 3. The history of oppression premised on the extraction of minerals in South Africa.
- 4. That the willing buyer willing seller principle has not yielded the envisaged results and remains unfeasible to deliver the urgent restitution and redistribution required by the majority of South Africans.

Further nothing that:

- 1. Attempts to pursue a radical economic transformation programme in the liberation movement are always met with hostility and those pursuing such a programme banished and isolated as nonentities.
- 2. The relatively progressive trade union movement holds the similar views as the EFF on radical economic transformation, yet still locked in the belief that the current government is the vehicle for such a programme.

Therefore resolve:

- 1. To re-affirm the EFF Founding Manifesto as a primary political programme and our strategic guide on the question of economic transformation and socialist revolution.
- 2. To adopt the Jobs for All Perspective as an official policy position of the EFF.

On Marshalling the Motive Forces behind Our Programme:

- 1. Work with progressive forces to organise and mobilise employed and unemployed young workers around their immediate and long-term objective interests.
- 2. Work with the progressive middle class, especially young professionals, to ensure that their aspirations are aligned with those of the majority of the youth.
- 3. Mobilise non-monopoly capital, which continues to suffer from domination by big capital, to advance the national productive forces and to transform the colonial industrial structure.
- 4. Mobilise society in general around the program of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime and its 7 cardinal pillars.

On building capacity to drive the revolutionary programme:

- 1. The state should provide leadership in ensuring good quality education for both young and old South Africans. At the centre of this should be education that is biased towards the industrialisation ideals of the EFF. To this end, the EFF advocates that our national education curriculum should be 40% theory and 60% practical.
- 2. In a country so fixated with formal qualifications, the EFF should move to compel all companies to train formally all their workers, particularly those who are skilled but with no formal education.
- 3. EFF branches must be at the forefront of building community awareness and consciousness on issues in relation to the economy



and sustainable development at large.

4. Branch Command Team must be enabled to conduct education campaigns aimed at economically freeing our people from the shackles of white monopoly capital.

On Changing Patterns of Ownership and Control:

1. Amend section 25 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa to make provision for the expropriation without compensation of property, particularly land, for equitable redistribution in the public interest and for public purpose.
2. Nationalisation of strategic sectors and the commanding heights of the economy to realise the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the people shall share in the country's wealth. As per the dictates of the Freedom Charter such strategic sectors must include "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry". The state must also have greater ownership and control of natural monopolies e.g. SASOL, Arcelor-Mittal, the Cement Industry etc.
3. Call for the establishment of a State construction company to reduce the over-reliance on tenders and the use of consultants in the delivery of socio-economic infrastructure.
4. Demand the establishment of a State Bank.
5. Greater state intervention, ownership and control of the Reserve Bank given its strategic role in our economy.
6. Review the BEE policies to ensure that they are in line with the BBBEE Act to urgently address the challenges of unemployment, underdevelopment particularly amongst young people.

On Changing the Structure of the Economy:

1. Demand that no less than 60% of all minerals extracted within the country be beneficiated within the borders of South Africa with a clear and deliberate bias to surrounding mining communities.
2. Build capital equipment sector.
3. Establish benchmarks for local content/materials in the wholesale and retail trade sector.
4. Review trade policies for industrialisation.
5. Encourage innovation in the Energy and water sectors.
6. Engage the Competition Commission to revise upward penalties that are levied against companies found guilty of price fixing and collusion.
7. Demand that the South African government desists from renting buildings for state accommodation purposes but rather construct and/or own all buildings where it is accommodated.

On deconstructing the Minerals Energy Complex:

1. Agitate and develop a coherent and cogent programme of deconstructing the concentration of the South African economy on the Minerals Energy Complex.
2. Deconstruction of the MEC entails economic diversification through industrial development in other sectors, than in the minerals and energy sectors. This is important to highlight because if such had happened post 1994 in a thoroughgoing industrial development process which includes state leadership and participation of all South Africans, liberals would be



justified to argue that race no longer structures economic advantage and disadvantage.

3. Linked to the above, demand that the South African government should criminalise transfer pricing, base erosion and profit shifting.

On socialisation of the South African economy:

1. The South African economy is controlled by white monopoly capital, and a coherent programme of action towards ensuring that a socially responsive economic order is attained.
2. To do the above, the EFF should establish frameworks for the socialisation of each of the industrial sectors in the country.
3. Review the BEE framework and expose its limitations and failure to deconstruct the apartheid and colonial economic structure in the country.

On unemployment:

1. In the short term, while not in political power, the EFF should engage the government to pass legislation that will ensure the protection of infant industries against external competition to encourage local entrepreneurship and creation of millions of jobs.
2. Engage the department of agriculture and trade and industry to legislate that the state should procure all its food consumables from smallholder farmers. This will secure critical jobs and livelihoods derived from agriculture.
3. Agitate for a comprehensive, state led intervention in the agro-processing sector, the entire agriculture value chain and the textile industry. The long term solution to the country's

unemployment problem lies in the structure of the economy that is value adding.

4. In the short term, lead a programme to expose lack of implementation of the provisions of the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act that compels companies to beneficiate minerals in the country.

EFF's alternative economic Policy:

1. Growth through Redistribution:

Growth through redistribution requires the redistribution of wealth as a pre-condition for economic growth to occur. Such a strategy begins with the state taking control of the productive and financial resources of the country and redirecting them towards housing, feeding, clothing and educating our people. Overcoming poverty and inequality is the means for creating a sustainable productive base for our economy. This can be done through:

2. Inward oriented industrial strategy:

Production of basic needs in terms of durable and non-durable goods as well as social programmes of education, health, environmental repair, transport, housing, infrastructure and communication lie at the base of an alternative development strategy.

3. Diversify our economy:

To satisfy these needs we need to diversify the economy away from the production of raw materials and heavy industrialised goods. We need to use our mineral wealth as a platform to produce light intermediate capital goods such as machinery and other equipment necessary in the production of finished goods.



5. **Different Trade Policy:** This cannot be achieved within a “free trade” framework currently policed by the WTO. To ensure the space to meet our people’s needs through the production of local goods and services we need to be able to support our industries especially new, vulnerable and strategically important ones. These must be protected from international competition and allow us to ensure decent work and a living wage. This means we must not only resist the WTO free trade agenda but fight for a different framework for regulating trade internationally, i.e. based on equality and solidarity.

6. **Consider Dual Currency:** In a globalised economic framework, sustainable monetary and fiscal framework and reality are a *sin qua non*. Depending on sectoral and sometimes immediate interests, trade unions in South Africa have been making calls.

7. **Integrate our region and promote regional solidarity:** An alternative economic development strategy that guarantees decent work, a living wage, full employment and the end to inequality and poverty will be achieved not at the expense and domination of our region and continent but through co-operation and an integration based on solidarity. Our region is rich in natural resources and human capital.

Addressing the immediate needs of the poor and unemployed:

1. **Introduce national reconstruction service:** Urgent measures are needed to combat youth unemployment. As part of marking the anniversary of the 1976 youth uprising, our government must introduce a compulsory national reconstruction service for 18 year olds who would be conscripted into a national service for one year into programme for reconstruction, where skills will be gained in agriculture, construction, conservation, education, health and a host of other work experiences and for which a basic income will be provided.

2. **Expand the EPWP:** In order to meet the immediate needs of more than 8 million people for work, the EPWP must be reorganised and expanded to provide a million jobs annually at a living wage for at least one year. The practice of using the EPWP as a means of creating a black bourgeoisie by outsourcing public sector activities like road construction to private companies must be stopped. The EPWP must be directed towards expanding the public sector.

3. **Developing Skills and Providing Apprenticeships:** While it is not true that poor skills explains South Africa's unemployment crisis, decent education and skills development are important for young people in finding decent work and in contributing to the rebuilding our country. There is a massive housing shortage in



our country. This will require plumbers, electricians, engineers, carpenters and other skilled workers. We demand the development of the apprenticeship system whereby young people have the opportunity to develop skills and knowledge, gain qualifications and earn money at the same time.

4. **Fill all posts in the public sector:** Presently hundreds of thousands of jobs in the public sector are frozen. Millions of unemployed could be in work if these positions were filled and the scandalous rollover of unspent monies would be overcome. As a result public sector capacity would be enhanced, services improved and needs met.
5. **Increase Public Sector Investment:** Presently public sector investment lags way behind what is needed in spite of government increases in infrastructure investment. If jobs are to be created at a scale needed to absorb new entrants to the job market much greater state resources need to be spent. Sustainable jobs can be created if government undertook, amongst other projects, a massive housing programme as proposed in the RDP. Investing in housing would have the virtue of stimulating downstream industries leading to more jobs in construction, furniture, appliances, etc. With more working people employed at a living wage greater demand would be created for food,

clothing and other consumer goods leading to further economic expansion and faster job creation. The same logic applies with the development of a decent public transport system. As opposed to elite projects like the Gautrain, fast national rail systems should be developed to transport people and goods across the country. An effective public transport system would ease the burden on our roads, drastically reduce the death and carnage on our roads and overcome current high levels of carbon-dioxide pollution.

6. **Introduce Prescribed Assets:** Government must direct the huge assets of all financial services towards investment in the productive sectors of the economy, especially those sectors that have high employment multipliers. The financial services industries shall by law required to invest no less than 10% of their asset base in a government fund dedicated towards social investment and job creation.
7. **Cut interest rates and abandon inflation targeting:** High interest rates cut off job creation by attracting money into the speculative sectors of the economy rather than the productive sectors where jobs are created. Reducing interest rates would lead to greater job creation and make it easier for firms to access credit to expand their businesses. This would require the abandonment of inflation targeting which can only be maintained through



interest rate increases. Higher levels of inflation pose no threat to jobs and consumers, especially if more and more people have decent work. Price control on basic goods foodstuffs and rent would be put in place to protect the poor.

- 8. Encourage labour intensive production:** Thousands of additional jobs could be created if labour intensive industries were targeted for growth and protected from international competition along with the removal of tax incentives promoting capital intensive expenditures. These include agriculture, agro-processing, furniture, wood and paper, accommodation and transport and community servicing. By targeting these sectors through various incentives and protections large number of new jobs can be created in these sectors as well as creating jobs throughout the economy.

Protecting existing jobs:

1. Government imposing a moratorium on retrenchments. The first step in this direction would be for government to implement new labour regulations requiring that the bosses must negotiate with the workers any and all retrenchments. Currently they only need to consult the trade unions.
2. Similarly an immediate moratorium on farm evictions must be implemented otherwise hundreds of thousands of people will be pushed off the land and made destitute. Evicted farm workers must be reinstated or compensated.
3. Protect vulnerable and strategic industries from cheap imports by

increasing tariffs and by providing support in the form of subsidies and other incentives.

4. Vigorously oppose in the World Trade Organisation, GATS and the Non-Agricultural Market Access Agreement (NAMA) that aims to dramatically reduce tariffs in all industries outside of agriculture. Our government must oppose similar trade agreements whether they be in the form of bilateral, regional or multilateral agreements. No trade agreement should be signed without prior employment and equity impact studies and far-reaching consultations with the labour movement and other organisations of the popular movement having been undertaken.
5. All sectors of the economy must be encouraged to source their goods and services either nationally or within the SADC region to expand demand and protect jobs.

Creating jobs from non-conventional sectors of the economy:

1. **Produce our electricity from wind and solar power.** With a target of producing 50% of electricity with renewable energy in 10 years we will create 150,000 jobs and reduce our emissions by 20%.
2. **Invest in the maintenance of the country's ecological infrastructure:** The country is blessed with one of the world's richest natural environment. The biodiversity of the Cape floristic region alone is richer than the entire biodiversity richness of Australia. The provision of water and food, and climate change adaptation is dependent on the sustenance of this resource. If the state can invest in the maintenance of the country's ecological infrastructure, we can create a million, long term jobs for



- our people.
3. **Reduce energy use through energy efficiency in industries.** If we implemented a 20% energy efficiency target by 2025, at least 27,000 new jobs would be created.
 4. **Reduce energy use in homes and buildings** by constructing new buildings to be energy efficient and retrofitting existing buildings. Just by retrofitting old buildings and houses, we could create 120,000 jobs.
 5. **Expand public transport.** Reduce our use of oil in transport by improving and expanding our public transport system. A commitment to shift just 10% of private car commuters to public transport, would create about 70,000 jobs and reduce emissions by 24 million tons of carbon dioxide (CO₂). There is potential for even greater job creation and emissions cuts if we commit to more ambitious targets and actions. Overall, our proposals for expanding public transport would result in the creation of 460,000 new jobs.
 6. **Produce our food through organic small-scale agro ecology.** Small-scale family farmers and peasants use farming techniques that protect natural resources, are more labour intensive and more productive per hectare. In Gauteng

alone, it is possible to create nearly 500,000 new jobs in local food production in urban areas.

7. **Protect our water, soil and biodiversity resources.** Up to 400,000 jobs can be created if ecosystem restoration projects are increased. Ecosystem restoration has a range of benefits, including improving water quality, improving carrying capacity for wildlife and livestock, conservation of topsoil, and recharging groundwater.
8. **Move to zero waste.** If we adopt zero waste principles, we can create at least 400,000 jobs in the current economy, and reduce our CO₂-equivalent emissions by about 35 Million Tons. Zero waste is a cheap and effective strategy to combat climate change.
9. **The Marine Economy:** To further expand our economy, a comprehensive understanding of the marine economy must be sought. At the centre of this would be the development of our ports and shipping industry to be socially responsive and not continue being exploited for minority white monopoly benefit. EFF must lead in the evolving debate on the blue economy and the potential that this has on growing our economy and providing jobs.



Local Government

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Local Government and Local Government Elections

Noting that:

1. The EFF does not control any municipality.
 2. The current state of local government is inefficient and incompetent.
 3. The culture of public participation in governance does not exist and the voice of the people is only heard when the community embarks on service protest.
 4. Municipalities remain weak and unable to deliver on their mandates.
 5. Municipalities are riddled with corruption, nepotism and mismanagement.
 6. Local government elections attract approximately 40% of registered voters.
 7. Registration on voters roll by eligible and participation is not high, especially amongst the 18 – 19 year age group.
 8. Majority of local government municipalities across the country are selling huge portions of land to private developers.
 9. There is a lack of coordination between three of spheres government in both policy and implementation.
2. SALGA and other structures lack capacity and have no response on how to strengthen municipalities.
 3. Municipalities perpetuate the racial and income divisions created by apartheid that keep that majority of Africans living in poverty.
 4. Municipalities are not contributing to the economic development of the people, especially Africans, and are also to blame for the lack of transfer of land to Africans.
 5. People are losing faith that the system of governance, especially local government can change their lives and consistently deliver basic services.

This National People's Assembly resolves:

1. Return power to the people in local governance sphere by:

- Involving them in the policy formulation process of the EFF perspective on local government
- Purposefully seeking their participation and input in planning and accountability process of Local and District municipalities
- Ensuring EFF members participate in Ward Committees and advance the priorities of the communities
- The incoming CCT should draft and canvass a policy perspective on the role of the institution of traditional leadership and local government in ensuring

Believing that:

1. Corruption, nepotism and mismanagement can only be rid from municipalities when communities have no tolerance for them.



economic freedom for communities by the next NPA

2. Strengthen capacity in municipalities by:

- Ensuring massive community participation in selection of EFF councillors
 - Pushing for the abolishment of Provincial governments to cascade those resources to municipalities
 - Ensure that government planning is a bottom-up approach whereby national departments draw their policies from municipalities not impose policies
 - Push for the Nationalisation of services such as water and electricity and to have them managed at local level
 - Reformulate funding structure to municipalities as it currently gives more to municipalities that already get more and are able to sustain themselves better
 - Ensuring representation of all government departments at local government level especially those that are working on economic development
 - Investing in human capital especially areas such as engineers
 - Focus on reengineering of urban development, spatial development and spatial justice
 - Review the role and working of SALGA so it is effective in strengthening of the local governments
 - At local government sphere no municipality should use labour brokers. People employed by the local state must be employed on permanent basis.
- Abolish all outdated municipalities ordinance and by-laws that impede service delivery
 - The EPWP should be localised and EPWP programme should employ people on fulltime
 - Local state should expropriate land within its boundaries and distributed it freely to people who needs it for residential purposes
 - Local government municipalities should not sell land to foreigners
 - Informal settlements should be eradicated by 2021
 - Redraw the current municipality boundaries to be in line with people's development not electioneering like as it stand now
 - New cities should be established across the country in particular in rural areas
 - Tendering must be abolished in the local state
 - Municipalities should establish roads maintenance and housing companies to do all roads and housing infrastructure
 - Municipalities should build spacious houses and the building of these houses must not be outsourced to the private sector
 - Municipalities should employ people who are qualified with merits not based on political affiliation

Local Government Election

3. We further resolve that The EFF has to strengthen and mobilise around its election machinery by:
 - All BCT, RCT and PCT are converted into Election machinery by July 2015



- All wards determined and demarcated are contested by EFF
- All wards established must have launched EFF BCTs by June 2015
- Appointment and training of Party Agents and Party Liaison officers on elections are completed by July 2015
- Ensure that all BCTs undergo political education on the EFF Founding Manifesto beginning June 2015
- Submitting all proposed legislative and procedural changes such as the issue of results slips to the IEC by 15 January 2015
- Each BCT shall hold periodic community meetings and community consultations by February 2015
- CCT should develop mobilisation strategy to capture young people who didn't vote during 2014 election
- Each ward, not later than June 2015, shall identify and submit not less than 1,000 registered voters who have been visited and agreed to vote EFF in the 2016 LGE.
- Each ward must identify 3 key priorities affecting their ward that EFF should campaign on
- The Nomination of the EFF ward councillor and PR candidates shall be nominated in consultation with communities
- CCT should develop attributes and qualities of ward councils, EFF aspires to have
- The CCT should develop EFF ward and PR councillors nomination process guidelines and the attributes of the EFF local government representatives by May 2015
- Each branch must be furnished with 2014 national election status quo report by March 2015
- Draft Municipal Election Strategies should be ready not later than March 2015

Social Development

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Social Development

Noting that:



1. Economic transformation and therefore social transformation has not taken place in South Africa at all.
2. South Africa misconstrued development as simply meaning the provision of services such as houses, social grants, education and healthcare.
3. South Africa has the highest unemployment rate in relation to its BRICS counterparts with youth and women being the victims.
4. South Africa has the highest poverty and vulnerability at 0,69 Gini-Coefficiency and again youth and women are the victims.
5. In South Africa majority of blacks and rural poor children are out of Early Childhood Development program.
6. In South Africa there is a rapid increase in drugs and substance abuse among young people, with the latest being Nyaope.
7. In South Africa majority of households are headed by children and women.
8. The child support grant constitute over 60% of the total pay-out of the social grants.
9. South African social crime levels are sky rocketing; and
10. In South Africa, 20 years later our elderly people, people living with disabilities and orphan children still remain the most vulnerable group in the society.

Further noting that:

1. South African justice system has over 20 years failed South Africa poor and women in particular.
2. South Africa has a gender policy that has never been implemented.
3. The state of democracy is in reversal and citizenship at its lowest.

4. South African economy cannot sustain pay out of social grants over a period of 10 years from now.
5. South Africa is further continuing to be a welfare state.
6. South Africa is gradually experiencing a moral decay; and
7. The ruling ANC uses state agencies like SAPS to advance their party political interests.

While believing that:

1. Transformation is profound, fundamental change, altering the very nature of something. Transformational change is both radical and sustainable. Something that is transformed can never go back to exactly what it was before.
2. State capacity must be strengthened to ensure policy implementation
3. The social welfare aspects are vital in South Africa, they do not constitute the core development realised by all industrialised and developed nations in the world.
4. It is the role of the state working together with the societies to reduce poverty and vulnerability levels among the society.
5. There must be equality before the law.
6. The current social grants creates a culture of dependency, however, they remain the main source of income in many households; and
7. The social development activities are by its very nature transversal and therefore cut across all sectorial departments.

Therefore resolved to recommend that:

1. The EFF approach to social transformation and social development be the Socialist Human Development Approach. The principles of this approach are that



all human beings and their wellbeing is central in all policies. It also ensures socialism from below, different from socialism led by the elite.

2. The South African state must be developmental in a sense that it structure and manage its administration, budgeting and planning process to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the socio economic development of the community.
3. The state through its legislative and other measures must support and strengthen the capacity of its organs and foster intergovernmental relations.
4. A thorough research be conducted on the psychological nature of the poverty experienced in South Africa by in the incoming CCT to further influence EFF policy.
5. The national protected industrialisation program must be linked with the national indigent register with a view to create more jobs and exit those in the social grant database.
6. Doors of learning and teaching must be opened particularly to skill and reskill the youth, women and above all the beneficiaries of child support grants as an exit strategy in the long term.
7. The establishment of massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wages in order to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor.
8. The state must develop a moral revival strategy to restore the African moral fibre torn apart by the imperialists and colonial masters since the arrival of the boers in the South, this also include the cogent

and concerted program to fight all social ills.

9. Making justice system a social function accessible to all by establishing and regulating the establishment of the magistrate courts per municipality.
10. Criminalising the usage of state agencies to victimise, harass or kill members of the population whether privately or publicly in protest, strikes or organised marches.
11. Transform the legal system into a true Afrocentric social function by introducing all nine African languages into the written code of law, thereby doing away with interpreters and for the first time, enabling Africans to access the law within their context.
12. Establish equality before the law by abolishing the bail system and allowing all accused to await at home, or at state places of safety, where applicable; and
13. The state to provide mechanisms to protect all the vulnerable groups by providing houses, education, healthcare and any other form of support and protection their vulnerability.

On Teen Pregnancy the following are some of the proposals:

- Statutory rape shall carry a criminal record for adult offenders having sex with children as they are entered into paedophile registry
- Young people suspected of engaging in sexual activity can be referred to social worker who will then through parents refer them to rehab centres where they will attend counselling on a regular basis until they are no longer at risk of sex
- Legal age of consent to sex as well as to marriage shall be increased to 18



- Teen mothers shall not get cash for their child support grant, instead they will get vouchers for food and clothes, this is a measure to decrease the number of young women falling pregnant due to wanting a cash social grant
- Teachers found to be having sex with pupils shall be fired immediately and receive a criminal record and will never be allowed to teach or work in civil service again
- Issue of grants plays a role in encouraging poor young women to get pregnant for the grant
- There isn't enough done to encourage young boys and girls to take good care of themselves

On substance abuse:

- EFF shall establish rehabilitation centres in each municipality as a start
- There shall be zero tolerance to youth drinking, young people found drinking shall be immediately sent to rehab centres
- Education on drugs and the consequences of drug and alcohol abuse shall be conducted on community level to ensure that community members are aware, especially parents are aware that they can send their children to rehab centres
- Parents shall have the right to refer their children to attend rehab, and if children contest they will be tested for drugs or alcohol and if found positive be remanded to rehab centres
- Teachers who suspect drug use shall refer name of child to social worker who shall take the case up with parents/guardians and children
- Launch a national mobile phone panic button for human trafficking

On Poverty:

- As per the EFF Manifesto, transfers by the State to the vulnerable shall be double to what they are now
- Minimum wages will be increased across all sectors and set per sector to eliminate worker poverty
- Teen mothers shall not get cash for their child support grant, instead they will get vouchers for food and clothes, this is a measure to decrease the number of young women falling pregnant due to wanting a cash social grant
- Land shall be redistributed so that all people derive economic benefit from the land

On unemployment:

- As per the EFF Manifesto, education will be free until graduate level
- Establish State companies that will employ many young people
- Protect certain industries to bring back manufacturing jobs to South Africa and beneficiate all raw materials especially mined materials in the country
- Education shall be compulsory till age of 18, and any dropouts will be traced by Social Workers, the high dropout rate will be eliminated
- Ensure the implementation of affirmative action
- Teachers colleges should be reopened
- Build libraries everywhere so people are literate and can pass high school

On Early Childhood Development:

- All mothers and fathers shall attend compulsory prenatal classes geared to empower them to make good choices for their child such as



importance of good nutrition in the first 1,000 days of a child and understanding child development milestones

- As per the EFF Manifesto, there will be compulsory attendance of Early Childhood Development Centres from the age of 3 years
- All ECD centres shall teach a curriculum determined by the Department of Education
- Early Childhood Development centres must be expanded and registered with department of basic education. Educators of this centres must be capacitated to enable them to acquire and impart skill and knowledge needed for childhood development
- Social workers to be linked to ECD so that problems are picked up very early, especially problems emanating from home

On Gender:

- Draw and implement gender policy
- Gender representation should be a zigzag approach in the EFF structures
- Establish gender-based violence units in police stations especially in rural areas that have social workers attached
- Communities shall be educated that gender-based violence shall be punishable on first offence with a criminal record

On Arts & Culture

- EFF must eradicate sector monopoly by giving the people the tools to redefine their own culture by;
- Subsidizing the tools of trade in Music, Theatre, Television and Film Production (National Studios, National Agencies etc)

- Subsidizing the production of television, theatre and documentation of the South African history
- Regulating, developing and protecting the arts and culture sector
- EFF must provide financial services for practitioners in the Arts and sports sectors equal to all other South Africans
- EFF must catalyse a culture sector that actively engages society in social cohesion programs
- EFF honours and centralises use and preservation of African languages, culture and history

On State Capacity

- The key is to create a network of responsiveness through social workers and institutions in communities
- Ensure each family has a social worker visiting once a week in vulnerable communities. Get to communities and families and give them hope one by one. Social worker shall check on a number of issues such as health, poverty levels, family dynamics and so forth
- Prioritise social worker training at tertiary level by establishing a social development training centre at all tertiary institutions in all provinces that will train practitioners in areas such as social work, community development workers, early childhood development, counselling and psychology

On Civil Society:

- To encourage civil society to enter all communities to rebuild communities through the specific programmes civil society organisations deal in including



- To encourage community-based civil society to play a crucial role in strengthening democracy by promoting and educating on citizenship
- To encourage the establishment of community-based media that will be a source of information and education to community to foster empowered communities and individuals

1. State must build internal capacity to provide social grants, which will lead to the abolishment of tenders
2. All social grants must be increased by 100%
 - 2.1. Old Age Grant(OAG) must be increase from R1350 to R2600
 - 2.2. Disability Grants (DG) must increase from R1350 to R2400
 - 2.3. War Veterans Grants (WVG) must increase from R1220 to R2440
 - 2.4. Foster Care Grants (FCG) must increase from R830 to R1660
 - 2.5. Child Support Grant (CSG) must increase from R 320 to R640
 - 2.6. Care Dependency Grand (CDG) must increase from R830 to R1660
3. Unemployed social grant must be introduced for R2500 per month.
4. Terminal social grants must be introduced for R 2500 per month.

Further resolve that:

Health and Education

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Health and Education

Noting that:

The founding manifesto calls for the free quality education and healthcare services.

Further believing that:

1. Education will be free up to undergraduate level and all pupils and students will be provided with adequate learning and teacher support materials; and
2. The state should build a massive



capacity in healthcare, and remunerate medical practitioners in a way that attracts best medical practitioners to the public healthcare sector.

Noted that:

The South African constitution guarantees the rights of everybody;

- 1.1. To a basic education, including adult basic education
- 1.2. To further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible; and
- 1.3. To have access to health care services, including reproductive health care services

Further noting that:

1. On education

- 1.1. South Africa education system is still divided along the racial lines and between the rich and poor
- 1.2. Majority of South Africa schools particularly in the rural areas and informal settlements are still experiencing poor infrastructure and do not meet the minimum norms and standard for basic education
- 1.3. The education systems particularly the 30% pass mark has compromised the quality of the system resulting in many learners or students struggling to complete tertiary education if they get admitted
- 1.4. That some public schools, particularly in rural areas, are not accessible hence the so-called scholar transport fails many learners
- 1.5. That school nutrition program has become an opportunity for corruption through tendering systems and the lives of learners are put at risk after recent incidences of food poisoning

- 1.6. The school sport, arts and culture programs have collapsed
- 1.7. The closure of educational colleges has resulted in the huge deficiencies and shortages of teachers in schools as the current generation of educators are facing exit
- 1.8. The role and the standard of FET colleges in the country remain questionable and many universities do not recognise the qualifications obtained from these colleges
- 1.9. The current education regime calls for Maths literacy as the compulsory subject and the young generation are denied opportunity to learn the history of the world and the country in particular. This shall result into many young people losing interest in the politics of the country and the concept of youth apathy shall prevail
- 1.10. The NSFAS as a student fund for what the government says is for “financially needy and academically deserving” has failed many students as it is not accessible and cannot cover many students; and
- 1.11. There is a strong need for the political office bearers and the officials to continue to learn to increase their knowledge.

2. On health

- 2.1. The health systems of South Africa is in a state of crisis that requires immediate attention and bail-out
- 2.2. South Africa healthcare facilities lacks sufficient infrastructure, medications, and health professionals; and facilities has become slaughter houses
- 2.3. Post 1994 saw massive shutdown of the nursing colleges and as a result there is currently less supply and more demand for nurses
- 2.4. The South African healthcare



- facilities are not responding to the general population growth rate as hospitals and clinics are not increases with the increase of the population;
- 2.5. The government abandoned the following two pieces of legislations which are; the 1994 national health plan and the 1995 national drug policy;
 - 2.6. The state by abandoning the legislations has then surrendered the basic services to the private healthcare providers which amounts to over 60% of the GDP which benefit only 16% of the population. Majority of the beneficiaries are whites minority;
 - 2.7. The government is not implementing the National Health Insurance scheme which to the EFF is the progressive blue print of the free basic healthcare system
 - 2.8. There is need for the provincial tertiary health care facilities as many provinces does not have capacity for specialties;
 - 2.9. The current pharmaceutical procurement arrangements perpetuates corruption; promote and protect the capital and neo-liberal colonial systems;
 - 2.10. The EMS response time and the personnel are in a state of crisis, particularly in the rural areas where the poor masses could not receive the help as urgently required and the shortages of ambulances worsen the situation;
 - 2.11. The current government is neglecting the traditional healers associations and discourages the use of traditional medicines;
 - 2.12. Currently there is a use of both traditional circumcision and professional circumcision in South Africa and many young people die

- in the traditional initiation schools;
- 2.13. There is a high prevalence of HIV infections in South Africa and women particularly teenagers. This prevalence is manifested during testing of pregnant women when they visit clinics
- 2.14. There are many institution which insist on compulsory testing for HIV in order to provide for certain benefits in South Africa;
- 2.15. There if a steady increase in the life expectancy, fertility and mortality rates;
- 2.16. Society to be mobilised against proliferation of GMOs from basic food stuff like maize meal etc...,
- 2.17. South Africa has minimum capacity if any on the research and development component hence 20 years into democracy our people still die on preventable diseases.

Therefore resolved that:

1. On education

- 1.1. The South African education system must be free, accessible, unitary and of high quality until to the attainment of single undergraduate degree;
- 1.2. The implementation of the basic schools norms and standards be sped up with immediate eradication of the mad schools by 2016 academic year and ensure that all school environment are safe for use;
- 1.3. The CCT to investigate the feasibility of ensuring that South African schools offer subjects in the home language and the redrawing of the curriculum;
- 1.4. To ensure quality of education system, the national pass mark for



- students and learners alike should be at least 50%, and the pass one pass all system of pushing individual learners to next class must be abolished;
- 1.5. The government must immediately build schools where people live and do away with the scholar transport program as another vehicle to promote corruption;
 - 1.6. The school nutrition program is a progressive program but government must do away with tendering system and ensure that all schools procure from the local suppliers and employ the personnel working on the program;
 - 1.7. The state must provide free sanitary towels to all learners at schools;
 - 1.8. The immediate reopening of the educational colleges and all students who passed Maths in good marks at high school but drop out at universities must be headhunted to enroll for teaching of Maths and science
 - 1.9. The introduction of history, agriculture and career guidance as the compulsory subjects both primary and secondary school levels;
 - 1.10. Government must immediately scrap NSFAS and introduce free education up to the first undergraduate level;
 - 1.11. The CCT must investigate the expenditure patterns of NSFAS since its inception;
 - 1.12. The education system of basic and higher education systems must be merged into one education system;
 - 1.13. The resuscitation of the sports, arts and culture in the schools and the government must ensure that it employ qualified coaches;
 - 1.14. The EFF must establish the bursary fund to help its political

office bearers, officials and other fighters to further their studies.

2. On Health

- 2.1. The state must ensure that healthcare systems is free, high quality and accessible by all South Africans for 24/7 basis;
- 2.2. The government must pass a policy that compel public servants to use public facilities;
- 2.3. Nationalisation of the healthcare service; demarcation of healthcare into primary, secondary and tertiary services, declaring healthcare services as a special service in terms of labor law; this must also be accompanied by creation of conducive work environment and payment of living wage for medical personnel;
- 2.4. The state must establish a comprehensive healthcare system that have capacity to, among others, treat HIV without patients being referred to their home clinics;
- 2.5. The immediate improvement on the healthcare facilities' infrastructure and ensure that only professional personnel with sufficient capacity to operate the equipment, are deployed into these facilities;
- 2.6. The government must re-open the nursing colleges and abolish the private nursing colleges so as to train and retrain the medical personnel to ensure the demand for medical personnel is met with sufficient supply;
- 2.7. The government must employ the home-based care workers on a full-time basis and should provide such service on a 24/7 basis;
- 2.8. Deployment of environmental health inspectors to the community businesses to ensure that they comply to health standards so as to prevent the potential spread of communicable diseases;



- 2.9. State must establish the state pharmaceutical company and terminate the use of private pharmaceutical companies immediately;
- 2.10. There must be an immediate establishment of the medical control council to monitor the drugs used in our healthcare to ensure they comply with minimum standard set by the council;
- 2.11. There must be the provision of the mobile clinics in every 500 households;
- 2.12. The EFF leadership must provide oversight on the performance of the healthcare facilities at their respective levels;
- 2.13. The NHI program must be implemented as a matter of urgency with few alterations particularly on the current funding model;
- 2.14. The state must improve capacity and reduce the EMS response time to ensure rural poor receive faster medical attention when needed. This also includes the addition of EMS vehicles and making roads to be accessible;
- 2.15. The CCT to investigate the possibility of legalizing marijuana and many other indigenous herbs for health related reasons;
- 2.16. The CCT must explore international mechanism particularly from India and/or China on how best to work with the traditional health association to provide efficient and reliable traditional healthcare in collaboration with the professional medical services;
- 2.17. The CCT must engage with the traditional leadership to explore mechanism to create a balance between the traditional and professional circumcisions without losing the cultural practice of the African people;
- 2.18. The CCT through its Health sub-committee must develop a policy on the prevention, treatment and promotion of the HIV awareness and teenage pregnancies;
- 2.19. The state through its legislative capacity must prevent and immediately abort the compulsory testing of HIV by any institution for any purpose;
- 2.20. The state must improve its research and development capacity to generate knowledge that shall help reduce maternity rate and improve the life expediency of our people.

Justice and Correctional Services

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly of Justices and Correctional Services

Noting that:

The EFF Founding Manifesto calls for the need to transform the criminal justice system to be more accessible and also representative of South African demographics.

Further believing:

2.18. That access to high courts and all other courts should not be the privilege of those with money.



- 4.1. That correctional services system should also be corrective, not punitive.
- 4.2. That economic justice courts should also be established to adjudicate over civil matters involving individuals and corporations in order to acquire maximum justice for those who are not treated lawfully by corporations.

Further noting:

- 4.3. That the levels of re-arrests in South Africa are very high, because the country's correctional services system is not corrective.

Therefore resolve:

- 4.4. The correctional services system should be transformed to include compulsory education and skilling for all prisoners.
- 5. 1. Immediate campaign: The EFF is to attract a voluntary lawyer service willing to be aligned to the organisation to provide such services when needed by fighters or communities that can't afford.
 - 6. 2. The EFF is to ensure no one is incarcerated until there is evidence they are guilty.
 - 7. 3. Champion calls of people meant to be receiving social services but are not.

- 8. 4. South Africa is to review our law system. The EFF to create a committee to investigate whether the current system is working, revisit customary law and extract from it relevant aspects that may improve the justice system and take inspiration from the Nordic law system.
- 9. Sentencing
- 10. 5. EFF to build mini law clinics to educate the community so they understand how the law works, their rights and not misinterpret sentences.
Basic Law should be added to the school curriculum as well.
- 11. Bail
- 12. 6. Abolish bail but reserve it for special cases where the accused is deemed an immediate security risk to the state and community.
- 13. 7. The judiciary plus social workers must exercise extensive discretion to confirm whether or not a person can afford bail. The same system used for parolees can then be used for awaiting trial prisoners.
- 14. Rape
 - 8. The EFF must sit on how we deal with rapists that rape minors, essentially separate rape to two categories.
- 15. Immediate campaign: Condemn the rape of babies
- 16. 9. Standardise the provision of psychological support for special cases to all communities.
- 17. 10. Immediate campaign: EFF must redefine rape to include sexual harassment of men to be called rape and encourage victims to come forward while removing stigma, especially from police officers.



18. 11. Immediate campaign: Recruit lawyers into EFF.
19. - Emphasis to be put on function and powers of the Constitutional Court
20. Immediate task: Call for the independence of Chapter 9 Institutions' budget
21. Justice and correctional services should take a rehabilitative outlook.
22. CORRECTIONAL SERVICES
 12. Amend Correctional Services Act so people are incarcerated per crime level, create specialised/ separate jails, eg, Awaiting Trial Prisoner Jails, petty crime jails, dangerous crime jails etc...
23. 13. Immediate program: EFF must be fundamentally opposed to any forms of gangsterism.
24. 14. Consider other prison systems that would best serve South Africa, ie, Nordic System
25. 15. Private prisons must be banned.
26. 16. EFF must work on a program that will effectively develop prisoners from 8am to 4pm.
27. 17. There should be a precise skills development program for prisoners and they should have a choice what program to partake in.
28. 18. EFF must run a transparent, fair, accountable, equitable correctional services system with no preference to anyone, except for medical reasons.
29. 19. EFF is to create a program so correctional services staff see their duty as a calling than a mere job.
30. 20. Lawyers are to facilitate the processes for people who have been imprisoned for more than a quarter past their sentence.
31. 21. Prisoners must be cleared of their crimes as soon as their sentences end.
32. Prisons are to get a more productive monitoring system, maybe a 24 hour CCTV camera per prison.
33. POLICE
 22. Immediate program: Have government relook at training of police in South Africa and inculcate in their training basic tenets of law.
 23. Ensure police focus is not only internal but are adequately capacitated to deal with border control and border laws.
 24. Transform mindset of police officers so they see their duties as a calling not just a job
 25. CPF's must be adequately capacitated to ensure law is observed in the community and should not have a dominant political party affiliation.
 26. Administration of SAPS needs to be totally transformed as is it still highly racialised.
 27. Police, judiciary and Home Affairs systems need to be inter-linked.
 28. All officers not on duty must be monitored to ensure they do not abuse police assets.
 29. Emphasise that the EFF is against the abuse of state security services against the people.
 30. Investigate and analyse South Africa's readiness for a Gun Free Society.
 31. All police reservists must get permanent jobs after a 24-month period.
 - A police officer is to be assigned one unique gun with a personal serial number to use throughout their career instead of changing guns per shift to combat police brutality.
44. DEFENCE
 31. Break ignorance is black people on the defence issue and eventually create campaigns where the people protect the defence force as they aren't allowed to strike.



45. 32. EFF must run a transparent, fair, accountable, equitable defence force including recruitment and employment.
46. 33. People must be encouraged to get at least one year military training post matric. This is also to ensure skills set and personality traits one can only have post a military background i.e. time management, respect, discipline, loyalty etc are incorporated into our everyday lives.
47. 34. The moral fibre of the country must be reviewed and highly integrated into the defence force. Lifestyles of military personnel are deteriorating as they are sometimes found drunk or are part of public disorder.
48. 35. Salaries of security cluster are too be reviewed and standardised,

together with those of all other public servants, eg, teachers, nurses etc...

49. PRIVATE SECURITY

36. Immediate task: Expose how the multi-national corporations have taken over the security cluster with the ANC giving foreigners space to do as they please thus exposing this country to all kinds of security risks.

50. EFF is to create an EFF think tank whose purpose will be to be the intelligence of the organisation.
- EFF is to liaise with the ZANU-PF intelligence for knowledge and tactic sharing.
 - Lobby the government to create an economic division in NIA to deal with cartels, tax evasion and price fixing given weakness on the competition commission.

Media and Battle of Ideas

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Media and Battle of Ideas

Noting that:

1. South African society has been deeply shaped by colonial capitalism, and as a result access to information is structured by patterns of colonial

capitalist ownership and privilege. Who knows what, for what purposes continues to be largely determined by who owns what or has how much access to power and



resources

2. The ideological apparatuses of the colonial capitalist society pursued the direct interpolation of blacks as precisely subjects of racial exploitation; the education system, the media, the urban and rural family, as well as religious organisations. Blacks were socialised to hate themselves, not to believe in themselves, both as a group and as individuals. Worst of all, blacks were socialised to accept their position as inferior and to “fear a world without whites” as Fanon rightly says
3. Capitalism has made the neoliberal ideology a normal and natural state of affairs. That wage labour, privatisation, marketisation, outsourcing and production for profit are thought as natural ways of doing modern economics.
4. Since the birth of the post-1994 state, the African Revolution has been trapped by ideological inadequacies predicted by Fanon in the Wretched of the Earth about an inability and lack of appreciation of the economic critique of the colonial situation by liberation movement. These movements lack economic knowledge of their own country and

depend on the very colonial masters for macroeconomic planning, and general economic ideas.

5. For a revolution to happen, a revolutionary movement must provide a revolutionary ideology and cogent revolutionary program to the many rebellions, revolts and protests of the oppressed.
6. The ideas of the revolutionary movement must ultimately gain hegemony against the neo-colonial capitalist ruling ideas for a real transformation of society to take place.

Believing that:

7. The oppressed must speak and must hear themselves – this is the task at hand. The EFF must spread the ideas of economic freedom whose ultimate result must be the oppressed telling their stories, and living it out in practical action
8. The seven cardinal pillars of the EFF, as expressed in the EFF Founding Manifesto constitute the ideological and programmatic basis for what should constitute the battle of ideas that EFF must wage



9. The EFF is a socialist Economic Emancipation Movement that uses Marxist -Leninist -Fanion tools of analysis; a “radical, leftist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles”. The EFF is a vanguard of community and workers’ struggles and will always be on the side of the people. The EFF must, “with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws”.
3. The English language remains the predominant language of discourse particularly in print media and television. Radio, which has the largest reach of all mediums in South Africa and in many ways precisely because of that, is the most diverse in terms of language reach as it caters for all official languages
4. Print media is reported as reaching 65.6% of the adult population, with an average issue readership of 22,925-million. The report demonstrates the stability of print media over a two year period, and at times records growth

Further Noting that:

1. As things stand, traditional media in South Africa is inaccessible to the oppressed, yet it survives through their audience participation, precisely to provide the deadly opium sterilising revolutionary ideas in them
2. Traditional media can be categorised into three; Broadcast Media which includes television and radio; Print Media which describes newspapers, magazines and knock-and-drop; New Media which includes Internet and Mobile phone media. All these may either be public, commercial or community-based
5. SABC is dominant in ownership and control of the radio and TV industry, and private commercial television station’s HDI ownership sits on an average of 64.4% per television station. There are additional 13 private commercial radio stations which are regional or provincial stations; they have 16.5% of the total radio adult audience
6. The SABC has in recent history suppressed adverts that are critical of the government during elections, and refuses to offer live coverage of opposition parties’ events. Yet it broadcasts all the major events of the ruling party live in its radio and



television platforms.

7. This hostility of the SABC is a threat to the basic tenets of a democratic practice in a democratic South Africa. It is undoing diversity of views, not only in explicit political content but all content that may be critical of the ruling party. Another example is the closing down of the Big Debate just on the eve of 2014 general elections, which was a popular show that managed to expose the failures of government.
8. The SABC has further mobilised artists and other entertainers during elections to support and publicly promote the ruling party with the threat that their platforms on SABC may be withdrawn.
9. Twenty years into democracy, the South African government is restructuring communications significantly both through government internal media as well as through entities like the SABC, MDDA, and ICASA. The creation of the ministry of communications inclusive of GCIS, SABC and MDDA, where Information and Communications Technology and Postal Services are run separately must be read signifying the beginning of state

propaganda. The SABC as a broadcasting space is therefore shutting down slowly for meaningful democratic contestation and participation. It is deteriorating as the platform of public scrutiny on power and government in particular.

10. Television in South Africa is shifting towards Digital Terrestrial Television which will allow access to a more efficient use of radio frequency spectrum as well as better quality pictures and sound. This shift in South Africa has seen a multimillion investment initiative that tries to provide successful migration into digital television without excluding the poor where Set-Top-Boxes which facilitate the conversion of digital signal into analogue will be provided for by government for 5 million poor households.
11. The state is set to spend billions in distribution of these devices through the Post Office and Universal Service and Access Fund. DTT migration must be closely monitored as mistakes in the distribution of Set-Top-Boxes may leave most of poor families without access to broadcasting service once a switch from analogue to digital television is made.



12. There is not clarity on ICASA's status as a Chapter 9 institution with the mandate to guard democracy. Although chapter nine of the Constitution calls for an independent authority to regulate broadcasting, it does not mandate ICASA and interpretations vary. This makes those who run ICASA entrapped in a schizophrenic situation where they are prone to direct governmental influence.
13. Ownership of print media is trapped in an oligarchic situation of the domination of few companies - Media24, Caxton; and Avusa. This too is not in the best interest of democratic contestation and diversity of views. All are dominated by the English language and also control a lot of local print publications. They too have demonstrated hostility at revolutionary ideas, and popular narratives of the poor, like reporting the labour strikes in bad light, with general depiction of workers as unreasonable.
14. This space remains the heaven of the promotion of white supremacist culture in terms of representations of broad aesthetics and life values, the promotion of capitalist consumerist culture and liberal individualism, as well as marginalisation of narratives of popular classes. Media, print in particular, has capacity to conduct public trails of key individuals in society, thus prejudicing them before court processes establish findings. Media is susceptible to manipulation by the wealthy and powerful
15. 'Self-regulation' of media remains central to a progressive democratic media practice.

Resolve:

48. To aggressively fight for diversification in terms of ownership, control and language spread. The development and strengthening of community-based papers and the promotion of the emergence of "grassroots" oriented media that capitalises doing journalism not on the basis on popular stories for sales, but giving voice to ordinary and poor communities.
49. To fight that the Ombudsman and the press council must be strengthened in the inserts of bring accessible to the most vulnerable when they are offended, marginalised and misrepresented by media houses
50. There must be an independent commission of enquiry into the manipulation of the SABC news contents through parliament, with a view to reinforce the independence of the SABC from ruling party manipulation.



50. ICASA must be elevated as a Chapter 9 institution. EFF must put it to parliament for legislation to be reviewed in the interest of such an elevation and cogent mandate on the part of ICASA. In addition, time allocation must be included to have a cogent definition of equitable distribution with the exclusion of number of seats an already existing party has in parliament. Other criterion can work; number of provinces being contested, if the party is contesting national elections, as well as number of candidates being fielded for elections. These must be done before the next local government elections.

51. The Media diversification through MDDA must be advanced to undermine the oligarchy within the print media industry. MDDA must be prioritised in rural and poor communities to invest in media publications that use local language and tell local stories.

Further note that:

52. Key element in the diversification, and at times, democratisation of media is the invention of the mobile phone and tablet in how they facilitate access to internet. Mobile phones first break communications barriers in many and different ways, but they give people access to radio and internet; key amongst which is social media.

53. Two developments in the communications sector must therefore be monitored as they set up a massive stage and fundamental shift for the battle and flow of ideas; it is broadband penetration and the spread of mobile gadgets; smart mobile phones and tablets.

54. With the spread of gadgets we are looking at more than 50% of the population having a smart phone with internet access in the next three years. By all conservative estimation, depending on the invention of a cheap smartphone and tablet, the 2019 general elections will be fought on the sky.

55. Focus needs to be put on mass media social network like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube as key elements in the spread of ideas due to their interactivity. This is despite the importance of all message related networks whose significance remains in the spread of message.

Resolve that:

56. The EFF must occupy social media network aggressively to gain relevance and also influence social discourse. That the social media network strategy be professionalised through sourcing professional help.

60. In light of the fact that Internet offers alternative means to online broadcasting and publications, there should be an initiative to establish EFF online radio and television be pursued with people accessing it via mobile technology devices.

61. There must be a multimedia capacity that uses photographic, video and voice recording facilities to generate publications and the spread of EFF ideas.

62. Establishment of a weekly publication whose immediate goal is provision of commentary on current affairs to provide guidance and ideological tools to engage developments



63. There must be an online quarterly journal that aims at substantial publications on the development of policy and ideological tools of analysis which can also be published in limited print copies.

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

65. The CCT must look into establishing the Printing Press that belongs to the organisation.

66. There should be the establishment of EFF independent Radio.

67. There should be a campaign on the reduction of the cost to communicate,

with a view to establish a South African state owned electronics company whose first product must be a South African smart phone.

68. The State must provide radical infrastructure for the provision of free and high speed internet, with strict priority on education centres.

69. The propagation of EFF ideas must find reach into international media, to ensure that the message of Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime finds friends abroad.

70. The SABC must dedicate 70% of its airtime to local content, in particular to film and entertainment productions

71. There should be usage of classical marketing tools like pamphleteering where alternative communications (in different languages) are produced explaining complex ideas of the Economic Emancipation Movement

Land and Agrarian Resolution

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly Land and Agrarian Resolutions

Noting that:

1. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use is the first pillar of EFF's non-negotiable seven cardinal pillars.
2. The Economic Freedom Fighters Founding Manifesto remains the fundamental political and ideological programme on how the organisation

approaches and deals with matters of land and agrarian reform.

3. The South African government led by the ANC has failed to expedite land redistribution.
4. EFF's approach to the land question has not changed; it still firmly believes in the transfer of land ownership and custodianship to the state in a similar way that all mineral and petroleum resources were



transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state through the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) of 2002.

Therefore resolve that:

- Permits to occupy to be converted into title deeds for the majority of our people eg the Ngonyama Trust for King Zwelithini in KZN
- State ownership of land is critical. Land must be owned by the state and the state must then redistribute.
- We cannot pay for stolen land.
- Let us use the land claim as a train to take us to the 2016 local elections. We support some of the land invasions that are taking place around the country.
- Call for land audit so that we use that against government to show them how slow they have been terms of giving land back to our people. All provinces through regional structures should get State land audit through district municipalities by the end of March next year.
- Taking land struggles on behalf of our people by for instance taking state to court when the state is infringing on the rights of people. This in a way is campaign machinery because we are trying to mobilise society.
- We should go back to the bush and fight for our land (arm struggle). Embarking on bicycles and mirrors campaign as protest machinery thus making a powerful statement to the communities on land question especially towards 2016 local government elections.
- Rejection of Agri-villages as proposed by the Minister and Agri-SA. There are no government services in those villages
- Commissars in Parliament must repeat the offer of 6% to the State to change the laws in this country and inform the communities if they refuse.
- The land portfolio which should be established by the CCT must come up with concrete proposals as to what will be an election paragraph on land into 2016 election manifesto.
- Land rights to go hand in hand with mineral rights. If you own land whatever is below and above should be yours.
- Take the land back to be a campaign slogan towards 2016 local election.
- The EFF must push for land revolution by giving government deadline in which the majority of our people
- Commissars in Parliament to pass a motion of scrabbling of property clause
- A campaign to identify and occupy vacant and unused land
- EFF to set up a Solidarity Fund to assist all those who may be in conflict with landowners, the state authorities, police and courts in pursuant to the resolution on occupation of unused and unoccupied land.
- Convene and establish relationships with advisory bodies and institutions on land to refer some of the cases.
- By March 2015 should have been engaged on land claims matters so as to show interest on them being part of land claims since the recent government is neglecting them.



Fundraising and Finance

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on Fundraising and Finance

Noting that:

1. The organisation has just got to the second phase of its formation stage, which is the first NPA, of which it's still pursuing its founding manifesto resolutions, which is the economic emancipation of our society, guided by the seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars.
2. As an organisation we are operating within a dynamic society, and through volatile situation orchestrated by our enemies (white capital monopoly) and the ruling party. We need to adapt by adopting various survival, modern financial tactics.
3. The organisation must conform to the highest financial policy, accounting and auditing systems, in order to ensure that there are clear financial controls throughout all the organisational structures.
4. Financing of the organisation is the cornerstone function of the



organisation, so that it can be able to fulfil its mandate as outlined in EFF founding manifesto.

5. The organisation needs to take decisive steps to secure financial stability and consistent funding and fund-raising model.

We therefore resolved:

1. That the organisation must conform to the highest financial policy, accounting and auditing systems, in order to ensure that there are clear financial controls throughout all the organisational structures.
2. Employ financial accounting systems and reporting processes, in order to ensure accountability and transparency on the organisation finances.
3. All major expenditures at all organisational structures must be through a resolution by the said structure, led by the treasure of that structure.
4. Resolve that the organisation must explore other fund-raising mechanisms, such as investing with private, credible investment institutions.
5. Resolve to adopt strict and protected financial reporting policy, so to guard against exploitation and victimisation by our enemies.
6. The organisation before its next NPA must have purchased and owning of all its offices from the national, provincial and regional offices.
7. Resolve on keeping membership fee at R10 for all members.
8. All branches in good standing must open bank accounts with 3 months from this PPA, with a treasure as one of the signatories.
9. All members who earn income must be encouraged to contribute to the organisation within their affordability: for a revolution that can't fund itself poses a danger.
10. Foreign and internal funding must be permitted, however they should regulated to avoid exploitation by external forces.
11. EFF Finance must be able to speak to organisational tasks.
12. Conference must resolve that all fundraising done in the name of the organisation or bearing the name/logo of the organisation must be done within parameters of the financial policy and with the authority of the structure at various level
13. Resolve that the CCT must develop financial management policy by 2015 June
14. Further resolve that with immediate effect the CCT should to develop fundraising strategy and manual
15. The Assembly resolves the CCT should speedily develop procurement policy.



International Relations and Solidarity

Resolutions of the First National People's Assembly on International Relations and Solidarity

This 1st National People's Assembly notes that:

- The African continent has been plagued by wars driven by colonial powers over natural resources resulting in the people of the world coalesced around the common aspiration to end capitalist greed. Some liberation movements however lost their compass post liberation and others yielded from

the rib of full and uncompromised liberation both political and economic continued to fight relentlessly for full economic freedom and justice.

Further noting that:

- The Founding Manifesto of EFF makes a firm analysis that “...*the struggle for economic emancipation within*



the long resistance of South Africans to racist colonial and imperialist, political, economic and social domination...this represents more than 350 years of Africans' resistance against colonial and economic domination and exploitation.” (EFF Founding Manifesto, July 2013.) The Founding Manifesto continues, *“More than 350 years later, the war of resistance has not been won, and the battles that were fought almost represent nothing, because 20 years after the attainment of formal political freedom, the black people of South Africa still live in absolute mass poverty, are landless, their children have no productive future, they are mistreated and they are looked down upon in a sea of wealth.”*

Believing that:

- The fight to achieve economic freedom for South Africans, the continent and the oppressed people of the world is therefore a pivotal feature of the programme of the Economic Freedom Fighters.

The NPA resolves that:

- The EFF will shape its radical transformational internationalist outlook by fulfilling the mandate of the party by building and strengthening party to party relations and continental and international solidarity in order to achieve progressive internationalism.

On the state of South Africa’s Foreign Policy:

The NPA notes that:

- The outcry of the continent in light of the skewed policy stances and compromises of the African continent by the current ANC-led government have resulted in the continent viewing South Africa as a sub imperialist power. This is only because the economic trajectory of South Africa is fundamentally and principally flawed based on the National Development Plan and New Growth Path.

Further notes:

- With this in mind it is impossible to align that country’s national interest in light of its policy posture to the actual national interest of the African majority. The consequence of an economy that does not prioritise domestic needs and challenges results in compromising the economy which is meant to work for national interest to prioritising the capital forces of the world.

Believes that:

- The Economic Freedom Fighters views the twenty years of democracy as wasted as the ANC has been unable to craft a coherent economic path for a fundamental shift in economic power relations. The weaknesses and indecisiveness of the current government have severely compromised the African Agenda; which has resulted in a continent that has been betrayed.
- Economic diplomacy has yielded no developmental value for the country even as basic as educating the



nation. It has however ensured the wealth of a few and growing rapidly in particular filling the pockets of patronage within the ruling party.

- Ironically, the quick shifts in foreign policy and the sale of the natural resources have resulted in the unfortunate consequence of the push for the ceding of borders and a reformist approach to international relations; this has resulted in South African foreign policy having lost its moral obligation to the nation and the continent and is left with individuals who seek to abuse their access to power as a means of deeming irrelevant even the most basic and fundamental principle of national sovereignty.

Further believes that:

- South Africa's presence in the United Nations Security Council has been insignificant reflective of its foreign policy. The Security Council, the main UN peace making body, still dominated by the victors of the Second World War, has not lived up to its mandate. It has allowed conflicts to proliferate and intervened arbitrarily.

Therefore resolves that:

- EFF characterises SA Progressive Foreign Policy as Transformational, Revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Fanonian with an internationalist outlook with the aim of achieving Economic Freedom in our Lifetime for the African people in particular and oppressed people in general with a direct inclination to the working class.

The 1st NPA further resolves that:

- The seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars are at the centre of what is in the national interest for the EFF and the international policy outlook are primarily in the national interest, which is to achieve economic freedom in our lifetime for our people.
- The strategic geo-political positioning of South Africa must be reaffirmed in order to yield its maximum benefit.

On changing the current international structures:

The 1st NPA notes that:

- EFF will radically pursue the democratisation and radical transformation of multilateral bodies so that they are reflective of the countries of the world as oppose to reflecting the economic and military strength of countries. This equally applies to South Africa's presence in the United Nations Security Council.

Resolves that:

- The EFF will agitate for a radical transformation to the United Nations (Security Council) to be democratic and representative of the ideals and aspirations of the African people by ensuring the implementation of an uncompromising domestic economic policy based on rigorous industrialisation that would ensure that foreign demand is met at the



price and supply of the domestic market.

The NPA notes that:

- The dire and urgent need for the massive development of the African economy and advocates for a move from reconciliation to justice on the entire continent.

Resolves that:

- South Africa's participation in international formations should be based on radical economic transformation for the continent and massive development for the African continent through industrialisation which must include the Blue economy, Green economy and the Knowledge economy.
- Transfer pricing and profit shifting is a corrupt and criminal practice that continues to undermines the value of the continents' resources. The EFF calls for an immediate end to transfer pricing and profit shifting and that such criminality be declared as an international crime against humanity as it bears the consequence of deepening poverty and inequality in society.
- The EFF further condemns multi nationals that dominate society and send their profits off shore whilst not advancing local empowerment further perpetuate this. The reality is that in South Africa key sectors remain dominated by multi nationals but the continued suppression of local competition is not visible due to multinationals that continue to dominate under the surface of which the manufacturing sector amongst others has fallen prey.

On EFF leading Africa and Progressive Movements:

The 1st NPA notes that:

- The African Agenda requires urgent attention. The Western Sahara remains the only country in the continent that is still colonised.

Further notes:

- That the people of Swaziland remain oppressed and have not experienced democracy.

Resolves that:

- EFF calls for dismantling of organs and apparatus of world aggression and coercion like the NATO and discontinuation of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- EFF demands the immediate closure of all foreign military and high command structures in Africa, particularly in Botswana and Morocco.
- EFF will lobby, campaign, and implement incremental boycotts, disinvestment and sanctions against the apartheid state of Israel, as a concrete form of solidarity with the Palestinians, to end the illegal occupation of Palestinian territories and state by the Zionist state of Israel.
- EFF will work towards the rejection of the African Command Centre, a military programme of the United States based in Botswana
- EFF will work in solidarity with the people of Western Sahara to realise real political independence from colonial domination.



Special Resolution on Swaziland:

The NPA resolves that:

- The Economic Freedom Fighters call for the immediate and unconditional release of the President of PUDEMO, Cde Mario Masuku, the Secretary General of SWAYOCO, Cde Maxwell Dlamini, and ALL Political Prisoners languishing in Mswati's jails.

EFF CONSTITUTION as adopted by the First National People's Assembly in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, 16 December 2014

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Constitution

A. Preamble

ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS is a radical and militant Economic Emancipation Movement which brings

The NPA further resolves that:

- Political parties in Swaziland are unbanned with immediate effect
- There must be an unconditional withdrawal of all politically inspired charges against political leaders and activists in Swaziland
- There should be Free Trade Union Activity and Freedom of expression of the media.
- Mswati is isolated with immediate effect and should that not happen then Swaziland must be expelled from SADC and the AU immediately

The above should serve as immediate re-introduction of Constitutional multi-party democracy in Swaziland

together revolutionary, fearless, radical, and militant activists, workers' movements, non-governmental organisations, community based organisations, lobby-groups under the need to pursue the struggle for economic emancipation.

The EFF is a radical, Left, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement with an internationalist outlook anchored by popular grassroots formations and struggles. EFF will be the vanguard of community and workers' struggles and will always be on the side of the people. EFF will, with determination and consistency, associate with the protest movement in South Africa, and will also join in struggles that defy unjust laws.

The EFF takes lesson from the notion that "political power, without economic emancipation is meaningless". The Movement is inspired by ideals that promote and practice organic forms of political leadership, which appreciate that political leadership at whatever level is



service, not an opportunity for self-enrichment and self-gratification.

The EFF subscribes to the Marxist-Leninist and Fanonian schools of thought on its analysis of the State, imperialism, class and race contradictions in every society. Through organic engagement and constant relationship with the masses, Economic Freedom Fighters provide clear and cogent alternatives to the post-colonial economic systems, which in many countries kept the oppressed people under colonial domination and suppression

B. Logo and colours

The Logo of the EFF shall be the map of the Continent of Africa representing a commitment to its people, resources and humanity. The Continent will be coloured in green to signify the Land that must be restored to its people. From within the Southern tip of the Continent will be a black clinched fist signifying the unity in strength of the oppressed of the continent. The fist will carry a red spear signifying the defence of the African Revolution mired by the blood of the fallen heroes and heroines of our liberation struggle. At the bottom of the fist, shall be a shaft, representing the minerals of the earth, which shall be used for the benefit of all. Finally, at the northern tip of the continent shall be a gold star, representing the progressive internationalist character of our African Revolution, international solidarity and the pursuit of total emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the world

1) What is the EFF?

1. The ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EFF) is an Economic Emancipation Political Movement which seeks to act in the interests of all South Africans, Africans and people of the world striving for socialism and ECONOMIC

EMANCIPATION IN OUR LIFE TIME.

2. The EFF takes socialism as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking and development of its political line and in this respect identifies itself as a MARXIST, LENINIST, and FANONIAN organisation.
3. The basic programme of the EFF is the complete overthrow of the neo liberal anti-black state as well as the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; the establishment of the dictatorship of the people in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the EFF is the realisation of socialism through people's power and the establishment of a state that responds to the needs of its people.
4. The EFF is anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-imperialist in its world outlook and is driven by sound democratic socialist values where the leadership is accountable to the membership which elected it.
5. The EFF is a vanguard mass organisation leading the revolutionary masses in the fight against the capitalist class enemy

2) Aims and Objectives

- 1) To capture political and state power through whatever revolutionary means possible to transform the economy for the benefit of all, in particular Africans.
- 2) To establish and sustain a society that cherishes revolutionary cultural values and to create conditions for total political and economic emancipation,



prosperity and equitable distribution of wealth of the nation.

- 3) To attain and defend the National Integrity and Liberation of the oppressed black majority of South Africa.
- 4) To participate in the global struggle for the complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism, racism and all other forms of discrimination.
- 5) To participate in, support and promote all struggles for the attainment of the complete independence and unity of African states and by extension, the African continent.
- 6) To oppose resolutely, tribalism, regionalism, religious and cultural intolerance.
- 7) To oppose oppression of women and the oppression of all other gendered persons.
- 8) To oppose patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia and any discriminatory practices that promotes the oppression of anyone, women in particular.

3) Seven Non-Negotiable Cardinal Pillars

At the centre of the struggle for economic emancipation are the following seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars;

1. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution.
2. Nationalisation of mines, banks, and other strategic sectors of the economy.

3. Building State and government capacity, which will lead to abolishment of Tenders.
4. Free quality education, healthcare, houses, and sanitation.
5. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs.
6. Massive development of the African economy and advocating for a move from reconciliation to justice.
7. Open, accountable government and society without fear of victimisation by the State Defence, Police and other Agencies.

These seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars will constitute the core program of the government of the EFF and all its structures outside government at branch, regional, provincial and national level.

4) Membership of EFF

1. Any South African citizen not limited to any worker, peasant, revolutionary element, unemployed person who has reached the age of sixteen and who accepts the Constitution of the EFF, joins a branch of the organisation and works actively in it, carries out the organisation's decisions, observes its discipline and pays membership dues may become a member of the EFF.
2. All members shall comply with the provisions of this Constitution as well as with the Aims, Objectives, Principles and Policies of the EFF, and shall sign the following declaration, which shall be in each membership form:



“I fighter..... solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims, objectives and radical policies of the Economic Freedom Fighters as set out in the Constitution of the EFF. I voluntarily join the EFF without any motive of personal gain or material benefit, and understand that I am not entitled to any positions or deployments. I will participate in the life of the Economic Freedom Fighters to strive towards total emancipation of South Africa, Africa and the oppressed of the world and will do so as a loyal, active and disciplined Economic Freedom Fighter.

I further declare to defend the proud and militant legacy of the fallen heroines and heroes. To work towards a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it. Defend the African revolutionary tradition against all forms of tendencies that promote hatred, division, underdevelopment, corruption and social discords. I vow to defend and selflessly pursue the realisation of the seven non-negotiable cardinal pillars as a primary political program of the EFF contained in the Founding Manifesto.

I further commit to abide by the principle of democratic centralism which is that the individual is subordinate to the organisation, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and decisions of the upper structures are binding on the lower structures.”

3. All members of the EFF may not join, participate, or associate in any organisation and activities whose aims and objectives are inconsistent and contradictory with those of EFF. On

acceptance, a member shall pay the joining fee determined by the Central Command Team.

5) Rights of Members

Every member of the EFF shall have the right:

1. To vote and be voted for in any office of the EFF in accordance with such rules and regulations as adopted by the CCT
2.) To participate in meetings and all other activities organised by the EFF, unless decided otherwise by constitutional structures of the eff.

6) Duties of the Member

Every member of the EFF shall have the duty:

- 1) To be loyal to the EFF.
- 2) To observe and respect the Policies, Resolutions, Decisions of the National Peoples Assembly, Central Command Team, all constitutional structures and the Rules and Regulations of the EFF.
- 3) To constantly and continuously strive to raise the level of her/his own political consciousness and understanding of EFF Policies, Resolutions, Rules and Regulations.
- 4) To strengthen, promote and defend the EFF and to popularise its politics, policies and programs.
- 5) To conduct herself / himself honestly and honourably in dealing with the EFF and the broader public and not to bring the EFF into disrepute or ridicule.



6) To put the interests of the EFF above any other political considerations or personal ambitions.

7) ALL MEMBERS OF THE EFF MUST TAKE INSTRUCTIVE NOTE OF AND INTERNALISE THE FOLLOWING:

1) The political line of the EFF is the fundamental and crucial factor in the interaction between EFF and the larger material world. It is the lifeblood of the organisation and should be at the heart of every member's activity and duties. The life of EFF and hence that of the revolution compels a very high level of commitment from each member which in turn shall be guided by the struggle to develop, grasp and apply our political line and through that process sharpen it.

2) In refining and carrying out the political line, EFF acts as a collective. Every member's actions in any given situation can make a huge difference—positive or negative. At the same time, the organisation is expected to enable its members to pull together so as to understand why it is necessary to struggle for and achieve our strategic goal of **Economic Freedom in our lifetime**. Members are expected to channel their insights and initiative into a collective process and this in turn enables a more comprehensive analysis of reality, and a much more meaningful mobilisation of the people to transform that reality. This is way beyond what any single individual acting alone, or even a loose affiliation of individuals could ever achieve.

3) Inside the EFF, members are expected to thrash out their

differences, be faithful to the revolutionary ideas of the organisation through good and bad times and through this whole process look out for each other. In this way we express our revolutionary outlook and collectivity while at the same time boosting the morale of membership.

4) Also inside the EFF there should always be much collective discussion and struggle over ideas of what is to be done, over right and wrong ideas in the development of the revolutionary line and practice to which all members are expected to contribute; this is the life blood of the organisation. But against the ideological enemies of **Economic Freedom in our lifetime** we close our ranks as a collective forming an iron wall of unity and allegiance to the revolution and hence making it impossible for them to break our ranks

5) Learning or education is an active process that requires members to self-develop and seek clarity where they don't understand or feel confused. Finally, the political development of each member is a revolutionary responsibility of all engaged in struggle.

6) Unity is a paramount principle of the EFF. The sowing of disunity within the ranks of the EFF and the oppressed will be severely dealt with.

8) Members of the EFF are accordingly expected to:

1) Study and apply the theoretical line of the organisation being Marxist, Leninist and Fanonian philosophical thought and tools of analysis in a living way.



- 2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of South Africa, Africa and the oppressed of the world.
 - 3) Be willing and able to unite with the vast majority, including those who have been wrong in opposing them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes and hence showing remorse for their previous mistakes. However, members must vigilantly guard against elements of unrepentant opportunism, reaction and revisionism so as to prevent such bad elements from infiltrating the leadership of the organisation. This is a necessary prerequisite to ensure and guarantee that the leadership of the EFF remains always in the hands of revolutionaries.
 - 4) Consult with the masses and investigate the necessary conditions when matters arise.
 - 5) Be bold in making internal constructive criticism and self-criticism without fear or favour
- 2) Provincial People's Assembly which elects the Provincial Command Team (PCT).
 - 3) A Regional People's Assembly which elects the Regional Command Team (RCT).
 - 4) Branch People's Assembly which elects the Branch Command Team (BCT).
 - 5) EFF structures terms of office
 - a. BCT – 2 years
 - b. RCT – 3 Years
 - c. PCT – 4 years
 - d. CCT – 5 Years
 - 6) Branches of the EFF shall be ward-based, but can be recognised in demarcations decided by the CCT.
 - 7) Every member of the EFF shall belong to a branch, which is the basic unit of activity for members. A Branch General Assembly is a normal meeting of the general membership of the EFF in the branch and shall be convened every three months to receive reports on the state of the organisation, fill vacancies and deal with any other issue that affects the branch and its membership. Each Branch shall be registered with the CCT and shall consist of no less than 100 members. A BCT is elected every two years by a Branch People's Assembly. The BCT shall comprise of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and not more than 10 (ten) members who will hold office for two years.
 - 8) The Branch Chairperson and Secretary of both the Women's Command and the Youth Command shall serve as ex-officio members of the Branch Command Team

9) EFF Structures and Organs

The EFF shall consist of the following structures and organs:

- 1) National People's Assembly which elects the Central Command Team (CCT).



- 9) The Regional Peoples Assembly shall receive political report from the chairperson, organisational report from the secretary, and financial report from the treasurer
- 10) A BCT shall meet fortnightly and the Branch General Assembly shall meet every three months.

10) The Regional Peoples Assembly

- 1) Each Region shall hold a Regional Peoples Assembly once every 3 (three) years.
- 2) The Regional Peoples Assembly shall receive political report from the chairperson, organisational report from the secretary, and financial report from the treasurer
- 3) The Regional Peoples Assembly shall adopt a program of action
- 4) The Regional Peoples Assembly shall elect the Regional Command Team comprising of a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and the Treasurer, and 10 (Ten) additional members.
- 5) The Regional Officials shall be responsible for the day to day running of the organisation, including the regional secretary of the Women's Command and the Youth Command
- 6) The Regional Chairperson and Secretary of both the Women's Command and the Youth Command shall serve as ex-officio members of the Regional Command Team,
- 7) The RCT shall meet once per month
- 8) RCT shall have a Regional Co-ordinating Command which shall be the Top 5 plus 3 Members of the RCT.

11) PROVINCES

- 1) For purposes of EFF structures, the country shall be divided into the following provinces:
 - a. Western Cape
 - b. Northern Cape,
 - c. Eastern Cape
 - d. KwaZulu
 - e. Natal, Free State,
 - f. Gauteng
 - g. Limpopo
 - h. Mpumalanga
 - i. North West
- 2) The provincial headquarters will be determined by the Provincial Command Team of each respective province.
- 3) The CCT may from time to time alter the number, the boundaries or the names of the Provinces.

The Provincial Peoples Assembly

- 4) Each Province shall hold a Provincial Peoples Assembly once every 4 (four) years.
- 5) The Provincial Peoples Assembly shall receive the political report from the chairperson, organisational report from the secretary, and financial report from the treasurer
- 6) The Provincial Peoples Assembly shall adopt a program of action



- 7) The Provincial Peoples Assembly shall elect the Provincial Command Team comprising of a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and the Treasurer, and 16 (Sixteen) additional members.
- 8) The Regional Chairperson and Secretary shall serve as ex-officio members of the PCT
- 9) The Provincial Chairperson and Secretary of both the Women's Command and the Youth Command shall serve as ex-officio members of the Provincial Command Team.
- 10) The PCT shall have a Provincial Coordinating Command which shall be composed of the Top 5 plus 6 Members of the PCT.
- 11) The PCT shall meet once in two months
- 5) The National People's Assembly shall receive, discuss and adopt the political report, organisational report and treasures report
- 6) The National People's Assembly shall adopt or amend the constitution, policies and program of action.
- 7) The National People's Assembly shall be held every five years and elect the President, Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, National Chairperson, the Treasurer General and 35 additional commissars to the Central Command Team
- 8) The provincial chairperson and secretary of the PCT shall serve as ex-officio members of the CCT
- 9) The National People's Assembly shall adopt the Peoples Declaration.

13) CENTRAL COMMAND TEAM (CCT)

Powers

- 1) The National People's Assembly (NPA) shall be the highest decision making body of the EFF.
- 2) The NPA shall be constituted of delegates, and 90% of these shall be from branches of the EFF.
- 3) The National People's Assembly Steering Committee shall be responsible for the smooth running of the Assembly.
- 4) The National People's Assembly shall adopt the credentials, program, rules, procedures and guidelines of the assembly
1. The CCT shall be made up of six officials plus 35 additional members.
2. The CCT shall be the highest decision making body in between National Peoples Assemblies and shall have the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the constitution, resolutions and decisions of the National Peoples' Assembly
3. The CCT shall set up a number of necessary bodies and Standing Sub – teams on different levels in order to guide the overall work of the EFF.
4. The CCT shall implement the policies, resolutions, directives, decisions, and



programs enunciated by the National People's Assembly.

5. If necessary, the CCT shall have the right to co-opt not more than 3 (three) members. In addition, the CCT can invite anyone to form part of the CCT so as to provide expertise or professional advice.
6. The CCT shall meet at least once in three months. The CCT is the principal organ of the National Assembly and shall consist of the following:
 - a. The President and Commander in Chief of the Economic Freedom Fighters, who shall:
 - i. Be the political head and commander in chief of EFF and the leader of the house at National People's Assembly meetings;
 - ii. Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the EFF outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the EFF on any question;
 - iii. Present to the National People's Assembly a comprehensive statement of the state of the country, continent and the political situation internationally;
 - iv. Under the overall supervision of the CCT, orient and direct the activities of the EFF.

b. The Deputy President, who shall:

- i. together with the President, constitute the presidency of the EFF;
- ii. Assist the President whenever such assistance is required;
- iii. In the absence of the President, represent the EFF and, in the presence of the President, deputise;
- iv. Represent the EFF at important domestic and international forums.

c. The Secretary General, who shall:

- i. Be a fulltime official of the EFF based at its Headquarters;
- ii. Convey, communicate and articulate key decisions of the EFF to all the structures of the EFF;
- iii. Be ultimately responsible for record keeping and correspondence within the EFF;
- iv. Present to the National People's Assembly and the Central Command Team a comprehensive statement of the state of the organisation and the administrative situation of the EFF



- v. Administer the correspondence of the CCT and the Provincial Command Teams, and send out notices of all assemblies and meetings at the national level

d. The Deputy Secretary General, who shall:

- i. The deputy secretary general, who shall be a fulltime official of the EFF based at its Headquarters, unless decided otherwise by the CCT
- ii. Assist and deputise for the Secretary General whenever the situation so demands;
- iii. Assume responsibility for the general administration and staff of the EFF.
- iv. Take and present the minutes of the National People's Assembly, the CCT and the War Council

e. The National Chairperson, who shall:

- i. Preside over and chair all national gatherings and meetings, including meetings of the National People's Assembly, the Central Command

- Team and the War Council;
- ii. Perform all tasks incidental to c(i) above;
- iii. Represent the EFF at such domestic and international forums as may be requested by the President and/or the Central Command Team.

f. Treasurer General, who shall:

- i. Be a fulltime official of the EFF based at its Headquarters unless decided otherwise by CCT;
- ii. Be the chief custodian of the funds and all property of the EFF;
- iii. Be ultimately responsible for all fundraising activities carried out in the name of the EFF;
- iv. Be responsible for compliance with all the financial laws and regulations of the Republic of South Africa or any other territory;
- v. Be answerable for the employment of competent staff necessary to fulfil his or her obligations.

14) The War Council

- 1. At its first sitting after being elected, the CCT shall elect 9 (nine) members



of the CCT who , together with the President, Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, National Chairperson, and Treasurer General shall constitute the War Council of the EFF. The 15 member War Council shall:

- (i) Be responsible for the day-to-day activities of the EFF;
- (ii) Ensure the proper and timeous implementation of CCT decisions;
- (iii) Submit a report of its work to the CCT in respect of its activities between CCT meetings.

15. The Women's Command

1. The EFF Women Command shall be the women's wing of the Economic Freedom Fighters which organises women under the banner of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime and primarily guided by the EFF's constitution, policies and resolutions.
2. The Women's Command shall be autonomous, yet integral part of the EFF, in that it shall have its own constitution, programs, activities and campaigns and be a legal persona
3. Every woman who is age 18 years and above can be a member of the Women's Command.
4. Its main objective is to raise the political consciousness of women into understanding that patriarchy is a societal ill and to this end must organise and mobilise women collectively with men if needs be, into ending patriarchy by putting the patriarchal, white-supremacist,

capitalist oppression of women to an end.

5. Moreover the purpose of the Women's Command is to promote the rights of women and in this regard to remove all impediments to their development as full and equal members of society.

16) The Youth Command

1. The EFF Youth Command shall be the youth wing of the Economic Freedom Fighters which organises youth people under the banner of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime and primarily guided by the EFF's constitution, policies and resolutions.
2. The Youth Command shall be autonomous, yet integral part of the EFF, in that it shall have its own constitution, programs, activities and campaigns and be a legal persona
3. The membership of the EFF Youth Command shall be open to young people between the ages of 14 and 35.
4. Its main objective shall be to rally young people behind the vision of economic freedom in our lifetime.
5. It must champion, defend and advocate for the rights, interest and aspirations of young people
6. It will serve as a political breeding ground for the young people of the EFF
7. It shall organise the young intelligentsia in the institutions of higher learning, professionals, employed and unemployed youth in townships, villages, suburbs and informal settlements and, everywhere else where young people are found

17) EFF STUDENT COMMAND

The Student Command shall be established as an autonomous structure existing in all institutions



of higher learning and post-secondary education and training institutions

18) RESPONSIBILITIES OF COMMAND STRUCTURES:

- a. The responsibilities and duties of all Command structures should be clearly stated in the constitution.
- b. Should include a provision that says that members who miss 3 meetings in sequence without sound apologies shall be removed from the Command Teams.
- c. No member of the EFF shall be allowed to occupy two organisational positions at the same time. Once elected to the other structure, the member is automatically no longer a member of the structure they served before, and the General Assembly shall be the only platform to replace the vacated position.

19) MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL:

1) The CCT shall put in place efficient mechanisms on membership systems and membership renewal.

20) Organisational Principle of the EFF

- 1) The entire organisation is accountable to the National People's Assembly.
- 2) The paramount organisational principle of the EFF is democratic centralism, mandate and accountability, and selflessness

3) The leading bodies of the EFF at all levels are elected through democratic consultation.

4) The whole organisation must observe unified discipline: The guiding principle is that at all times the individual is subordinate to the organisation, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire EFF is subordinate to the CCT.

5) Leading structures of the EFF at every level shall periodically report on their work to EFF assemblies as well as general assembly meetings and shall constantly listen to the opinions of the people both inside and outside the organisation and to this end accept their supervision. EFF members have the right to and must be encouraged where necessary to criticise the EFF, its leadership and or any component part thereof at all levels and makes proposals to them. If an EFF member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the any component structure of the EFF s/he is allowed to reserve her/his views and has the right to skip the immediate leadership channels of command and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the CCT and the President of the EFF. It is essential to create political conditions that are conducive to both centralism and democracy; discipline and freedom; unity of will and personal ease of mind.

21) Central Tasks of EFF Structures, Formations and Other Entities



1. EFF structures, formations and other entities must give prominence to the revolutionary politics of the organisation and develop the style of melding theory with practice, maintaining close links with the people and practicing criticism and self-criticism.
2. The main tasks of the component structures, formations and other entities of the EFF are:
 - a. To lead EFF members and the broad revolutionary masses in studying, internalising and applying the political line of EFF;
 - b. To give constant education to EFF members and the broad revolutionary masses concerning the race/class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and to lead them in fighting resolutely against the class enemy;
 - c. To propagate and carry out the policies of EFF, implement its decisions and fulfil every task assigned by the CCT;
 - d. To maintain close ties with the masses by being located on the ground and constantly listening to their opinions and their demands;
 - e. To conduct robust ideological struggle within the EFF so as to keep the organisation's life vigorous;
 - f. To take in new EFF members, enforce discipline, constantly consolidate the EFF membership strength and to get rid of the rot and take in new energy so as to maintain the

purity of the organisation's ranks.

22) CODE OF CONDUCT AND DISCIPLINE

- 1) The CCT shall adopt a Code of Conduct which will be the EFF'S guide on how issues of discipline and conduct are internally handled.
- 2) The code of conduct shall be consistent with organisational principles of the EFF contained in the Constitution.

Adopted by the Economic Freedom Fighters National People's Assembly, 16 December 2014

Signed by

President

(Commander in Chief President)

Secretary General

Assembly Declaration



*Economic Freedom Fighters Declaration
of the First National People's Assembly,
13 – 16 December 2014*

We the delegates of the National People's Assembly, gathered at the University of the Free State, Mangaung, representing more than 500 000 members of this vanguard of the Economic Emancipation Movement from all the provinces of South Africa in towns and townships, informal settlements

and rural areas

, workplaces and campuses, come together under the theme of People's Power for Economic Freedom.

We meet at the University of the Free State whose accommodation of the EFF First Peoples Assembly represents a strong statement of institutional autonomy and academic freedom which are everywhere being undermined. We gather in Mangaung, the centre of the country and a home of the Economic Emancipation Movement. We gather in the name of the interests of the people who are the dejected and neglected masses, the unemployed youth and adults, the security guards and domestic workers, the petrol attendants, farmworkers, mineworkers, civil servants and professionals of all kind to unify them across classes, races and geographic spread for people's power for economic freedom.

We proclaim that out of relative obscurity, we as this generation have discovered our mission and will do everything in our power to attain our mission.

We affirm our historic mission which is the attainment of economic freedom in our lifetime which we shall fulfil by any means necessary. This historic mission is anchored by the seven none-negotiable pillars which express our socialist revolutionary vision in the immediate, expressed in our primary program, the EFF Founding Manifesto;

1. Expropriation of South Africa's land without compensation for equal redistribution in use.
2. Nationalization 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, houses, and sanitation.
5. Massive protected industrial development to create millions of sustainable jobs, including the introduction of minimum wages in order to close the wage gap between the rich and the poor, close the apartheid wage gap and promote rapid career paths for Africans in the workplace.
6. Massive 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.

Millions of our people remain homeless and landless in the country of their own birth and majority of the land remains in the hands of beneficiaries of colonial apartheid land theft. We shall embark on land occupation struggles to end homelessness and landlessness amongst the poor, including fighting against all the evictions of farmworkers.

We shall remain robust and militant in our revolutionary parliamentary strategy which is based on ensuring the radical transformation of the institution in the interest of the people. Parliament must become a parliament of the people and pass laws that shall lead to a just and truly equal society. The EFF shall ensure that parliament holds the executive accountable in terms of the usage of state resources and that every single cent is used to better the lives of all, particularly the poor.

In line with the mission of attaining state power to further the agenda of economic freedom, the EFF will contest the local government elections with the view to win them as a step towards total takeover in 2019 general elections. Every municipality, every ward and every community shall be contested with credible candidates approved through robust consultations with the people. In the immediate, all outstanding EFF branches in all wards of South Africa must be launched, and EFF must exist everywhere; in farms, workplaces, campuses, villages, and all informal settlements.

We as delegates commit to fight for the immediate criminalisation of base erosion, profit shifting and transfer pricing, because these are phenomena that are robbing South Africa of massive

potential wealth. In the immediate, the EFF shall lead radical and militant protests to Mines to demand that Mines should provide basic services in their surrounding communities. Added to protests to government institutions, the EFF should lead protests directly to huge corporations to demand specific concessions and programmes that will uplift the conditions of our people.

We call for localisation and that all the goods and services consumed in South Africa should be locally produced. Retail stores must be compelled by law to procure their goods and services locally and government should be pushed to only buy locally produced goods and services.

As acclaimed in the Founding Manifesto of the EFF, the EFF will openly associate with and lead programmes that allocate land to landless people and masses. We will never stand by and watch when our person are congested in informal settlements and nearby land is unoccupied because it is owned by those who stole it. We will also encourage and provide strategic support to communities that seek to engage in small scale agriculture, and other forms of co-operatives in order to alleviate the extreme levels of poverty that define our people.

We reaffirm our call on Morocco to end its occupation and colonisation of Western Sahara. In the same breath, we call on the Apartheid state of Israel to end its racist occupation of Palestinian lands, and join on the call for the international isolation of the Israel through boycotts, divestment and sanctions until they end the occupation. Furthermore, we join the international call on the release of the Cuban Five and lifting of the trade embargo on the Cuba and its people. We also call on the democratisation of Swaziland, and for



the Boycott of the dictator Ian Khama of Botswana who is using state power to suppress revolutionaries and all who are critical of his government, including his restriction of EFF leadership from visiting Botswana.

We conclude our assembly on the 16th of December 2014 which is the day of reconciliation, and thus express ourselves that genuine reconciliation is only possible with the uncompromising attainment of the seven cardinal pillars as expressed in the EFF Founding Manifesto. That South Africa shall only be a just society under the socialist vision of Peoples Power for Economic Freedom.

We reaffirm our unity as a movement, and vow to guard against staff riders, and unrepentant opportunism which seeks to hold this revolutionary vanguard movement at ransom. Our unity shall be continuously shaped in struggle, with a full commitment to democratic processes as expressed in the constitution of the EFF. EFF remains the hope and aspiration of the poor and unemployed and we shall defend this to the end.

Political education of all our members shall be the priority of the movement at all times, because we accept the observation by Thomas Sankara that a soldier without political and ideological training is a potential criminal. A fighter without rigorous and active political consciousness becomes vulnerable to counter-revolutionary capture and lumpen radicalism. Our radicalism shall always be based on revolutionary discipline. This is way beyond what any single individual acting alone, or even a loose affiliation of individuals could ever achieve. We shall always strive to thrash out our differences, be faithful to the revolutionary ideas of the organisation through good and bad times and

through this whole process look out for each other. In this way we shall express our revolutionary outlook and collectivity while at the same time boosting the revolutionary morale of membership and society as whole.

We, as delegates are committed to building working class unity in South Africa, where all progressive working class formations should unite for the struggle for socialism, and attainment of the 7 cardinal pillars. Working class unity is however not mechanical, but unity behind a common political programme, which in the immediate should include removal of the ruling party from political office through elections and all other popular means possible.

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

We will use all channels to communicate and outcomes of this historic National People's Assembly and ensure that all progressive forces are mobilised behind socialist programme for economic freedom in our lifetime. We are a generation of economic freedom fighters and we shall overcome!



Closing Remarks by President -CIC Julius Sello Malema

*Viva Free State Viva! Viva Western Cape Viva!
Viva KwaZulu Natal Viva! Viva North West
Viva! Viva Northern Cape Viva! Viva
Mpumalanga Viva! Viva Eastern Cape Viva!
Viva Limpopo Viva! Viva Gauteng Viva!
Amandla! Long Live EFF Long Live! Mayibuye
iAfrika! High Moral! High Discipline!*

“Thank you very much.

Comrades, delegates from all the branches of the EFF and the leadership of the provinces and regions, our elected officials and the top six and the Central Command Team. I stand here on behalf of all of you to accept the responsibility given to us by the general membership of this organization through the delegates to this important National People’s Assembly.

“I want to congratulate you for a well-behaved conference and delegates who carried themselves in a manner befit of being a member of Economic Freedom Fighters. All those who were chanting and getting agitated during, elections, we forgive them because we know that elections maybe emotional and many of us are coming to the elective conference for the first time and we have learned a lesson and will perform better next time.

“You have disappointed the enemy; the enemy thought we will not arrive at this point. Some of the journalists, particularly



the Independent Newspapers, have written that we have collapsed the conference because of nominations. That is not true. For sure, you were attending a conference of the EFF at Luthuli House, but not at Mangaung. There was never a point where this conference of the EFF stops; members have got a right to stand up particularly when they got confused and they needed clarity, particularly when they were standing up on point of orders. It is one of the procedure of the conference. We forgive Independent Newspapers, next time you'll know that point of order is part of procedure, not chaos.

“We are told people have burned our berets outside and t-shirts. But what we saw only in the images where the *Daily Maverick* has written that berets are being burned at an EFF conference is a picture of people burning the list. I don't know if you can't differentiate between the beret and the list. I said when I open that we must forgive you because you don't know what you are doing and the picture just demonstrated that you don't know what you are doing because there is no red beret or a t-shirt burned by members of our organisation and therefore you must stop misleading our people. The only thing we saw was a delegate burning a duk of the EFF. A well-captured picture of the delegate from the Western Cape and you the leadership of the Western Cape will go and counsel that delegate to appreciate what was going through that delegate.

“All those who burned the lists because you were not agreeing with them and you didn't want them in your possession, you have a right to do so. These were not congress material and therefore they cannot be confused to be EFF lists. If I don't want this list, I can do anything I want with it because it's not the material of the conference. You have not burned the material of the conference and therefore you have no reason to panic.

“All of us, we must continue to observe the discipline of the organisation. We are all new in politics, and therefore, we are not going to be impatient with each other. We are going to take each other through, for tomorrow we are going to be better politicians.

“To all those who have accepted nominations and lost, and those who did not get threshold and to all those who declined the nominations, it is your call to remain members of EFF. There is no one who is going to deal with you for having accepted nomination or declined nomination. You exercised your democratic right.

As for Members of Parliament that they will be removed from parliament on the basis of having accepted or declined the nomination, all of us here whatever we did here happened within the rules and the democratic principles of the organisation.

“This was one of the perfect conferences I ever attended since my participation in politics at an early age. Comrades, those who still see us as coming from the ANC, you are backdated. Don't see us like that. We are members of the EFF. It doesn't matter where we come from. That is our previous life. We are born again. We don't belong to the ANC. We don't come from the ANC. We forget those pasts which we are not proud of and we are beginning a new journey which all of us will be proud of. When we meet there, there is no winner and there is no loser; the EFF has won.

“We must all celebrate because we have passed a test and we must tell them we'll continue passing those tests. We are the only solid, leftist organisation in South Africa which doesn't only philosophise about social revolution but put it into practice and fight white monopoly capital. We are the only one who are engaged in that struggle. We are the only party that has pronounced socialism in the parliament of the Republic of South Africa, and for that fact, we are the first since 1994. There has never been a party in the parliament of the



Republic of South Africa which openly associates with socialist politics. It is the EFF which has done so and that alone changes the political landscape of South Africa. You are making history and you must be proud of yourselves.

“We are going to occupy the unoccupied land because we need that land. For us to eat, we must have the land. For us to work, we must have the land. And don’t write letters to the head office asking us to come and occupy the land. We will occupy where we come from, either from Zone 1 in Seshego, if there’s an open land we’ll go and occupy it in my branch. You must go and do the same in a branch where you come from. You must be part of the occupation of land everywhere else in South Africa and those who get into trouble with the law, the EFF must intervene. We are going to establish a solidarity fund where we are going to raise money to bail out those who get arrested for occupying the land in South Africa. We are not playing, we mean business. The story of the land has been with us African people for a very long time and therefore we must not postpone it any further. It starts now. We are taking what rightfully belongs to us and if that means death, so be it. All of us must continue with that revolutionary programme.

“Every time you are marching to municipalities, you are blocking the roads, you are burning tyres, but you’ve never blocked a mine where you come from. Why are you not blocking the mines and demand that communities benefit from those mines? Let me give you the priorities of the mines we must occupy and block: all the mines belonging to Patrice Motsepe. They must be first ones to be blocked followed by the ones owned by Cyril Ramaphosa. Those are the people who have sold us out. They are eating today in our name and they forgot about us. Any mine that has a high profile BEE, that mine must be occupied and that’s when we must tell those mines to take the money of the BEE partner and put it into Community Trust or to build schools,

clinics or roads. With regards to Goldfields in Gauteng, which belongs to Baleka Mbete; there must be a programme to close down those mines until those shares are given to the community.

“The time for the revolution is now. And we must not postpone it. The revolution doesn’t require people who want to be clean and behave like they are better than others. Marx has concluded these matters. Ours is to implement those ideas of Karl Marx. So we must stop trying to rewrite what is already written by Marx and Lenin and all ideologues which came before us. We are saying we associate with their struggles and their ideologies and it is time for us to put those into practice. Theory without practice is meaningless. In the EFF both theory and practice must come together. And if you go and practice what you have not read, you are very dangerous because you’ll create wrong things. Read first. The documents of the EFF are there: the Founding Manifesto is there, and the resolutions of the National People’s Assembly will be made available to all the branches. Read the, internalise them, know them by heart, you must know those Resolutions, the Constitution, the Code of Conduct in the same way you know your ID numbers and don’t refer all the time when you are asked about this animal called EFF.

“All of us, we must go and work for this organisation. 2016 is coming. We don’t know what is going to happen. But what we know is that the ANC will not be in power in Tshwane, in Johannesburg, in Ekurhuleni, in Nelson Mandela. That’s what we are sure of. There won’t be a government of the ANC there. There won’t be a government of the DA there. To those who come from these regions, you must start acting like leaders, you must start preparing yourselves as councilors and mayors. You must behave in a dignified manner and show your community that you are ready to take government in those municipalities. We must show people through municipalities that we are ready to be a government of South Africa. We must take some



municipalities and govern them in a way that will impress the whole of South Africa. Then we will know come 2019, we are the government of South Africa.

“We don’t want to postpone this thing of governing for a long time. Now that we are going to govern, you are going to be at the forefront of that struggle and ensure that the people of South Africa get a government which will deliver to them; a government that will create a quality society; a government that gives them proper houses; a government that delivers quality education; a government that makes health accessible to all including rural women; a government that builds the roads; a government that provides reliable sanitation and electricity; and a government led by reliable South Africans who are loyal and patriotic and not just leaders.

“We love South Africa more than we love EFF. That’s why we formed EFF; it was out of the love of this country and therefore we want the best for the people of South Africa.

“All of us, let us go home in peace. Let us go and have a relaxed festive season. It has been a hectic year since January at Nkandla till today here at Mangaung, nonstop. We deserve a break. We have worked very hard. South Africa should be proud of all of you.

“Now there is an arrangement which leadership will whisper to you in January, which I’m going to engage in privately this December so that I represent you very well. I will not tell you now. I say it’s a private function. Let me go and rest and have my private arrangement. All of you must wish me well in your villages and everywhere else you are because it’s a very small function and it’s for close family members because fighters we cannot accommodate all of you.

“Please drive home safely and look after each other. Don’t destroy one another. You must have a fighter’s back in the same way a fighter will have your back. We must protect each other. We must be prepared to die and be buried next to each other because of the love we have for another. Even when we

disagree don’t wish other away because you don’t have any other home except the EFF. Salute!

