

CIC AND PRESIDENT JULIUS MALEMA'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA'S SONA

INTRODUCTION

1. Mr. President, your rise to the high office in our land carried a promise of renewed hope in a better and more accountable government with a clear and sound strategy to lead our people into total economic emancipation.
2. Three SONA's later, there is hardly any evidence that you are different from your predecessor. You are refusing transparency and accountability. You protect incompetence and corruption in your ranks and have already misled parliament under oath.
3. In your speech, you could not demonstrate any meaningful achievement and with the direction you are taking by protecting incompetence, refusing accountability and misleading parliament, you too will end in the same destination as your predecessor. This we can guarantee you.
4. The logical framework of your entire speech rested on a neoliberal development path that is rooted in market fundamentalism. The central pillar that holds your plan is the misguided hope that markets will transform the inequality, unemployment and poverty that our people face. But, for 25 years now, this has not worked, and you have given us no evidence that it will work with you.
5. It is therefore impossible to see how the solution to poison can be to drink more poison. To ask us to place our hopes on a white owned, controlled and dominated private sector is abdication of the revolutionary duty espoused not just by the NDR and the Freedom Charter, but also by the hopes of our people over centuries.
6. The hope that a democratic revolutionary government will play a central role in the economic development, lead a radical restructuring of South Africa's

apartheid economy in which black people were always a cheap and easily disposable labour.

7. The hope that to be black is not equal to being unemployed, underemployed and unemployable. To live in poverty, under spaceless conditions without access to decent water, electricity, sanitation, housing and healthcare.
8. The hope that we will not bare witness to world class wealth, supersonic developments and innovation all owned and controlled by white people who despise us and think of us only as their servants.
9. Everything you said is about retreating from this task and placing it in the hands of the very white apartheid created and privileged private monopolies. Nothing is more hopeless than asking white people to transform themselves. Or asking them to save black people from wretchedness.
10. President, when you delivered your first State of the Nation Address in February 2018, we said we are willing to give you a chance. In February 2019, we told you that your proposals are dangerous and will make you enemy number one of the EFF, workers and the poor masses.
11. We told you that you have abandoned politics and you put profit and greed above all. We also warned you that if you are not willing to be decisive to change property relations and want to continue with your cowardice, and wanting to make friends with everyone, you will not address unemployment, poverty and inequality, and few whites will continue to leave in opulence in the face of unimaginable poverty.
12. You have however continued with your dangerous plans, and you are even courageous. We heard what you said and we don't believe anything that you said. Instead you are continuing with incoherent, America's sponsored neoliberal, misguided and contradictory policies.

13. The only things you said and we know you mean it, is everything that will put profit and greed above all, above the lives of farm workers, security guards, domestic workers, petrol attendants, unemployed and employed youth, and professionals in particular black professionals.
14. You are so committed to giving markets more space through restructuring the state to move out of the productive sectors of the economy. You are satisfied in becoming a committee for the management of the common affairs of the white monopoly bourgeoisie
15. Nowhere is this more demonstrated than in what you call the “re-purposing” SOEs. The solution to the problems SOEs face, according to you, is simple; squeeze them out and allow private capital to provide services they used to provide like electricity, trains, water, airlines and others.

ON ESKOM

We warned you that no one will privatise Eskom. However, we see that you did not listen and you do not want to deal with systematic institutional issues facing Eskom. These are issues that require nothing but basic logic:

- a) Firstly, Eskom should standardise all coal prices and only pay the prices determined by the National Energy Regulator of South Africa,
- b) Eskom should explore all legal possibilities including the Constitutional Court, to exit all the evergreen contracts, most of which were signed before 1994, and are a huge financial burden to Eskom.
- c) These should include all short and mid-term contracts Eskom entered into in 2017, including Glencore contract that Eskom pays R607.01. per tonne of coal while the Energy Regulator said Eskom should pay roughly around R300 per tonne.
- d) Secondly, Eskom should fundamentally review all power purchasing agreements with renewable independent power producers only designed to benefit South Africa’s racist financial sector.

- e) Companies such as Phembani, responsible for day to day management of your own company Shanduka own solar power stations selling electricity to Eskom, Pravin Gordhan's daughter Anisha sat in boards of companies who benefits directly from the collapse of Eskom, and banks whom you are indebted to are the biggest beneficiaries in the whole IPP looting scheme.
- f) Thirdly, you need to complete the construction of Kusile and Medupi. Billions of rands were stolen and that money is never going to be recovered. The sooner you complete these two projects the better.
- g) Fourthly, build nuclear power stations using a build, operate and transfer model with a clear illustration of how private sector will use their money, operate them for an agreed period, transfer operation and maintenance skills to state-employed engineers, artisans, electricians and all other skills needed to operate a nuclear power station.
- h) Lastly, it is Eskom that needs to build its own renewable energy capacity with massive investment in wind, solar and water resources.

We know you will not implement any of these basic solutions because you are hell-bent on deregulation of electricity under misguided ideas that competition will reduce electricity prices and will lead to increase in foreign direct investment. This is misguided because even in the capitalist economy, basic logic together with empirical evidence shows that global investments in renewable energy is declining because of falling costs in wind and solar globally, and without massive state subsidies, many IPP projects easily collapse.

Scientists have asked a question you do not want to respond to because you are occupied with immediate efforts to loot. Scientists are asking, if renewables could not power Germany, a country with advanced technology and capacity and one of the richest countries in the world, who would have spent 3.8 trillion US dollars between 2000 and 2025, increased their renewables from 7% to 35% of its electricity, how do you intend to do it differently?

Also, you will not do it because yourself, your family and your friends will be the biggest beneficiaries of renewable energy power producers.

What is puzzling, is that in the same speech you say Eskom must be used for growth and developmental purposes, yet you are significantly reducing its role in the economy. You cannot have both, not in even in a perfect world.

The collapse of Eskom is a concomitant, deliberate looting of state assets and we will not allow that. We will not allow retrenchment of workers and we will not allow increases of already exorbitant electricity prices. You do not believe in functional state-owned Eskom.

We call on all progressive forces to defend Eskom, to defend the backbone of our livelihood, a strategic asset to power South Africa and African continental industrialisation.

Join us in the March to Eskom on the 28th of February and all rolling programs against privatisation afterwards.

ON STATE OWNED BANKS

President, you also don't believe in state-ownership of banks. The EFF had to force the hand of the ruling party by introducing a Private Member's Bill to amend the Banks Act of 1990 in 2018 and to allow government to register and conduct the business of a bank in terms of the Banks Act.

Your Minister of Finance only woke up the following year in 2019, when he realised the superior logic of the EFF bill and hijacked the process. You signed the Financial Matters Amendment Bill in March 2019, and almost a year after, the Post Bank still does not have a banking license.

South Africa's big Banks hate black people. The whole financial sector hate black people. We made the call for state-owned banks because we know that black people are exploited every day, stripped of their dignity and excluded from the economy. They are exploited to build credit records while few white men enjoy the benefits of the banking sector. An average home spends more than 75% of its income on debt in South Africa because of exploitation

Why can't we have a state-owned housing bank that will give a petrol attendant, domestic worker, taxi driver, farm worker and all other workers excluded by mainstream banks a housing loan because he or she does not qualify for RDP but also does not qualify for a home loan?

Why can't we have a functional retail state-owned bank, build it from African Bank's assets, stop discrimination practices of race profiling done by ABSA, FNB, loan sharks like Capitec, and all other banks?

For how long are we going to allow Capitec to exploit our people with its predacious policy, which basically makes it registered loan shark? Racist businesses with the protection of the state, and all other mashonisas' continue to exploit our people with loans they cannot afford.

We need a state-owned bank that will have a developmental mandate. A bank that will work in a professional manner with informal traders, street vendors and small businesses. A bank that will work not to formalise them, but to work with their material condition and offer them banking services to maximise on the potential of this sector.

Mr. President, unfortunately you don't believe in state-ownership of banks.

ON A SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND

President, you are not genuine about sovereign wealth fund, the same way you were not genuine about expropriation of land without compensation. You do not believe in the Freedom Charter; you do not believe that the people shall share in the country's wealth.

The government of Norway established the Government Pension Fund Global, known as Oil to invest the surplus revenues of the Norwegian petroleum sector because they own their own, and not some shelf multinational company in Bermuda. Today, Norway has the largest Sovereign Wealth Fund, which continues to grow now beyond one trillion US dollars despite volatile markets and now invests globally.

The same in Dubai, the National Oil Company, a state-owned company, owns and handles all oil operations, and they were able to establish the Investment Corporation of Dubai, correctly characterised as a sovereign wealth fund. Today, the Dubai Sovereign Wealth Fund has invested in and created millions of jobs in hospitality, finance, and real estate, and continues to grow Dubai's economy at a global stage.

You Mr President cannot create a sovereign wealth fund because you don't own and control your mineral resources. South Africa is one of the most resource rich countries in the world but receives less than R10 billion a year from mineral and petroleum royalties. You allow mining companies to aggressively avoid taxes, a crime which the Lonmin you chaired committed. President you decided it is better to take the profits of Lonmin to a shelf company in Bermuda than to pay workers in Marikana. In fact, you decided it is better for workers to die in a massacre than to receive a decent living wage.

A progressive idea would be that you move away from the royalty regime to profit sharing regime in all mineral and petroleum resources of the country, Take R100 billion from the PIC and take all assets where the PIC is overexposed and put everything into a prudent management of a Sovereign Wealth Fund.

Sadly, you will not do this because you want to micromanage everything politically, you don't want to account to anyone except your white friends, and you don't have the sophistication to manage balance between asset management and private equity. When the PIC was doing it very well under the leadership of capable Africans, you attacked them and branded them corrupt. It must be whites and Maria Ramos who must take credit for PIC success, not blacks.

ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESERVE BANK

Mr. President, you did not say anything about the nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank. You do not believe in a Central Bank that exists for the common good of every South African, including the poor, unemployed and marginalized.

Countries that have not surrendered their sovereignty to Washington, rating agencies and multinational financiers all have a Central Bank which is under direct state control. We are not the norm as a country, we are actually a minority case because in most cases, central bank shares are held by government, or government and the private sector with government being a majority shareholder.

Research by School of Economics and Business Sciences at Wits University analysed shareholding of central banks and found less than 10 central banks around the world wherein all shares are held by private shareholders.

For that reason, we have tabled a South African Reserve Bank Amendment Bill to make the state the sole shareholder of the bank, and then we can have a healthy and frank conversation about the role of the Reserve Bank and the contribution of monetary policy to grow the economy and create sustainable jobs.

ON LAND

President you are not committed to the agenda of giving our land back to our people.

Instead of listening to the cries of our people in the first round of public hearings, the fear you have of white people is making you have endless consultations on a matter our people have been clear on.

If we are to have meaningful reconciliation in this country, where the injustices of the past are addressed, there must be land expropriation without compensation.

Subsequent to that the state must be the custodian of the land as the ultimate representation of the will of the people.

We cannot give the vulnerable masses of our people, who suffer from immediate poverty title deeds. They will be taken advantage of by those who have the resources and technical skills to maximise land for profits as an asset. Our people will sell those title deeds to resolve their immediate poverty.

Therefore, state guided expropriation of land without compensation is the only way that we can reverse the concentration of land, agriculture in white hands.

Our people still live in the apartheid reserves created by Apartheid, in shacks and on top of each other because they do not have land.

Our people continue to live far away from economic zones because of racist spatial planning.

If you continue to ignore the demand for dignity by drafting legislation that does not deal fundamentally with the crisis of landlessness you will see a revolt from our people.

The proposed Constitutional Amendment Bill which has been released to the public for comment fails as an intervention.

It remains based on the principle of the Property Clause, which states that there must be just and equitable compensation for the expropriation of land in South Africa. This fails to address the core problem which has hindered land reform in South Africa which is the lack of willingness to sell by those who own the land, and the exorbitant pricing by those who are willing to sell.

It goes against the spirit of the contributions made at Public Hearings, by privileging compensation as an option constitutionally, with expropriation without compensation being presented as an option in extreme or abnormal circumstances.

Further to that, the circumstances that may result in expropriation without compensation are subject to the determination of the courts. The process for land redistribution and redress will therefore be hamstrung by administration and case by case appeals.

The expropriation of land without compensation must not only be done under extreme circumstances. The process must be done rapidly and in a structural manner, to avoid being delayed and undermined by those who control the wealth of this country.

ON JOBS

When you were elected a President in June 2019, the unemployment rate was 26,7%. Amongst young South Africans, in particular black South Africans the unemployment rate was more than 50%.

More young people are unemployed now than they were before you became a President. Meaning that you failed to create jobs. You are a President who is creating unemployment.

It is your belief that international investors and foreign direct investment will create employment that is what is making you fail.

ON NEW SMART CITY

Mr. President, you announced a new city in Lanseria, yet you have failed to turn around labour concentration disguised as squatter camps that we inherited from apartheid. We should have started with the existing squatter camps, turn them around and make them decent for human existence to demonstrate that our people too need to live like human beings and not animals.

Your announcement of a so called new smart city shows that there are no new ideas and the ideas that exist are at odds with reality. Any new city that will serve both industrial and settlement purpose cannot be built in already overpopulated cities and provinces.

Gauteng has more than 15.2 million people. This is 28% of South Africa's total population which is nearly 59 million, a majority of whom live in informal settlements without decent housing, access to water, and safe and reliable electricity.

There is no sensible economics or spatial planning in your dream smart city because we are supposed to depopulate Gauteng by going to provinces and areas where there is no hope for any economic activity or settlement, that is what a new city should be.

Today, people of Diepsloot walk to Lanseria to cross the N14 after work. The idea itself is not even a new idea because it has been in the pipeline since 2011.

ON GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

President, so far you have not responded to calls by many South Africans for government to take immediate action to stop the war waged on women and children by South African men. To you, a summit is a solution to all problems because that is what they have taught you at BEE and investment meetings.

But women and children of South Africa continue to die on a daily basis. We said to you, you don't believe that we are beyond a crisis because anyone who believe that we are beyond a crisis will report to Parliament that since I took office in 2 years ago, this is what I have done. You have nothing to report because you did nothing.

Instead of ensuring that the judiciary is harsh against perpetrators, instead of ensuring that police officers and judges are sensitised on cases relating to Gender-Based Violence, instead of running initiatives that educate men around not committing violence against women in the workplace and in recreational spaces, you have gone on a road show of condemning.

We have reached a point where condemning and issuing statements is not enough. The lives of our mothers, our sisters, our daughters are being lost in the most gruesome ways daily.

To be raped is to be killed, live in fear of being kidnapped or harassed is to live a life of imprisonment.

This is a reality that we must actively work towards changing, the reality of the women and children of this country is one of fear and being victimized.

The time for using the genuine struggles of Gender-Based Violence as a political tool has come to an end. The genuine struggle faced by the women of this country should not be used as a way of scoring political points.

The first step towards ending Gender-Based Violence is acknowledging as men, particularly leaders that we may have at some point in time in our lives perpetuated a form of violence against women.

We were not born into consciousness, and it has been through the commendable efforts of Gender-Based Violence activists and organizations that we have begun to understand our privilege and learn that it is not normal to ill treat women.

It is through the efforts of these activists that we are born again, and begin the path to educating fellow men on how to treat women with respect and dignity.

It is therefore not our role to condemn, as those who know us will be the first to question the moral-ground we stand on to be condemning others.

We must refrain from condemning and begin by leading by exempling. Leaders must begin by repenting for any sins they may have committed against women and beginning the path to rebuild themselves as individuals and as a nation.

We are not in a competition of who is a better man amongst all of us, but rather we must be in a competition to put to an end the violence faced by the women of this country.

ON HIGHER EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

President there is no free education South Africa.

Year after year students are subjected to humiliating interrogations about their poverty, they are not allowed to register because of debt and they are forced to protest for accommodation and safety on their campuses.

Students are forced every year to demand the same things that government is supposed to provide, and when they make these genuine demands they are suspended, victimized and arrested.

The TVET sector is in a state of collapse due to corruption and mismanagement, and there is no link between the vocational sector and the industrial sector of our country.

Students are standing with degrees and diploma's in the streets of our country, begging for jobs because we do not have industries to absorb them into

There is no plan to make education a social good in this country and create a curriculum that speaks to the developmental needs of the country and the continent.

Students are struggling to stay in institutions of higher learning due to poor backgrounds and a Basic Education Sector that is not in sync with the demands of higher education.

Not only that, but education is failing to even be a gateway to success in this country as access is restricted to those who already have the means to pay for their education and sustain themselves once they are admitted.

It is criminal for leaders of society to say that education is the key to success, yet the only way a person can get this key is if they have money.

You have not provided a comprehensive plan to address the matter of free education and the challenges facing the tertiary sector, instead you reappoint an incompetent Minister into the Department, who is dismissive and has the worst record during the Fees Must Fall era.

There must be an integrating of the Social Services sector in this country and the Higher Education system. No student must be forced to perform their poverty, and any student who is already on the database of SASSA, who is recorded to be an orphan at Home Affairs should not have to fill in documents to account for the reality of their poverty.

There must be an integrated system that allocates students straight from a uniform basic education sector into the higher education sector. This system must be considerate of the historical makeup of certain institutions of higher learning and

ensure there is a diverse racial makeup of the student populace in all institutions of higher learning.

There must be free education from Early Childhood Development, Basic Education up until the first degree in the Tertiary Sector.

This must be funded through the allocation of funds sourced from an Education Tax and the wealth that we can garner from the nationalized mineral resources of the country and a Sovereign Wealth Fund.

The corporate sector must play an active role in funding higher education. This must come in the form of legislation that compels it to comply

All old and abandoned buildings must be refurbished and given to institutions of higher learning to provide accommodation for needy students.

Land must be expropriated and prioritised to build student accommodation for both the TVET and University sector.

Advancements in Science and Technology must speak to the developmental needs of the country, and research outputs must resolve the problems of crime, unemployment, disease and infrastructure development.

ON NEW UNIVERSITY IN EKURHULENI

Your announcement of a new a university in Ekurhuleni is also a clear sign of lack of imagination. When the University of Johannesburg was formed in January 2005 through incorporation of Soweto and East Rand campuses of Vista University into the Rand Afrikaans University, Ekurhuleni had a UJ Soweto Campus. However due to mismanagement, poor service delivery, lack of water and unreliable electricity in the area, the whole campus collapsed and was eventually closed.

There is not enough space at university and that is a fact, but It requires a level of sophistication to solve the problem of lack of spaces at institutions of higher learning.

We must first expand the existing institutions in terms of their physical infrastructure and institutional resources before we build new universities. We must not be obsessed with building of new universities so that we can name them after ourselves. Why is Wits University not building more buildings for lecture halls, accommodation and administration in and around Braamfontein to increase its capacity?

After we have increased the capacity near the university, then we must expand through building satellite and leverage on existing administrative capacity and infrastructure. With technology, students can attend same lecture in various campuses but some campuses must be strategic linked to industrialisation policy.

- a. Wits must build a mining and engineering campus in Rustenburg.
- b. University of Pretoria must expand its agricultural campus to Limpopo Province.
- c. University of Cape Town must build a satellite campus specialising on renewable energy in the Northern Cape, instead of insisting on new universities when there is limited resources.

The two new universities in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape were built without any strategic consideration, and despite the hard work of those in academia, they are glorified high schools.

ON DE KLERK'S UNREPENTANT RACISM

President, the practice of giving former State leaders benefits after their terms have come to an end is a common practice across the world.

Presidents retain their security details, a portion of the income they made, medical benefits, housing benefits, travel benefits and a variety of other prestigious honours. These range from invites to official state events, preferential treatment during state of crisis and state funerals when they pass away.

All of these benefits are part of the budget of a state and are sourced directly from the tax revenue that is paid for by citizens of a country. South Africa is a nation that practices the tradition of honouring former leaders in this manner. These are honours

that recognize and appreciate the role of former leaders in nation building. They are traditions that understand that former state leaders are ambassadors of our nation and must be held to high regard and given respect as continuous representatives of our country.

F.W De Klerk, a man elected President by a racist political system is not a man worthy of these benefits and privileges. As a man who was given Deputy Presidency in an attempt to reconcile a deeply divided society, De Klerk has spat in the face of the attempts to heal this nation by undermining the experiences of black people and disregarding the pain felt by those who were at the brunt of the ruthless regime of Apartheid.

An ambassador and a person who is honoured would not disregard how inhumane a system that dislocated black families was. A man of honour would not regard as normal a system that imprisoned and tortured activists and the youth that demanded equal rights in South Africa. A leader of South African society who must be respected and given the role of a nation builder would not divide South Africa by questioning the very humanity of black South Africans.

This is what De Klerk has done by questioning whether the unspeakable experiences of black people under a regime he led were an act of crime against humanity. By doing this De Klerk has not only undermined the experiences of our forefathers, but he has questioned their very humanity.

What would be the response if a former President of Germany were to question whether the Holocaust against Jewish people, under the heartless regime of Hitler was a crime against humanity? How would those in the Jewish community feel if their humanity and experiences were to be undermined by those who subjected their families and loved ones to horrible tortures and discrimination?

It is because the life of black people is so cheap, it is because the pain of our people has been normalized and accepted that the likes of De Klerk feel they can insult and undermine our humanity. It is the belief of De Klerk, and many white racist supremacists that Apartheid and colonialism was justified and necessary to develop

black society. It is for this reason that they think Apartheid was not a crime against humanity, as black people do not form part of humanity. It is the belief of De Klerk and his ilk that black people needed to be oppressed in order to become part of a humanity defined by white norms and terms.

Why then should we as a nation continue paying taxes to fund and sustain the lifestyle of someone who thinks nothing of the people who constitute the majority in this country?

An apology is not enough. It is the culture of accepting apologies from people who have not sincerely apologised that makes De Klerk reveal his true feelings today.

It is the culture of black people accepting apologies that allows their lives to be undermined and disregarded. There is never reparations for the crimes committed against black people, there are never consequences, there is never justice and for this reason we continue to be disrespected.

By continuing to give De Klerk these benefits and privileges we are showing white supremacists that they can continue to undermine our people and there will be no consequences. An example must be made of De Klerk, and he must be stripped of those benefits. All Presidential benefits must be taken away from De Klerk as he has revealed himself to be an unrepentant racist. The day must never come where we are forced to have a State Funeral for a racist and Apartheid apologist.

He does not deserve the honour of being an ambassador of South Africa and our taxes are wasted on his healthcare.

De Klerk has spat on the hand South Africans have extended to him for reconciliation and he must be treated in the same way we treat all those who disregard the pain caused by Apartheid.