

SACP OPEN LETTER TO ALL MEMBERS

We can't go on like this: Together, let's make sure things change

Everything we have fought for together now lies in the balance. As we proceed to the ANC's December 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, ANC branches, regions, provinces, national structures are divided like never before. An unprecedented climate of division and mutual intolerance prevails.

There are worrying indications that sensitive sectors of the state like intelligence, prosecutions and the public broadcaster have been polluted by political factionalism. The damage to our emerging democracy will be immense and it will not easily be undone beyond December 2007.

How did we get here? That, itself, is a matter of debate, but one thing is certain, we can't go on like this. Together, let's make sure things change!

The SACP has declined to endorse any particular set of names for the ANC top six, or for the additional members of the ANC's NEC. This is an ANC process and we have hoped to respect its integrity. Besides, we have, in the recent past, had to deal with our own experience of blatant interference in the SACP's electoral processes by external elements from within the movement. We know the damage this can do. But this does not mean that we can now be indifferent observers of the forthcoming ANC national conference. As loyal members of the ANC ourselves, and as a longstanding partner in the ANC-led alliance, we are gravely concerned about the present reality.

At a national level, following our own congresses, Cosatu and the SACP have been endeavouring to secure, as long agreed, bilateral and tripartite meetings with the ANC. Our intention is to engage with our leading ally on the basis of our own congress mandated positions, and to

seek to ensure as much unity as possible as we proceed to Polokwane. Now, more than ever, it is important for the Alliance to close ranks and, whatever our differences and debates, to set an example of comradely conduct in the course of a hotly contested ANC electoral process. Sadly, we have the impression that the ANC's national leadership is now so divided there is an unwillingness or incapacity to meet with us.

For years we have had to endure from some quarters of the ANC consistent displays of contempt and disdain for the elected national collective leaderships of the SACP and Cosatu. We are told that the problem lies with us, that there have been good relations with this or that Alliance leader in the past – but this response confirms our concern. Our Alliance relations must be based on our shared strategic commitment to the national democratic revolution – and not on favourites, not on personal likes and dislikes. The SACP and Cosatu must certainly respect the collective elected leadership of the ANC, regardless of our personal feelings. We are entitled to expect the same from the ANC.

Unfortunately, the contempt and disdain for elected alliance leadership is a style that has often cascaded down to provinces, regions and branches. And Alliance partners are not the only ones to have endured disdain – ANC provincial collectives, loyal but independent-minded ANC ministers (or former ministers), veterans, Youth Leaguers, and many more non-Party comrades know what we are speaking about.

The SACP is calling for an end to a leadership style in which loyalty to individuals over-rides loyalty to the struggle, in which gross incompetence trumps ef-

fectiveness, in which favourites are propped up in the midst of endless failure and scandal.

Things must change for the sake of the ANC itself. And this means that either the ANC leadership collective must change, or there must be a change of heart from that collective.

We call on ANC delegates to the Polokwane Conference to send a very strong message in this regard.

Let us elect a leadership that respects (and enjoys the respect of) the ANC in all its diversity.

Let us elect a leadership that engages with its alliance partners, whatever the differences and debates.

Let us elect a leadership that does not continuously mount rearguard actions against the clear policies of its own organisation, whether they be RDP or HIV/AIDS policies.

Let us elect a leadership that deals without fear or favour with corruption, ill-discipline and incompetence. No more one-sided interventions. No more leadership based on having leverage over others. No more buying of delegates. No more money politics.

The ANC's crucial December National Conference gives us all a chance to lay a new foundation. It gives us all a chance to build an effective ANC capable of leading an Alliance that is no longer dysfunctional. But on its own, and regardless of electoral results, the ANC National Conference can only be a beginning. Whatever the outcome in December, in January and February 2008 we will still be dealing with an ANC that has been deeply divided. There will be those who regard themselves as "winners" and those who see themselves as "losers". It will be a hollow "victory" indeed for

whoever “wins”, if we are left with a major disaffected bloc. Our conduct now in the present needs to be based on this sober realisation.

And this means that how we approach December and beyond must be based on principles and policies – and not on personalities.

What are these principles and policies? We have already highlighted many of them, and they include:

Respect the democratic process, respect the ANC National Conference. It is crucial that we affirm the need to respect our organisations and their democratic practices. How, for instance, can senior ANC leaders be telling the world at large, including ANC delegates about to attend the highest decision-making structure of our organisation, that “economic policy won’t change”? Declaring this as a personal expression of preference, or even as a prediction of what might happen is, perhaps, fair enough. But effectively declaring Conference debate on economic policy as closed, ahead of time and from on high, is out of order.

The centrality of mass work. The ANC’s National Policy Conference draft resolution on “Organisational Renewal” correctly states that: “In particular, it is proposed that when stating the pillars of the current phase of the NDR, we should re-affirm the position that the ANC is both a national liberation movement and a ruling party. In this regard, mass mobilisation and organisational work should be stated as the primary pillar, followed by the state, the economy, ideological struggle and the international pillar.”

Certainly for the SACP, this proposal is paramount. An ANC that leads its alliance on the ground in mass mobilisation and organisational work is critical. We need an ANC that re-discovers its true vocation and that empowers its Alliance partners to play their own complementary national democratic strategic roles. But for the ANC to return to its roots requires a leadership collective that understands and appreciates mass work.

Re-affirm intra-alliance protocols of conduct and mutual respect. Limpopo must be used as an opportunity to reflect on strengths, weaknesses, challenges and mistakes made, with a view to correcting them. The Alliance has not functioned as it could have, and many of the stresses experienced could have been avoided. The habit of equating critical engagement with government by the allies as attempts at defeating the ANC, and other similar habits must become the things of



the past. The 52nd ANC national conference must send a clear message in this regard, and seek to forge and institutionalise alliance protocols that formerly enabled us to defeat the apartheid regime and embark on the reconstruction of our country. Of particular importance is for the ANC to confidently and proactively (rather than defensively) lead the alliance. It is also important for alliance structures to be meaningfully integrated into all key strategic decision-making, as well as seeking to strengthen each other’s formations, as opposed to taking potshots at each other.

Build COLLECTIVE leadership. The attention in the media and even in our own ranks has become far too narrowly focused on the ANC presidency. Let us focus on the need to elect a united COLLECTIVE leadership that strengthens the democratic character of our movement. It must be a collective with a consultative and inclusive style of leadership, encouraging frank, open and comradely debates and engagements. We need an ANC leadership that will consciously act to unite the various strands of our movement – former MK veterans, the allies, the mass democratic movement, women, youth, etc.

Build the ANC and its alliance as the political centre. Let us ensure effective accountability and answerability of ANC (and alliance) cadres in whatever site they are located or deployed. As was

strongly suggested by the ANC National Policy Conference, we need to ensure that there is not a technocratic (or even corporate) capture of strategic policy-making. The movement must be the key locus of strategic policy-making, not government. This is not to say that the movement should micro-manage or undermine the necessary autonomy of state structures.

Reaffirm the working class bias of the ANC. This means reaffirming the centrality of the ideological, revolutionary and mass capacity of the working class as the leading motive force of the national democratic revolution. This fundamental position is not in contradiction with the necessity of uniting the broadest ranges of social class and strata making up our movement – in fact, it is a precondition for achieving this broad unity.

Concerted ideological work and cadre development. The future of our movement and the reproduction of new generations of cadres cannot be left to chance. What kind of cadreship are we building if our branch life consists in little more than internecine factional battles, and individual fights around lists, tenders and deployments?

Cadre development is, first and foremost, about activism on the ground amongst our people. This was the school of struggle for all of the revolutionary giants of our past. Activism must complement and be reinforced by dedicated ideological work, comradely debate and discussion. It is only in this way that we shall be able to build the values and morality of our movement, in which social solidarity and dedicated service to the people without any expectation of personal gain or reward are the priorities.

Let’s focus on policies and not personalities. Even at this late stage the SACP appeals for more focused attention on policies that will address the socio-economic conditions of the overwhelming majority of our people so that whichever collective is elected is guided by those policies. Let us consolidate and build upon the many positive policy and organisational recommendations made by the 2005 NGC and the 2007 National Policy Conference.

The SACP calls on fellow ANC members – together, let us rise to the challenge of the ANC 52nd National Conference. Together, let us re-build an ANC and an alliance of which cdes Albert Luthuli, Moses Kotane, OR Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Chris Hani could be truly proud. That historic responsibility is now in our collective hands. ●

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Rebuild the ANC and revitalise the Alliance

End the era in which real decisions are made behind closed doors in horse-trading among elites

As the ANC proceeds to its historic 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, one reality is abundantly clear. The signals that began flashing at the ANC's July 2005 National General Council have become ever more insistent – the great majority of ANC rank-and-file branch members are fed up.

They are calling for a major organisational shake-up. Things cannot continue on the same path, they are saying. The ANC is in need of comprehensive renewal.

Over the past several years, as a committed ally reaching back nearly 80 years, the SACP has raised all of the same concerns. Moreover, we have not just lamented, we have sought to analyse the underlying factors behind a national democratic revolution that seems to be in danger of losing its way.

So what are the causes behind the current turmoil within the ANC? Unless we pose this question and begin to answer it collectively, we may fail to rise to the possibilities presented by Polokwane.

In the SACP's view, the current dilemmas are the direct consequence of a failing project – the illusion that the NDR could be delivered by a new political elite controlling the commanding heights of the state and working in close collaboration with established monopoly capital. We have called this the "1996 class project". The deal behind the "1996 class project" was that the new governing elite would promote capitalist profitability. In return, so the argument went, taxes from the ensuing growth would be the basis on which to "deliver", top-down, bureaucratic "development".

The undemocratic imposition of GEAR in 1996 marked the marriage ceremony between this new elite and old monopoly

capital. Only the bride and bridegroom and a few selected guests were present, none of us were invited – not the ANC, not the allies, not the broad South African public. And so, before the vows were exchanged and government (on our behalf, but without our permission) said "I do", there was no one present to raise a hand in objection.

The consummation of the marriage came in the shape of the plundering of public resources. Privatisation and ill-considered multi-billion rand government procurement programmes was how the new and old elites celebrated their honeymoon.

Telkom shares were sold to Americans, Malaysians, and later to ANC-connected, would-be BEE-illionaires, below market value.

SAA was handed over to Coleman Andrews and a gang of fellow Americans holed up in a Sandton hotel to play with and to plunder.

Iscor was sold to the Mittal family so they could then sell back our own iron and steel at a 30% premium.

Now, in 2007, we have the off-spring of this honeymoon orgy all around us – corruption scandals, capitalist growth but deepening social inequality, immense wealth for a de-racialising elite while unemployment remains at crisis levels...

We know the Coleman Andrews, the Mittals, the Malaysian telecoms company, the Gautrain construction companies, the German, British and Swedish arms manufacturers have all made billions of our money out of these deals.

But who else benefited?

And now, in 2007, we have the offspring of this honeymoon orgy all around us – corruption scandals, capitalist growth but deepening social inequality, immense wealth for a de-racialising elite while unemployment remains at crisis levels, and a market-driven, "willing-selling willing-buyer" land reform programme that has gone absolutely nowhere.

Much has been made about the "style" of the dominant ANC leadership over the last decade. It is said that it has been "undemocratic", "non-inclusive", "promoting and defending favourites", "factionalist", and "inconsistent" in pursuing anti-corruption measures. Whether some or all of this is true is a matter for debate. What is incontestable is that the non-inclusive style has not been merely a question of personality – it is integral to the 1996 class project.

If you believe that the NDR will be delivered by the capitalist market and a few smart state technocrats who know better than the rest of us – why would you need to consult (except with your Investment Council, your Big Business Council, your Black Business Council)?

Why would you need to take parliament or Nedlac seriously, as long as the US-based Standard and Poore have given you a good investment rating?

Why would you need to be inclusive – if you believe that the NDR is about transferring some power from one elite to another, and not about the radical trans-

formation of racialised, gendered and class power?

If you believe that, by proclamation, you can declare that “today is better than yesterday, and tomorrow will be better than today”, then obviously you will be inclined to be in denial about evidence, if there is any, to the contrary. This is the epoch of an African Renaissance. It must be, because you have said so.

Therefore, the HIV/Aids pandemic and the Zimbabwean meltdown must be exaggerated. Development is the bureaucratic delivery of x number of low cost houses, or y number of water connections, to be ticked off for a director general’s performance bonus.

It doesn’t matter if the taps are broken, the houses are miles away from amenities and work, and the community would have identified other priorities if consulted. Development, if you are a proponent of the 1996 class project, is not a profound process of popular self-emancipation – so do we really need an active and mobilised ANC and Alliance?

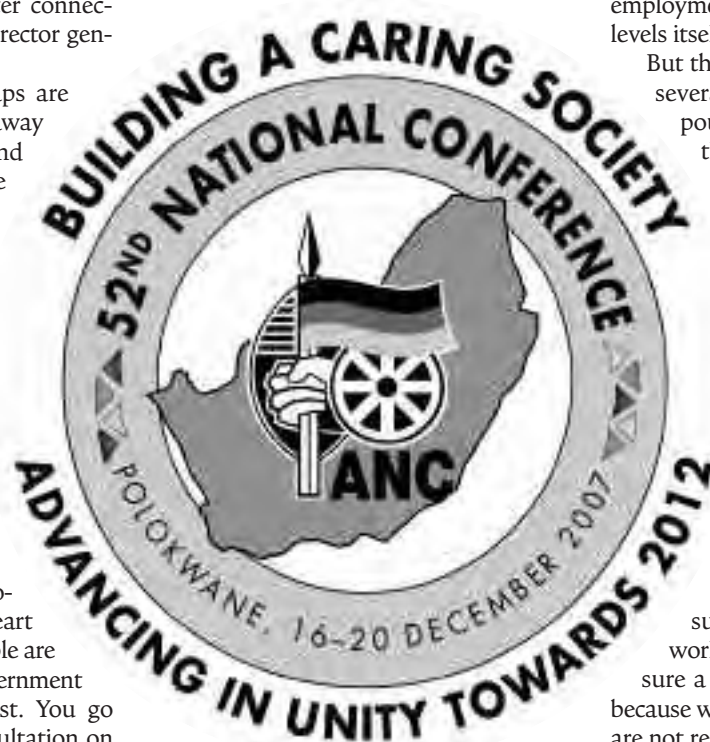
If you are a devotee of the 1996 class project, you will pay lip-service to the working class and the poor as the “motive forces of the revolution” – but really, in your heart of hearts, you believe the people are just ungrateful clients of a government bureaucracy that knows best. You go through the motions of consultation on where we should draw the boundary on Merafong or Matatiele – but the real decisions are made behind closed doors in horse-trading among elites.

Clearly a large and growing number of ANC branch members feel very strongly about all of this. Enough, they are saying, is enough. They feel that we need a more inclusive ANC leadership, we need a different, a more collective and less defensive style that doesn’t direct sarcasm at every constructive criticism or comradely expression of concern. We need to put an end to the politics of money and patronage within our movement.

The SACP fully endorses all of these sentiments. But we will have short-changed ourselves at Polokwane if all that is achieved is a shift in leadership style – as welcome as that will be.

A change of style, a more united national leadership, a more united Alliance, must be the basis upon which we close

If you are a devotee of the 1996 class project, you will pay lip-service to the working class and the poor as the “motive forces of the revolution”



ranks in order to move forward to address the pressing challenges confronting our people – and this means defeating, once and for all, the reformist deviation in our movement that we have called the “1996 class project”.

Accordingly, among the key priorities that Polokwane must address are:

Revitalising the ANC as a mass-based formation, playing its historic role as mobiliser and organiser of grass-roots communities, taking up the issues of the working class and poor. A revitalised ANC of this kind will enable both the SACP and Cosatu to play their respective strategic roles as a socialist vanguard and a revolutionary trade union formation in the midst of ANC-led broad popular mobilisation. The organisational revitalisation of the ANC is the pre-requisite if we are to break out of the politics of tenders,

lists, individualistic careerism, and general sectarianism. If we fail in this direction, what kind of new generations of ANC cadres will we be nurturing?

The crisis of unemployment: Recent research, available to government, and coming out of the HSRC, is pointing to a number of major issues. First the bad news: It will take a major effort to halve unemployment by 2014, and even if we do, unemployment will still be at crisis levels; and, halving unemployment will not halve poverty, because much of the employment creation is at poverty wage levels itself.

But the HSRC research is pointing to several key interventions long espoused by the SACP and Cosatu that can begin to make a major difference – including a significant increase in public sector employment, especially at the entry-level, and notably in key strategic areas like teaching, health-care, social work, and policing.

The research also underlines the need to dramatically scale-up the expanded public works programme. In regard to the EPWP – why do we regard the jobs as temporary?

Is it because we are still assuming that a few months of work experience is sufficient to ensure a job in the private sector? Is it because we believe that public sector jobs are not real jobs? These are myths. If the work done is socially necessary (and work like road construction and maintenance, or the removal of alien trees is socially necessary) then why should we not make these permanent public sector jobs?

Consolidation of an effective, sustainable, state-led industrial policy. This is one important area where we are beginning to move in the right direction. But much greater resourcing and determination needs to be thrown into the task. It is critical that land and agricultural reform, national food security and the general transformation of the agro-industrial complex are seen as key components of any industrial policy.

Forward to Polokwane!

Forward to re-building the ANC and a united Alliance!

Forward to a comprehensive review of policies! ●

Resolutions of 12th National Congress

Towards working class hegemony in the State

The SACP and state power

Noting

1. That the question of state power is the central question of any revolution
2. That state power is located in diverse sites, including the executive, the legislatures, the judiciary, security forces, the broad public sector, state owned enterprises, and other public institutions.
3. That the strategic Medium Term Vision (MTV) of the South African Communist Party is to secure working class hegemony in the State in its diversity and in all other sites of power.
4. That electoral politics are an important but not an exclusive terrain for the contesting of state power.
5. Working class power in the state is related to working class power in all other sites, including the imperative of developing organs of popular power, active forms of participatory democracy and social mobilisation.
6. That the structures of the SACP and our cadres have confronted many problems with the way in which the Alliance has often functioned, particularly with regard to policy making, the lack of joint programmes on the ground, deployments and electoral list processes.

And Believing that

1. While the state of white minority rule has been abolished and important constitutional and other gains have been won, the post-1994 state requires significant transformation.
2. This includes amongst other things:
 - a) Redressing the damaging impact of privatisation and restructuring policies that have weakened the capacity of the state and exposed key strategic areas to the dominance of private capital;
 - b) Addressing the lack of a clear cadre development policy in the state;
 - c) Building the strategic capacity of the state to drive developmental programmes;
 - d) Rebuilding critical sectors of the public service, including health care and education, that are still reeling from the effects of years of down-sizing and other restructuring measures;
 - e) Transforming the key area of local government, often the weakest sphere of governance.
3. That SACP cadres who are deployed as ANC elected representatives, or as public servants must continue to owe al-

legiance to the Party and cannot conduct themselves in ways that are contrary to the fundamental policies, principles and values of the SACP. The same principle applies to SACP cadres in other deployments, including within the trade union movement, community organisations, etc.

And further Believing that

1. The alliance requires major reconfiguration if the NDR is to be advanced, deepened and defended, and if we are to achieve the SACP's medium term vision objectives of building working class hegemony in all sites of power, including the state;
2. That this reconfiguration of the Alliance must include the following elements:
 - a) The Alliance must establish itself as a strategic political centre;
 - b) This political centre must develop a common capacity to drive strategy, broad policy, campaigns, deployment and accountability.
3. At the same time, this reconfiguration of the Alliance must respect the independent role and strategic tasks of each of the alliance partners.

Therefore resolve

1. That the SACP deepens its capacity to provide strategic leadership in regard to key policy sites of state power, including industrial policy, social policies and the safety, security and defence sectors.
2. That the SACP contests state power in elections in the context of a reconfigured Alliance.
3. To mandate the incoming CC to actively pursue the different potential modalities of future SACP electoral campaigning. These modalities could involve either:
 - An electoral pact with our Alliance partners, which could include agreement on deployments, possible quotas, the accountability of elected representatives including accountability of SACP cadres to the Party, the election manifesto, and the importance of an independent face and role for the SACP and its cadres within legislatures.

Or

- Independent electoral lists on the voter's roll with the possible objective of constituting a coalition Alliance agreement post elections.
4. The SACP must actively engage its Alliance partners on

these proposals.

5. The Party and State Power Commission must take forward its work to study international experiences closely, and to analyse in detail and evaluate our local reality.
6. The incoming CC must convene a policy conference within a year, in order to assess the feasibility, and potential advantages and disadvantages of the different modalities noted above, including further detailed research.
7. Whatever options are chosen, we must strengthen the SACP's policy capacity, and our organised strength on the ground.

The SACP and the economy

Nature and features of the Colonialism of a Special Type economy and the post-1994 trajectory

Noting

1. The South African economy, notwithstanding important changes, preserves the systemic features of its formation and consolidation within a colonial and special colonial framework, with the following features:
 - a) Ownership and control of the commanding heights of the economy are still in the hands of private monopoly capital.
 - b) It is based on a dependent capitalist accumulation path which relies heavily on primary product exports, particularly from mining and agriculture, and it is excessively dependent on imports of capital goods and many commodities.
 - c) For this reason growth and development is exceedingly vulnerable to global fluctuations, especially movements in commodity prices.
 - d) Infrastructure, energy and water policies were historically designed to support the mining sector, and these features continue to skew our economy.
 - e) The minerals, energy and finance complex continues to dominate the South African economy. Small and medium capital remains extremely weak, while the manufacturing sector has also tended to be weak.
 - f) Historically, CST was reliant on a mass of cheap migrant labour for the mines, predominantly African males from reserves/Bantustans in South Africa and from other parts of southern Africa.
 - g) The spatial inequalities created by

apartheid capitalism are still intact and have often been worsened by the infrastructural investment patterns characteristic of our present growth path.

2. The democratic government inherited an economy that was in crisis for many years, reflected in highly racialised and genderised unemployment, poverty and inequality. Economic policy in post-apartheid South Africa has tended to focus on restoring capitalist profitability, through economic liberalisation, fiscal and monetary austerity, at the expense of transformation of the key features of the CST capitalist growth path. Key features of the economy since 1994 include:

a) The structure of the economy retains the basic features of an export-oriented and import-dependent economy, with an under-developed domestic market.
b) Exports have been diversified to include new products, especially autos, heavy chemicals; however primary exports, especially mining still constitute 30% of our exports. Manufacturing is weak while services and construction sectors have grown rapidly. The question is whether the growth of output and employment in these sectors is sustainable. In mining, the relative dominance of gold has been replaced by platinum. Platinum mining is highly capital intensive and has created fewer jobs.

c) Job destruction in the mining and agriculture sector has continued unabated resulting in mass expulsion of low skilled workers. The level of unemployment remains high, with around 4 million counted as unemployed by the official definition and around 7 million by the expanded definition.

d) The unemployment rate has slightly declined in the last three years due to a marginal decrease in the economically active population and job creation predominantly in the services sector. The quality of jobs is deteriorating as permanent secure employment is displaced by the sharp rise of casualised and sub-contracted labour. For many years, the public service offered a route for professional employment for African women. The services sector has replaced the public service as a major employer of women, often in casualised jobs.

e) Profitability of the capitalist system has been restored – for the first time in many years quarter-by-quarter growth has been positive since 1999. Profit's relative share of national income has increased compared to the sharp drop going to workers.

f) Austerity measures have succeeded in reducing the national debt, the budget deficit and inflation, but at the cost of

growth, jobs and social development.

g) Since 2000 fiscal policy has been modestly expansionary combined with a decrease of nominal interest rates adding to the recent growth spurt.

However, monetary policy retains its conservative character and a one-sided focus on inflation with negative consequences for growth and jobs. Concerns have been raised about interest rates as a blunt instrument to control inflation and their impact on the value of the currency, investment, employment and growth. In this regard, we need to explore other mechanisms to control price increases and reopen debates on the inflation-targeting framework.

h) Privatisation and commercialisation of state owned enterprises have tended to commodify basic services and thereby raise the price of these basic services. Unaffordable public services tend to reverse the massive extension of basic services such as water, electricity, telephones to the poor. The mandate to SOEs has to be realigned to the goals of providing affordable public services to the poor and to support industrialisation.

i) Failure to change the structure of production and ownership has led to rising inequality and poverty on the one hand, and the emergence of a highly parasitic compradorial black elite and high profits for monopoly capital on the other hand. Economic growth over the past 13 years relied on commodity prices and consumption by the rich and more importantly by increasing the rate of exploitation through casualisation and poor wages.

Building Working Class Power in the NDR Economy

Noting

1. The economy may be performing better for the rich but the majority of our people are still to benefit. De-racialisation without a thorough structural transformation of the economic form of CST is narrow and reproduces and intensifies the dualistic character of the society.

2. Building working class power in the economy requires first and foremost structural transformation of the South African economy to change the structure of production and ownership. That means challenging the stranglehold of private monopoly capital and building new sites of production and accumulation including collective ownership through the state, cooperatives, and other forms of worker ownership in the economy. It requires challenging the power of the bosses to dictate company restructuring and work organisation.

3. It requires linking growth and development in the manner envisaged in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The type of structural transformation required to change the colonial legacy cannot be driven by markets, but requires a strong, activist, national democratic developmental state buttressed by our mass base.

4. In order to move the economic dimensions of the NDR in a way that benefits the working class, we need to fundamentally transform the relationship, and subordinate the interests of private monopoly capital to the imperative of dealing with the legacy of the CST.

Therefore resolve

To adopt the following sectoral resolutions as a basis for the SACP's approach to economic transformation in the current period. The Central Committee will further elaborate the details of the resolutions including developing a programme of work on economic transformation. At the minimum the programme should pay attention to developing the SACP's capacity to engage with and elaborate detailed policy proposals on a range of socio-economic issues with an immediate aim of breaking the dependent development accumulation path. The Central Committee should begin a process to articulate a vision for a socialist economy in South Africa.

Industrialisation Policy

Noting

1. The South African economy relies heavily on primary product exports – particularly from mining and agriculture.

2. Insufficient focus and programmes on the development of rural and township communities in South Africa, resulting in minimal change to the apartheid geography of our country.

3. Ineffective support for Small and Medium Enterprises from the financial sector including the public development institutions.

4. The one-sided focus on economic growth and insufficient attention to transformation of the economy. 5. Government's heavy investment in infrastructure in the energy, transport and communication, but often driven by the objective to reducing the cost of doing business for business.

6. The adoption of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), reverting mineral rights to the state as the custodian of our mineral wealth and land.

7. The identification of specific sectors in the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa as possible areas