



President Cyril Ramaphosa: The First 100 Days

“Promises, Problems and Patronage”

Contents

2.	Introduction	1
3.	Political Context	1
4.	The National Executive	3
5.	The Economy	4
6.	Corruption	5
7.	Basic Education	6
8.	Health	7
9.	Public Enterprises	8
10.	Police	10
11.	Land Reform	11
12.	Conclusion	12

Introduction

On 15 February 2018, newly elected ANC President, Cyril Ramaphosa, was duly elected President of the Republic of South Africa by the majority of members of the National Assembly. This followed the resignation of the embattled former President, Jacob Zuma, who aptly resigned less than 24 hours before - on Valentine's Day – leading many South Africans to believe that this long, tormenting and frankly abusive love affair with our nation had finally come to an end, and a new chapter was upon us.

The new President was predictably met by a wave of optimism and anticipation not witnessed in our nation for the better part of a decade. Many believed – and still do believe – that the election of Mr Ramaphosa as President was the seminal moment in turning around the fortunes of our country and putting us back on track to becoming a leading light in the region, on the continent, and in the developing world.

At the time of his election, South Africa was in a state of political and institutional turmoil. State capture, pervasive and unyielding corruption, nepotism and patronage, an economy on life support and in “junk status”, record high levels of unemployment, increasing poverty reaching unsustainable levels, a basic education system failing our youth, and several broken institutions of state and State-Owned Entities (SOEs) was the *status quo*. It is these fundamental issues which President Ramaphosa is expected to address and do so thoroughly and timeously.

Indeed, the bar was set pitifully low by former President Jacob Zuma. However, we must not forget that President Ramaphosa also had a role to play in the turmoil he inherited. Ramaphosa faithfully served as Jacob Zuma's Deputy President for the four previous years, and at every juncture displayed solidarity and support for the former President. He protected and endorsed Jacob Zuma and was part of the senior leadership of the ANC and the government during these tumultuous years.

This document serves to provide a sober and realistic analysis of President's first 100 days in office. It unpacks the following:

- What President Ramaphosa inherited;
- The specific promises or commitments he has made during his first 100 days – including during his State of the Nation Address (SONA);
- What progress, if any, has been made on said promises and commitments; and
- What the President could or should have done in each instance.

Political Context

Before Cyril Ramaphosa could be elected President of the Republic of South Africa, he needed to be elected President of his own political Party – the African National Congress. This is relevant because the outcome of this conference – and the Presidential election race – shapes the scope, extent of authority, and direction a Ramaphosa Presidency would encompass.

At the ANC's 54th National Conference held at Narek in Johannesburg between 16 and 20 December 2017, Cyril Ramaphosa defeated his opponent, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, by 179 votes – the closest ANC leadership contest since the dawn of democracy in 1994. This is significant for the reasons as follows:

Firstly, President Ramaphosa inherited a deeply divided and factionalised ANC. Internally, the ANC cannot see eye to eye on a litany of issues and therefore whichever faction won this leadership race would be forced to compromise their views to a common middle ground. The ruling party's "top six" is split down the middle, factionally, and therefore many of the political decisions that influence government are reduced to a tussle between two factions within the ruling party.

It is essential to note that this is the takeover of government by one faction of the ANC over another. We saw this a decade ago when Jacob Zuma's faction took over from Thabo Mbeki's faction – a "clean up" that was also celebrated and lauded at the time. This was seen as a new, "pro poor" ANC, with the likes of Jacob Zuma, Julius Malema and Zwelinzima Vavi at the helm, rescuing our country from the so-called cold, detached and technocrats in the "elitist" Mbeki ANC.

This is witnessed in what is unfolding in the North West Province. Looting, violence and destruction of property has plagued the streets of the North West – particularly the city of Mahikeng – as different factions of the ANC fight each other for power in the party and in government. This has seen Ramaphosa use his executive power, through Section 100 of the Constitution, to try and resolve internal political strife within the ANC by placing the province under administration. We must condemn this move and call it out for what it is. Ramaphosa cannot use the state for internal political ends – we saw this under Jacob Zuma and will oppose it at every juncture.

In addition to the North West, at least three other provinces are falling apart – namely the Free State, KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape. Different factions within these provinces are taking each to court to challenge validity of Provincial Executive Committees (PECs), and decisions taken by the ANC provincially. This has hamstrung these provincial governments. In KwaZulu Natal, political killings are on the rise as ANC factions fight each other for control of resources and access to patronage networks. This has a direct effect on governance in those provinces and because of ANC infighting, the people suffer. President Ramaphosa is presiding over a disintegrating ANC, and our governments are feeling its negative effects.

Secondly, many of the resolutions adopted at the ANC conference by their very nature influence the policy direction of the Ramaphosa Presidency – which many believed would take a more centrist, moderate, and business friendly approach. Policies such as the establishment of a State Bank and Expropriation of Land without Compensation were adopted by the ANC conference, and therefore must become official government policy. Ramaphosa has had to come out and publicly back these policies on numerous occasions, which have undermined his apparent efforts to stabilise the economy.

Lastly, Ramaphosa's road to the Presidency is paved with compromise which will hamper his ability to bring change, no matter how noble his intentions may be. The reality is that President Ramaphosa cannot affect fundamental and wide sweeping change in government, as he is beholden to his political party, questionable interest groups, and those individuals who he relied on to be elected President in the first place.

President Ramaphosa is governing on a fragile, compromised mandate, and therefore will never be able to effect total change that will turn our nation around, eradicate corruption, create millions of jobs, make our country safe, and fix our broken education system.

The National Executive

President Ramaphosa inherited one of the biggest Cabinets in the world - bloated and compromising of many compromised and incompetent individuals. The 35 ministers and 37 deputy ministers will – in salary earnings alone - cost our country R163.5 million this year, and over R510.5 million over the medium-term. This excludes Ministerial houses and vehicles, VIP protection, travel allowances, and private offices and their staff contingents.

Despite its indefensible size and cost to our national fiscus, the National Executive was littered with cadres loyal to the former President, and many of whom had used and abused their executive powers to make those connected to the ruling party very rich.

During his State of the Nation Address, President Ramaphosa made an undertaking to downsizing his Cabinet. He said the following:

"It is critical that the structure and size of the state is optimally suited to meet the needs of the people and ensure the most efficient allocation of public resources. We will therefore initiate a process to review the configuration, number and size of national government departments."

Less than two weeks later, Ramaphosa announced changes to his Cabinet, which saw the removal of Ministers involved in state capture and alleged wrongdoing. These included Mosebenzi Zwane, Des Van Rooyen, Lynne Brown, David Mahlobo, Faith Muthambi, Bongani Bongo and Fikile Mbalula. Other less controversial Ministers such as Hlengiwe Mkhize, Nathi Nhleko and Joe Maswangani were also fired.

During this reshuffle the President failed to implement his commitment to cutting the size of the national government, and during his first 100 days government remains in shape and form no different to that of his predecessor, Jacob Zuma.

Moreover, his broom failed to perform a clean sweep of all compromised and incompetent Ministers. Malusi Gigaba, Nomvula Mokonyane, Bathabile Dlamini, Aaron Motsoaledi and Angie Motshekga all remain in Cabinet, despite their dubious track records.

Malusi Gigaba is a known Gupta acolyte; Nomvula Mokonyane financially collapsed the Department of Water and Sanitation; Bathabile Dlamini played Russian Roulette with 17 million social grants recipients; Aaron Motsoaledi has overseen the gradual demise of the public healthcare system, with both the Life Esidimeni tragedy and the KwaZulu-Natal oncology crisis occurring on this watch; and Angie Motshekga has allowed SADTU to capture the basic education sector, compromising the futures of our children.

However, this is most aptly illustrated by the President's appointment of David "DD" Mabuza as Deputy President of South Africa. A once Zuma loyalist, Mabuza switched allegiances and singlehandedly secured Cyril Ramaphosa the ANC Presidency. This is a man who ran the province of Mpumalanga like his own spaza shop when he was Premier, and still has multiple allegations of involvement in political killings hanging over his head.

The size and composition of President Cyril Ramaphosa's Cabinet illustrates the fact that he is not in full control. The lengthy delay just before his announcement of his new Cabinet on 26 February is indicative of the political balancing act Ramaphosa is required to do, between all stakeholders he is indebted to.

To create a capable, streamlined state, President Ramaphosa must cut the size of the National Executive, and remove all those compromised, underperforming, and non-performing Ministers. In this first 100 days, he has failed to do such.

The Economy

Due to a combination of the ANC's uncertain economic policies, and Jacob Zuma's personal mishandling of the economy, Ramaphosa inherited a struggling and stagnant economy. Once again, as the former Deputy President and second in charge, he cannot absolve himself from the mess he inherited. The expanded unemployment rate was 36.3% by the end of 2017, and with a staggering 9.2 million unemployed South Africans, the SA economy grew by a paltry 1.3% in 2017, coupled with a decrease in net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Expressed as a percentage of GDP net FDI was 22% of GDP in 2010 and the low was at the end of 2017 when the net FDI was -31% as a percentage of GDP. It swung completely negative under Jacob Zuma's watch, affecting growth and job creation.

During his State of the Nation Address, Ramaphosa's several overtures relating to the economy, growth and jobs – most of which cosmetic in nature and fail to deal with the structural barriers to economic growth. These included building on current established plans and policies such as expanding Special Economic Zones (SEZs), building more economic infrastructure, and moving young people to the centre of the economic agenda. Lastly, the President committed to appoint a Presidential Economic Advisory Council, as well as convene a "Jobs Summit" during the course of 2018.

Within the first 100 days, the President has begun to move us in the right direction, but there are still policies within his government and the ruling party that will always act as a barrier to growth and job creation. Until he deals with such policies, we will continue our low growth high unemployment trajectory for the foreseeable future. Having said that, the President has achieved the following during his first 100 days:

- Hosting a Japan-Africa trade forum;
- The appointment of four investment envoys to attract foreign investors to South Africa;
- Signing long-delayed renewable energy contracts worth \$4.7 billion with Independent Power Producers (IPPs);
- A proposed Youth Employment Service (YES);
- The appointment of Nhlanhla Nene as Minister of Finance; and
- South Africa's Business Confidence Index (BCI) rising 11 points to 45 in the first quarter of 2018 - the highest in three years.

Despite these incremental changes, the President has failed to act on several economic matters. This has seen the number of unemployed South Africans increase during the first months of his Presidency, from 9,216 million in the previous quarter to 9,481 million. To address rising unemployment and to get our economy thriving, the President needs to act swiftly in addressing the following matters:

- Reject the policies of his Ministers' Ebrahim Patel and Rob Davies, and ensure economic policy certainty across all government departments;
- Reverse the 1 percentage point VAT hike;
- Upgrade the current Employment Tax Incentive (ETI) to a full Youth Wage Subsidy;
- Introducing a National Civilian Service year to provide work experience for the approximately 78 443 unemployed matriculants (from the class of 2016 alone) to enter into work-based training in the community healthcare, basic education or SAPS fields;

- Reverse the decision to cut the Competition Commissions budget, as the Commission is crucial to reducing the concentration of the economy and allowing small businesses to flourish;
- Institute a review of all labour legislation, with a view to liberalise the labour market making it easier to employ people;
- Amend B-BBEE legislation to include internships, bursaries, and funding of schools as legitimate empowerment;
- Reject the proposed amendment of section 25 of the Constitution to expropriate all land without compensation, which creates uncertainty and volatility in the economy;
- Ensure that the 100 000 unpaid invoices, worth over R7.7 billion, between government departments and small businesses are paid;
- Adopt a City-led economic growth agenda, focusing on cities as the drivers of growth and job creation; and
- Reconsider a blanket national minimum wage, which favours the employed at the expense of the unemployed and will cost at least 700 000 jobs, killing many small businesses.

Countries rise and fall on the strength of their economies, and this holds especially true for the developing world. Just tinkering at the edges, with a talk shop here and a summit there, will not fundamentally restructure the economy to create jobs. The President still has a long way to go when it comes to economy.

Corruption

Corruption has long been the hallmark of the ANC-led national government. Since the first allegations relating to the now infamous “Arms Deal”, corruption has been rampant across government – fed by the patronage politics of the ruling party.

President Ramaphosa has had a seat at the table throughout the majority of the Zuma years, witnessing and turning a blind eye to the corruption within government. Therefore, it remains difficult to know where Ramaphosa stands when it comes to corruption.

During his State of the Nation Address he said the word “corruption” six times, four of which related to public sector corruption, and the other two touching on private sector corruption.

Most notably, he stated that “this is the year in which we will turn the tide of corruption in our public institutions” – signalling an intention to tackle corruption head on during his first year as President. He also said he would “urgently” deal with the National Prosecuting Authority “to ensure that this critical institution is stabilised and able to perform its mandate unhindered.”

Over the past 100 days, the evidence of Ramaphosa tackling corruption head on has been scant, and he has left much to be wanting. His appointment of Arthur Fraser as National Commissioner of Correctional Services is a move from the Jacob Zuma playbook, whereby questionable and compromised individuals are reshuffled and rehired, instead of fired. We have approached the courts to have this decision reviewed and set aside, and we urge the President to not waste time and to reverse his decision to rehire Fraser following the allegations during his time employed at the State Security Agency (SSA).

For the President to stamp his mark and be taken seriously when it comes to corruption, he needs to take the following decisions:

- Ensure the independence of the NPA by Immediately appointing a National Director of Public Prosecutions (NDPP) with the ability to restore the integrity of the NPA;
- Support the DA's move to remove the current Public Protector, Busisiwe Mkhwebane;
- Ensure justice is served in the ongoing trial of Jacob Zuma by cancelling the agreement for the state to continue to pay Zuma's legal bills;
- To not oppose the DA's legal action in this regard;
- To reverse this decision to appoint Arthur Fraser as National Commissioner of Correctional Services and
- To take firm again against those accused of corruption within the ANC, including Secretary-General, Ace Magashule, and National Spokesperson, Pule Mabe.

Basic Education

Basic Education in South Africa is in an appalling state, and with each passing day it jeopardizes the futures of our young people. Currently, we have one of the worst literacy rates in the world, and 3 in 4 of our children cannot read with meaning. We essentially have two education systems in South Africa – one for the rich, and one for the rest. Those who cannot afford private schooling are sent to schools that are run by SADTU appointees, where teachers cannot pass the subjects which they teach, and where infrastructure is almost non-existent.

While there are many excellent and dedicated teachers in South Africa, there are currently over 8 million children attending dysfunctional schools where the quality of teaching, in general, is not up to standard. As a result of this, data from the Department of Basic Education itself shows that:

- 490 699 learners drop out of school between grade 10 and 12;
- 167 506 of those who write the National Senior Certificate (Matric) fail; and
- 100 479 of those who write matric pass and leave secondary school without bachelor and diploma passes and therefore access to tertiary education.

The backlog of bringing school infrastructure up to minimum standards remains a severe burden for learners. The performance of the Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI) – which was supposed to address the backlog – has been disastrous: in 2016/17, they failed to meet every target:

- Schools to be built: target 59, achieved 16;
- Schools provided with sanitation: target 265, achieved 9;
- Schools connected to water: target 280, achieved 10; and
- Schools connected to electricity: target 620, achieved zero.

According to the Department of Basic Education (DBE), there are also still 3 532 pit toilets at schools that must be replaced.

In his inaugural State of the Nation Address, President Ramaphosa stated that all outstanding ASIDI projects would be completed by the end of the next financial year - end March 2019. While this is highly unlikely to be attainable, it is outrageous that he made no mention of other education priorities, such as school safety, teacher quality, and high dropout rates.

Notwithstanding that, within a month, the President's SONA promise was broken. The DBE stated that outstanding ASIDI projects would only be completed by 2021. They attributed the discrepancy to a typo in the final SONA speech.

The President did nonetheless direct the Minister of Basic Education to perform an audit of school sanitation and present a costed plan to eradicate pit toilets within three months. This will be difficult to achieve – the budget for school infrastructure has been cut by R7.2 billion over the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), so provincial departments will have to divert funding from other priorities to eradicate pit toilets.

These provincial budget cuts will also directly affect school safety, teacher training and availability, and other basic education needs. How the President allowed education budgets to be cut is beyond comprehension. Of all budgets, the school infrastructure budget was an unacceptable target for cuts – crumbling infrastructure endangers children's lives in a most literal sense. There have been concerns about underspending ASIDI funds – the Eastern Cape in particular has suffered severe mismanagement of the funding. However, this is not an excuse for cutting funding. Officials should have been held accountable and better processes put in place.

In order to save our crumbling education system, the President must ensure the following:

- SADTU's stranglehold on education is broken;
- Reestablishment of teacher training colleagues;
- An independent inspectorate is established, mandated and empowered to inspect schools and evaluate the quality of teaching, leadership, management and governance; and
- Charter Schools are established, allowing a private-public sector partnership which will increase standards and accountability.

Health

President Ramaphosa inherited a health system that is in disarray within various provinces – Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal to name just two. Despite Health Minister Aaron Motsoaledi overseeing both the Life Esidimeni tragedy, and the KZN oncology crisis – claiming 144 and over 500 lives respectively – he remains in his job. Motsoaledi is also responsible for the medical student placement crisis, where due to administrative failures by government, hundreds of qualified doctors were not placed for their community service for 2018 – many of which are still unemployed.

At a national level, there are too few clinics with 3 182 clinics in South Africa, each serving 16 971 people on average, whilst the WHO suggests a clinic to population ratio of no less than 1:10 000. South Africa has insufficient medical practitioners with less than one (only 0.7) physicians per 100 000 population, and 2.2 nurses per 100 000 population, leaving us well behind peer and OECD nations. Over 2.5 million South Africans live further than 5km from their nearest primary healthcare facility. This is the state of healthcare in south Africa.

As of now, the oncology crisis in KwaZulu-Natal is still not solved and there was and still is a major shortage of doctors, nurses and medical personnel. Various hospitals and clinics are and were in a dilapidated state and have major shortage of working medical machinery, essential medicines and other medical equipment.

To this end, President Ramaphosa made three seemingly disconnected promises during his State of the Nation Address. They were:

“This year, we will take the next critical steps to eliminate HIV from our midst. By scaling up our testing and treating campaign, we will initiate an additional two million people on antiretroviral treatment by December 2020. We will also need to confront lifestyles diseases such as high blood pressure, diabetes, cancers and cardiovascular diseases.”

“In the next three months we will launch a huge cancer campaign similar to the HIV counselling and testing campaign. This will also involve the private sector as we need to mobilise all resources to fight this disease.”

“The time has now arrived to finally implement universal health coverage through the National Health Insurance. The NHI Bill is now ready to be processed through government and will be submitted to Parliament in the next few weeks. Certain NHI projects targeting the most vulnerable people in society will commence in April this year.”

In respect of the first two promises, no campaigns on either HIV or cancer have been rolled out yet. Where NHI is concerned, the various NHI pilots have been failing and have faced serious financial concerns leading to the late payment of medical professionals. Recently a group of 30 doctors have been left unemployed in Limpopo after their contracts were not renewed by the Department of Health. The doctors had been working at clinics under the NHI pilot project launched by Minister Motsoaledi. The NHI is a costly and unworkable system that will bankrupt South Africa and lead to further degradation of the public health system.

President Ramaphosa’s first move should have been to announce the scrapping of the NHI in favour of a more sustainable and affordable hybrid system, which will still ensure all South Africans receive healthcare cover.

He should have placed the KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Health Department’s under administration, and assessed other provincial health departments’ staff shortages, ongoing strikes by nurses and health workers, and equipment and medicine shortages.

Ramaphosa should introduce an Expanded Clinic Building Programme in under-served areas nationwide, with an additional R2 billion allocated as a cross-subsidy for building and staffing to assist in reaching the DA-adjusted national goal of building 50 new facilities.

Moreover, he should conduct feasibility studies for under-served areas in order to assess the impact of extended clinic operating hours, and where applicable, primary healthcare facility operating hours should be extended to provide better healthcare services to the people of South Africa.

Lastly, he should ensure mobile clinics are provided for existing settlements which are not yet formalised and exist beyond a 5km radius from existing public health facilities.

The announcement of a few roadshows and the implementation of the unworkable NHI will not solve our country’s healthcare shortfalls.

Public Enterprises

Over the past decade, State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) have been a constant strain on our economy and the national fiscus. Not only were SOEs the fertile soil where billions were stolen from our country

via State Capture, but the overwhelming majority of SOEs are inefficient, loss making entities which need largescale reform.

Despite chairing the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) for State Owned Entities (SOEs) where Deputy President, Cyril Ramaphosa, failed to ensure the Committee carried out its mandate of “overseeing the stabilisation and reform of state-owned entities,” each and every year, these entities lose more money, ask government for further guarantees, and provide a platform for corruption and nepotism.

For the 2017/18 financial year, SOEs hold R466 billion in government guarantees. Billions of rands which could have funded higher education for the poor, housing projects, built clinics and schools, funded effective job-creation initiatives and replaced pit toilets at schools, have been allocated to prop up falling SOEs under the leadership of ineffective executives.

These SOEs continue to make massive losses. Overall, public entities lost R53.7 billion in the 2016/17 financial year.

The *modus operandi* for State Capture was to use the procurement process of these enterprises to move billions away from the state to their corrupt network via consulting fees, bribery fees, commissions, hefty upfront payments and inflated prices. The looting was allegedly done via influencing, strategically placing and incentivising a number of board members and executives within the SOEs as well as department officials. This erosion of good corporate governance in procurement processes has hollowed out the reputations of these SOEs, resulting in ratings downgrades that has put severe pressure on the financial performances and led to further government bailouts and guarantees for these SOEs. Pravin Gordhan, now Minister of Public Enterprises, puts the financial losses at over a R100 billion. These SOEs have also been mismanaged financially with incompetent and irrational strategic decisions made, leading to weak balance sheets, with many making billions in losses.

In his State of the Nation Address, Ramaphosa undertook to:

- Change the way that SOE boards are appointed so that only people with expertise, experience and integrity serve in these positions;
- Remove board members from any role in procurement and work with the Auditor-General to strengthen external audit processes;
- Turn the tide of corruption in our public institutions;
- Consider where appropriate, a role for the private sector as a strategic equity partner within SOEs;
- The Coordinating Council, chaired by Ramaphosa, would coordinate the work on all State-Owned Enterprises; and
- Establish a sovereign wealth fund.

Once again, not much new from Ramaphosa considering he appeared to sit on his hands for years as chair of the IMC on SOEs while the looting and misgovernance continued.

In his first 100 days, Ramaphosa has attempted to tackle the rot within SOEs. He began by appointing Pravin Gordhan as Public Enterprises Minister.

Denel received a new interim board in April 2018, and Transnet’s CFO resigned in April with its Chairperson along with two non-executive directors resigning in May 2018. At Eskom, an acting CFO, CEO and new board were appointed in January 2018. However, Eskom is still without new, permanent

senior management. The SOE boards are reviewing bonus payments, and lifestyle audits are being put in place.

While these appear to be positive steps in the right direction, much more is required to address the real menace here.

During his first 100 days, nothing has been done on the privatising side of SOEs nor the sovereign fund. Part of the problem with many SOEs is that they are large monolithic entities that have wiped out competition in certain sectors. Therefore, part privatisation is required in many, and full privatisation in required is some.

The President should have already begun the process of splitting Eskom into a generation entity and transmission entity, with the generation entity privatised, and the transmission entity state owned.

The President should have by now finalised new shareholder compacts which highlight the targets and specific objectives for the SOEs – to which they will be held to account.

He should have also Merged SAA, SA Express and Mango, with a view to sell off the ailing airline. Lastly, he should have changed the board of both Alexkor and Safcol.

Police

President Ramaphosa inherited a police service that is chronically under-resourced, under-staffed, under-equipped and under-trained. Crime is rampant in South Africa, and the police are simply unable to reduce crime and ensure our country is safe. This would require an entire overhaul of the SAPS, in order to professionalise and equip police men and women, and to depoliticise the appointment of those at the very top.

In his State of the Nation, Ramaphosa stated:

“In improving the quality of life of all South Africans, we must intensify our efforts to tackle crime and build safer communities. During the course of this year, the Community Policing Strategy will be implemented, with the aim of gaining the trust of the community and to secure their full involvement in the fight against crime. The introduction of a Youth Crime Prevention Strategy will empower and support young people to be self-sufficient and become involved in crime fighting initiatives. A key focus this year will be the distribution of resources to police station level. This will include personnel and other resources, to restore capacity and experience at the level at which crime is most effectively combated.”

Since then, it appears not much has developed. He began by replacing Police Minister, Fikile Mbalula, with former Police Commissioner, Bheki Cele, which received mixed feelings due to Cele’s recent past.

In terms of the promise to implement the Community Policing Strategy – no such strategy as of yet. A “community policing philosophy” is in existence, of which the sector policing strategy is currently the main expression. Nothing concrete, and nothing measurable.

Likewise, in terms of the Youth Crime Prevention Strategy, there has been no discernible process. And the distribution of resources at police station level cannot be measured yet.

The President should have immediately moved to professionalise and equip the police service by:

- Conducting a thorough lifestyle audit of all senior police members to stem corruption;
- Beef up the independence of IPID and see to it that they are properly resourced;
- Conduct an audit of all station-level resourcing issues and determine where the gaps lie; and
- Commission an independent evaluation of all current policing strategies and their effectiveness.

It would appear that tackling the scourge of crime in south Africa does not appear high on the President's list of priorities.

Land Reform

South Africa suffers from a history of the systematic exclusion of black people from land ownership, facilitated by discriminatory laws such as the 1913 Land Act. Many black South Africans still find themselves living very far away from economic opportunity – which limits their ability to find work and improve the lives of themselves and their loved ones. This remains part of the painful legacy that must be addressed.

President Ramaphosa inherited two problems. Firstly, a skewed pattern of land ownership to the exclusion of the majority of black South Africans. And secondly, a Department of Rural Development and Land Reform that has failed to address this skewed pattern for more than two decades.

The story of land reform in this country is one of utter failure of the ANC government. While land reform is often part of campaign rhetoric, results over the past 24 years paint a dire picture. The recent EWOC campaign is yet again just a campaign slogan that offers no real solution to the current crisis. The core argument is that compensation has not been the major stumbling block. The ANC must address the systemic issues from the lack of political will, corruption and elite capture to the lack of capacity, budgeting and post settlement support.

Unfortunately, the President has failed to carve his own view on land and has resorted to the divisive rhetoric of the ANC. In doing so, he has failed to protect property rights, ensure justice, and attract investment that will lead to job creation.

In his State of the Nation Address, Ramaphosa made the following commitments:

- Accelerate our land redistribution programme not only to redress a grave historical injustice, but also to bring more producers into the agricultural sector and to make more land available for cultivation;
- We will pursue a comprehensive approach that makes effective use of all the mechanisms at our disposal;
- Guided by the resolutions of the 54th National Conference of the governing party, this approach will include the expropriation of land without compensation;
- We are determined that expropriation without compensation should be implemented in a way that increases agricultural production, improves food security and ensures that the land is returned to those from whom it was taken under colonialism and apartheid; and
- Government will undertake a process of consultation to determine the modalities of the implementation of this resolution.

It is clear that Ramaphosa has followed the ANC's line of blaming everyone but themselves for slow and inefficient land reform over the past 24 years. Instead of focusing on what are the real constraints to the land reform program, the ANC and Ramaphosa are using expropriation without compensation to hide past mismanagement and corruption.

Expropriation without compensation has provided uncertainty to investors and land owners in general, and people with informal tenure such as people living on communal land and farms are still not fully protected. ANC land reform programmes have continued to champion state custodianship which doesn't expand black ownership of land and is an injustice to people deserving of the land they have been deprived of.

In his first 100 days, the President has erred in his approach to land reform. Instead of using the Constitution as a scapegoat, he should have done the following:

- Directed more funds to land reform. Currently, the government spends more on VIPs for politicians and Ministers - R2.8 billion - than it does on land reform - R2.7 billion. Less than 1% of government's total budget spending is on land reform;
- Put in place concrete steps for the speedy resolution of land claims and disputed land claims;
- Inclusion of urban land reform to facilitate economic opportunities for people in urban areas;
- Ensuring the protection of people's land especially those with insecure land rights;
- Assess all government owned land with a view to transferring to individuals; and
- Ensure that 4 300 state-owned farms which forms part of the 17 million hectares of state-owned land must be assessed for distribution to black land beneficiaries.

In his first 100 days, the President has missed an opportunity to affect real change and unity in our nation regarding the land question. Instead, he's reverted to the ANC's rhetoric on blaming the Constitution – while many black South Africans remain without land and without dignity. We urge the President to make a necessary about-turn on this matter, in order to protect property rights, ensure justice, and attract investment that will lead to job creation.

Conclusion

Since this election as President, Cyril Ramaphosa has worked overtime in trying to distinguish himself from Jacob Zuma and the ANC – as a savior of the nation and the man who has the will, the grit and the integrity to turn our country's fortunes around and see it prosper.

It is quite clear that, over the past 100 days, regardless of Ramaphosa's intentions, he is a compromised President whose powers are greatly restrained by his political party, and by the individual and interest groups that got him elected.

Our country needs a fresh start and total change, that which President Cyril Ramaphosa cannot bring about. South Africa deserves better. Our vision is to see our nation become the united, prosperous and non-racial country we all desire. Where we champion a vibrant and growing economy that creates jobs, where those left behind are given opportunity, where our streets are safe and crime free, where our education system serves students and not SADTU, where the government serves the people and not politicians, and where corruption, nepotism and patronage are relegated to the pages of history.

Only the DA can bring about that future. We will work tirelessly to inspire hope in our nation and continue our mission of building One South Africa For All, based on the values of Freedom, Fairness, Opportunity and Diversity.
