

Louis P. Krüger (South Africa)

## Black economic empowerment in post-1994 South Africa: ANC curse and/or socialist/communist covenant?

### Abstract

After more than 21 years under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), post-1994 South Africa finds itself yet again embroiled in race-related politics. Government policies such as black economic empowerment (BEE) and employment equity (EE) have not brought about the economic growth, social development and political democracy that the late former President Nelson Mandela had envisaged and what the ANC had promised to all the people of South Africa. South Africa is currently disengaging itself from the West including the United States of America (USA) and certain European Union (EU) countries and appears to rather embrace and align itself with countries such as Russia and China that pursue socialist and communist ideologies. Both these two issues may have a profound impact on how businesses will be managed in the future. In an exploratory, qualitative study using a “5 Star” research methodology, the direct and indirect impacts of BEE policies were investigated and the possible movement in South Africa’s ideological stance was explored. BEE does not appear to have helped to bring about high economic growth to help to reduce unemployment and eradicate the high levels of poverty and inequality, and government graft and corruption have increased at all levels of government, including local municipalities. BEE appears to have become the ANC’s curse to economic, social and political progress and should be scrapped. A national debate should follow on whether the ANC’s current covenant with pro-socialism and pro-communism rather than Western free-market capitalism is the appropriate ideology for South Africa to pursue.

**Keywords:** black economic empowerment (BEE), employment equity (EE), African National Congress (ANC), capitalism, socialism, communism.

**JEL Classification:** M14, M21.

### Introduction

Dr Anthea Jeffery, a respected political analyst who is the head of the policy research unit at the South African Institute for Race Relations (IRR), in a recent (3 September 2015) online article wrote the following: “The ruling African National Congress (ANC) seems intent on alienating the West and adopting a rigid pro-Russia and pro-China stance. However, the Western countries it is busy targeting have long been South Africa’s most important investors, whereas investment from China and Russia has, thus, far been very limited”. She, then, provides the financial figures for foreign direct investment (FDI) and non-direct foreign investment in South Africa, which is overwhelmingly dominated by Western countries (but excludes Canada and Australia, along with Japan and Taiwan) (85% or R1 350 bn of a total of R1 600 bn) and (90% or R2 435 bn of a total of R2 695 bn), respectively. In contrast, FDI by China is paltry at R59 bn or 3.5% of the total, with Russia’s FDI being even less. Similarly, non-direct investment of China is R14.5 bn or 0.95% of the total, while that of Russia is again negligible. Dr Jeffery goes on to caution the ruling party, the ANC, that it “cannot afford to put anti-Western ideology before the urgent needs of the economy. Nor should it assume that China and Russia – both of which are themselves in increasing economic difficulties – will be able make up for the Western investment now being put at risk” (Jeffery, 2015a).

Black economic empowerment (BEE) is but one of the many initiatives and pieces of legislation that the ANC has implemented in South Africa post-1994 in an effort to improve the lives of the majority, eradicate poverty and address unemployment of citizens who for many years were excluded on account of apartheid policies. It is also probably one of the more controversial measures taken, because, firstly, it is based on the empowerment of a particular race, and, secondly, it represents a fundamental shift and alignment with the socialist and communist ideologies of Russia and China, away from the Western and European, free-market capitalist systems, which have been the prominent and enduring economic systems since the founding of the Republic of South Africa in 1961<sup>1</sup>.

The present level of corruption in South Africa has been acknowledged by the ruling party as “... a cancer that has no place in the ANC nor South African society ...” (SAPA, 2014a) and is considered “... a cancer to development ... which is hampering economic integration ... and Africa’s social and economic development”. BEE, which is unfortunately and predominantly associated with many cases of corruption, fraud, nepotism, favoritism, and the so-called “tenderpreneurs” with their BEE procurement practices, has either been hailed or feared in South

<sup>1</sup> The Union of South Africa was formed on 31 May 1910 and became a sovereign independent state from Great Britain in 1934. Twenty-six years later, South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth and became the independent Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 (Anonymous, 2014). After these early years, under the influence of the British political and economic systems, South Africa adopted a Western style (capitalist-driven) free-market economy.

Africa and as “[h]elping or [h]urting?” (Jeffery, 2014) or being “a curse or some form of a covenant?” (Author’s note written on 13 November 2014).

This article reports the findings of an exploratory qualitative research study which adopted a “5 Star” research methodology (developed by the author in 2014) to investigate this apparent dichotomy, of whether BEE is “good” or “bad” for the country and if it is putting the country on a path which is more aligned with the social, economic and political outcomes found in most socialist and communist ideological states.

## 1. Background to the research

The researcher has been involved with BEE research specifically for more than five years and has thus far published five journal articles on this topic. In the fourth article, he attempted to assess South African managers’ perceptions and conceptions (or misconceptions) relating to the practical implementation prescripts, compliance measures and so forth of BEE (Krüger, 2014a). In the last article, to complete the circle, having covered the essence of what BEE is, which people or businesses are affected, how they are affected, and where BEE has its impact, it was appropriate to lastly consider in an article (Krüger, 2014b), why BEE in business is justified at all.

BEE or its extended version referred to as broad-based black economic empowerment (B-BBEE) in South Africa is legislated under Act 53 of 2003 and was introduced during the first term of the second post-1994 elected president, former president Thabo Mbeki. The B-BBEE Act provides the legislative framework for the promotion of B-BBEE and empowers the Minister (of Trade and Industry) and the Department of Trade and Industry to administer all the provisions of the Act in order to advance economic transformation and enhance the economic participation of black people in the South African economy (DTI, 2016a).

The objectives of B-BBEE, according to the Act, are to “... promote the achievement of the constitutional right to equality, increase broad-based and effective participation of black people in the economy and promote a higher growth rate, increased employment and more equitable income distribution; and establish a national policy on broad-based black economic empowerment so as to promote the economic unity of the nation, protect the common market, and promote equal opportunity and equal access to government services ...”.

Officially, according to the B-BBEE Amendment Act 46 of 2013, ‘black people’ is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians:

1. who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent;

2. who became citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalization:

2.1. before 27 April 1994; or

2.2. on or after 27 April 1994 and who would have been entitled to acquire citizenship by naturalization prior to that date; and ‘broad-based black economic empowerment’ means the viable economic empowerment of all black people [including], in particular, women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas through diverse, but integrated socio-economic strategies that include, but not limited to:

- ◆ increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control;
- ◆ enterprises and productive assets;
- ◆ facilitating ownership and management of enterprises and productive;
- ◆ assets by communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises;
- ◆ human resource and skills development;
- ◆ achieving equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce;
- ◆ preferential procurement from enterprises that are owned or managed by black people; and
- ◆ investment in enterprises that are owned or managed by “black people”.

For the purposes of this research, certain “working definitions” were accepted when referring to the ideologies of capitalism, socialism and communism. Working definitions refer to a general definition or understanding of the term(s) used in the context of this research. They are as follows:

- ◆ Free-market economy – “A market economy based on supply and demand with little or no government control. “A free-market economy is a market-based economy where prices for goods and services are set freely by the forces of supply and demand and are allowed to reach their point of equilibrium without intervention by government policy, and it typically entails support for highly competitive markets and private ownership of productive enterprises. ... free markets are commonly associated with capitalism in contemporary usage and popular culture ...”.
- ◆ Capitalism – “A system of economics based on the private ownership of capital and production inputs, and on the production of goods and services for profit. The production of goods and services is based on supply and demand in the general market (market economy), rather than through central planning (planned economy)”. “Capitalism is an economic system in which trade, industry, and the means of production are largely or entirely privately owned and operated for profit.

Central characteristics of capitalism include capital accumulation, competitive markets and wage labor”.

- ◆ Command economy – “A system where the government, rather than the free market, determines what goods should be produced, how much should be produced and the price at which the goods will be offered for sale”. “A command economy is when government makes decisions, or a planned economy, is an economic system where the main economic decisions (such as allocating scarce resources like labor, capital, soil and natural resources) are taken by a central body; which is usually the government”.
- ◆ Socialism – “An economic and political system based on public or collective ownership of the means of production”. “Socialism is a social and economic system characterized by social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of the economy, as well as a political theory”.
- ◆ Communism – “A political and economic ideology based on communal ownership and the absence of class”. “Communism is a socioeconomic system structured upon common ownership of the means of production and characterized by the absence of social classes, money, and the state, as well as a social, political and economic ideology and movement that aims to establish this social order”.

## 2. Research methodology

The research on which this article is based falls within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm (or theoretical framework). Such an approach in research attempts “... to understand the subjective

world of human experience” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2005, p. 22). Acknowledging the particular paradigm as the first step, it, subsequently, “... sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research”, as well as the basis for the selection of the whole research design, including the research methodology and method(s) of research (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 2).

From an epistemological (knowledge) perspective, the research methodology employed in the research needed to provide propositional knowledge expressed in declarative sentences or indicative propositions on the issue or topic under investigation. A “5 Star” research methodology, initially introduced by Krüger (2014b), was again utilized, and is depicted in Figure 1. To recap, it involves five definite sequential steps which may also be cyclical, and entails the following: step 1 – putting forward a proposition; step 2 – listing the assumptions; step 3 – gathering evidence both in support of or against the proposition; step 4 – reviewing the evidence; and lastly, step 5 – justifying the conclusion. Within this paradigm, the outcome (knowledge) of the qualitative research is considered to be inductive theory characterized by subjective reality, as contextual, exploratory, expressed in words rather than numbers, with issues being complex and broad, and lastly, rather about understanding than control (Visagie, 2013, p. 19). The primary research method associated with the particular paradigm of the research was, thus, qualitative, in which secondary data and document analysis were utilized (Mackenzie et al., 2006, p. 5), and this was guided by the research control measures of trustworthiness which include credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity (Visagie, 2012, pp. 8-9).

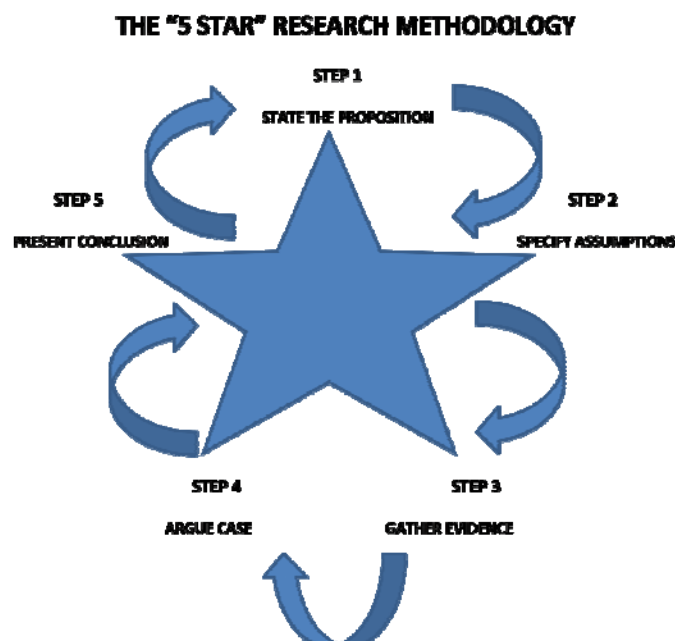


Fig. 1. “5 Star” research methodology

### 3. Research propositions and assumptions

The two basic propositions of this research were formulated as follows:

1. Black economic empowerment (BEE) has a direct and indirect positive influence on the economic growth, the social development and political democracy of post-1994 South Africa.
2. Black economic empowerment (BEE) moves post-1994 South Africa away from a free-market economy (capitalism) to a greater state or government-controlled economy (socialism) with the possible eventuality of the adoption of communism.

The assumptions underlying this research were as follows:

1. Black economic empowerment (BEE) refers to the implementation of the provisions and regulations as contained in the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act 53 of 2003 and as amended by Act 46 of 2013.
2. The BEE codes of good practice that are currently applied are those issued by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in accordance with section 9(1) of the B-BBEE Act (Government Gazette Vol. 500, No. 29617 on 9 February 2007, 96 pages). They are to be replaced with new codes of practice (Government Gazette Vol. 580, No. 36928 on 11 October 2013, 112 pages) and were expected to come into effect on 1 May 2015.
3. The evaluation of BEE and its influence (directly and indirectly) on the economic growth, social development and political democracy of post-1994 South Africa was to be considered from a both positive and negative attribute perspective with cases or manifestations (evidence) of both.
4. The possible movement in South Africa's ideology post-1994 from Western free-market capitalism towards pro-socialism and pro-communism systems such as those practiced in Russia and China was to be considered from a Yes/No attribute perspective with cases or manifestations (evidence) of both.
5. Qualitative research through the collection of secondary data sources was used and there was no empirical data generation either through questionnaires or interviews (other than a personal interview with Mr Moeletsi Mbeki on 5 February 2015).
6. The guiding control measures include credibility (equivalent of validity in quantitative research) and trustworthiness (equivalent of reliability in quantitative research).

### 4. Research data collection

**4.1. Proposition 1.** The objective was to research the impact and/or influence (either directly or indirectly) that BEE has had on South Africa post-1994.

For this part of the qualitative research, the main secondary data sources that were consulted were (1) extracts from the BEE Act 53 of 2003 and its amendment Act 46 of 2013 (2) and e-newspaper articles dating back from the beginning of January until the end of December 2014, that the researcher considered to be related, either directly or indirectly, to BEE. The researcher was also fortunate to conduct a personal interview with Mr Moeletsi Mbeki (Mbeki, 2015), a well-respected political commentator, entrepreneur, and incidentally a brother of former president Thabo Mbeki in whose second term of office BEE legislation saw the light. He provided some unique insights into the first discussions regarding BEE with what he refers to as "Big Business" as far back as 1992 (Mbeki, 2011) even before the first democratic elections in 1994. When asked about what he felt BEE had achieved, he answered as follows (quoted verbatim with permission): "In my view, BEE has achieved the objectives that its architects, South Africa's big business, set out to achieve. Their primary objective was to co-opt powerful segments of the ANC leadership so that the structure of SA's business would not be tempered [sic] with in a significant way by the new ANC government. Eleven years since the passing of the BEE law in 2003 not only are the key cornerstones of SA business such as the Minerals Energy Complex migrant, labor system intact, but also large SA corporations have even been allowed by the ANC government to relocate their head offices and primary listing [sic] to London to help them to reduce their South Africa country risk exposure".

*4.1.1. E-newspaper articles relating to the direct and indirect influence of BEE.* Since the beginning of 2014, the researcher had on a daily basis scanned the headlines and collected e-newspaper articles that were thought to either be directly or indirectly related to the effects of BEE.

A recording and analysis technique was developed, referred to as QUALT2AM (QUALitative research of Topics and Themes Analysis Matrix) in which the articles relating to the research could be captured. The technique uses a matrix, where each article is captured in two dimensions, namely on the x-axis, in one of ten topics and on the y-axis in one of 20 themes. The major topic headlines were those being reported at this time. Note: The high-profile criminal cases (both accused of murder) against para-Olympian Oscar Pistorius and Shrien Dewani were excluded, because they had no relevance to the current research topic. The ten topics were: (1) the Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela, and her efforts to increase public accountability in numerous cases reported to her; (2) Nkandla (President Jacob Zuma's private homestead which received security upgrades of some R246 million from taxpayers money; (3) internal government corruption, nepotism, ANC cadre

employment and maladministration; (4) opposition political parties (the Democratic Alliance [DA] [22.2% of voters in the May 2014 election], the Economic Freedom Fighters [EFF] [6.4% of voters], the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] [2.4% of voters], the National Freedom Party [NFP] [1.6% of voters], etc.) and their attempts to ensure government accountability (Electoral Commission of South Africa [IEC], 2014); (5) the African National Congress's (62.2% of voters in the May 2014 election) own political drive with its alliance partners notably the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (ANC, 2016a); (6) BEE cases of success or failure; (7) E-tolling in Gauteng; (8) Eskom and the electricity crisis in South Africa; (9) the Marikana massacre where the South African police opened fire on striking miners on 16 August 2012 near Rustenburg, killing 34 and wounding close on another 80 miners in the aftermath, which was being investigated by the Farlam Commission of Inquiry; (10) the arms procurement deal dating back to 1998 where the go-ahead was given for the procurement of aircraft, corvettes and submarines at a cost of R29 billion, which is being investigated by the Seriti Commission of Inquiry for allegations of fraud, corruption, impropriety or irregularity and the related so-called "Zuma spy tapes", which led to charges of corruption against then deputy president Jacob Zuma being dropped and followed him being elected the third President (post-1994).

The 20 themes (the first 5 comprise the actual measurement basis in terms of the B-BBEE generic scorecard for compliance (DTI, 2016b) were as follows: (1) Ownership – 25/105 points; (2) Management Control – 15/105 points; (3) Skills Development – 20/105 points; (4) Enterprise and Supplier Development – 40/105 points; (5) Socio-economic Development – 5/105 points; (6) socialism – Russian link or communism – Chinese link; (7) community services improvement; (8) African status in United Nations world bodies; (9) ANC political dominance; (10) labor unions and their activities; (11) corruption and self-enrichment; (12) nepotism and maladministration; (13) democracy and Western values; (14) private-sector entrepreneurship; (15) racial harmony and cohesiveness; (16) political opposition and minorities; (17) international status and exports; (18) productivity growth in the economy; (19) crime, lawlessness and anarchy; and (20) the judiciary, constitution and parliament.

As a "pre-test" to see whether the QUALT2AM technique could work and with the focus solely on BEE since the beginning of October 2014, some 33 articles were identified and coded. In these articles, a total of 151 incidents were recorded of which 34 or

23% were deemed a positive influence (blue highlighting, but the majority, 117 or 77%, were considered a negative influence (red highlighting) (see pictogram 1). Note: The overall picture that the table presents in terms of color is used to judge the impact of BEE. When it is predominantly red, it denotes the impact of BEE as negative, while blue is positive and yellow means no impact.

In 2016, a more comprehensive review of newspaper articles relating to BEE and its impact or influence on post-1994 South Africa stretching, as far back as January 2014 until January 2016, was conducted with the purpose of judging whether proposition 1 could either be accepted or rejected. In the case of the proposition being accepted, the majority of articles had to indicate a positive influence denoted by blue rather than red (negative influence). See Tables 1A, 1A (continued) (2014) and 1B, 1B (continued) (2015-2016).

**4.2. Proposition 2.** The objective of this second part of the research was to investigate how black economic empowerment (BEE) was possibly moving post-1994 South Africa ideologically away from a free-market economy (capitalism) to a greater state- or government-controlled economy (socialism) and possibly eventually to the adoption of communism. This movement ties in with the notion that many South Africans do not have full knowledge of the aims, goals and objectives of BEE and do not understand its ideological foundations. Under the heading "The ANC's other objectives", Jeffery (2014, p. 22) notes the following: "...the ANC had other objectives in mind" it [the ANC] with "... its allies in the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] and the South African Communist Party [SACP] – joint rulers with the ANC in the governing tripartite alliance – had long ago identified the NDR [National Democratic Revolution] as providing the shortest and most direct path to a socialist and the communist society". She again reiterates this point under the chapter heading "BEE and the Road Ahead" and writes as follows: "... [there is] a profound confusion about BEE goals. Most analysts assume that BEE is simply about remedying the past ..." but "... they [the ANC, COSATU and the SACP] naturally play up the supposedly remedial purpose of BEE", but "... their real aim is to use it [BEE] as cover for the national democratic revolution [NDR]" and "her objective is not to provide redress, but rather to keep using BEE to reduce private sector autonomy, break down the market economy, and build state power and control" (Jeffery, 2014, p. 385).

In an analysis of the contribution of the Soviet Union to the so-called "struggle doctrines" of the ANC which preceded the post-1994 democratic South Africa and the Constitution of 1996, Hermann Giliomee (2013) believes there are many ANC cadres in key positions that are still committed to the doctrines that captivated

the ANC while in exile. This came about through extensive interaction with Soviet bureaucrats in the 1960s and early 1970s who supported the SACP and ANC in the “liberation” in a two-stage revolution. According to Giliomee (2013), the “... two could be combined in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), which meant a transition from national liberation to socialism ...”.

*4.2.1. E-newspaper articles relating to the movement of South Africa’s ideology away from Western capitalism towards socialism and communism.* For this part of the qualitative research, the main secondary data sources that were consulted were again newspaper articles that the researcher considered to be indicative of a movement in the prevailing political, economic and social ideology, dating back from December 2013 until January 2016. Note: In this analysis, evidence regarding proposition 2 (movement away from free-market economy to socialism and communism) was collected and recorded – see Table 2 and Table 2 (continued).

## 5. Discussion

BEE is the abbreviation for black economic empowerment. This policy is purely based on race. “Black people” are clearly defined in the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, B-BBEE Act 53 of 2003 (and its amendment Act 46 of 2013), and includes everybody except so-called “white people”. Anthea Jeffery, a political analyst, in probably the most comprehensive review of BEE to date, confirms this assertion in her observation that “... the fact that BEE is based on racial identity makes the system still more difficult to criticize for fear of being labelled a racist or apartheid apologist” and she continues to argue that “... the racial foundation of BEE has had other consequences too ... it has breathed new life into the [concept of the] Population Registration Act of 1950 [appealed by the statute of 1991 by the former National Party government which was the government in South Africa between 1948 and 1994 when it was replaced by the African National Congress], under which all South Africans were previously classified as African, Coloured, Indian and White” (Jeffery, 2014, p. 25). She further cautions that “... BEE’s emphasis on racial identity reinforces racial stereotypes and fosters polarization around race ... also [it] undermines the core values of non-racialism and equity before the law, and opens the way to racial scapegoating ...”, which she claims the ANC is also well aware of when they warned that “... affirmative action, if poorly implemented, could redistribute resentment and ... destroy social peace” (Jeffery, 2014, p. 26).

The generic definition of “black people” in the B-BBEE Act is that they are those targeted as the sole beneficiaries of the legislation to empower black

people. Many would immediately come out strongly in favor of the idea of “empowering black people who were previously disadvantaged by apartheid”. But ten years since its first appearance in the B-BBEE Act – the question can rightly be asked: Who has actually been empowered by BEE? Again Anthea Jeffery offers a perspective on the matter: “This helps to explain how a supposedly limited form of affirmative action has quietly morphed into a complex set of employment equity, BEE, and land reform rules that are cumulatively eroding business autonomy, undermining property rights, crippling public service efficiency, choking off direct investment, retarding economic growth and adding to a crisis of unemployment within the country”, and she argues that these outcomes fly in the face of what BEE is intended to achieve “... instead, their benefits have gone mainly to a relatively small black elite – many of them well paid, but often ineffective public servants”, but alarmingly “... it [BEE] has also fostered a toxic mix of inefficiency, waste and corruption that frequently causes great harm to the 19 million poor South Africans ...” of which “... the vast majority of these truly disadvantaged individuals have little or no prospect of ever gaining management posts, ownership deals, preferential contracts, or new small business ...” and critically, the “... most of them poor and unskilled, while more than 8 million of them are also unemployed” (Jeffery, 2014, pp. 22-23).

As can be observed from Tables 1A and 1B, the articles listed and evaluated provide clear evidence that the majority are judged to be negative (red fill-in) in terms of the direct and indirect impact and influence of BEE on the growth of the economy, social development and political democracy in South Africa. Eighty-eight of the 110 articles (80%) were judged as red (having a negative impact) and only 22 (20%) as blue (having a positive impact) on South Africa. Proposition 1 is, thus, rejected, thereby concluding that BEE does have a direct and indirect negative affect on the economic growth, social development and political democracy of South Africa. This conclusion has significant implications for the way businesses are managed in South Africa in their quest for BEE compliance.

The ANC’s economic/social and political ideology is still greatly influenced by core principles reflected in the ten clauses of the “Freedom Charter” (ANC, 2016b) despite the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 which the ANC under President Jacob Zuma’s leadership “... repeatedly white-anted and undermined ... by overlooking its prohibitions of racial discrimination and cadre deployment, flouting its emphasis on equality before the law, disregarding court judgements ...”, according to Anthea Jeffery (Jeffery, 2015b). It was adopted by the South African Congress Alliance, which comprised several

organizations including the ANC, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) and Congress of Democrats (COD) in Kliptown, on 26 June 1955 (Anonymous, 2016). The Freedom Charter "... was largely drawn up by white communists and was reportedly approved by Moscow prior to its adoption ... " and the "... ANC's current emphasis on the charter reflects the expanding influence of the SACP ... " and "... past and present members of the party [SACP] nevertheless make up some 40% of the current Cabinet ...". Many of the clauses are quite progressive in nature calling for "... equality before the law, freedom of speech and other civil liberties, equal education ...", but others reflect the strong influence of the SACP and even at that time were considered too socialistic such as that "... the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the people as a whole ...", and "...all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people ..." and "... all the land shall be re-divided among those who work it to banish famine and land hunger ..." (Jeffery, 2015b). Note, however, that South Africa's newest left opposition party, the Economic Freedom Front (EFF) still subscribes to the Freedom Charter and even criticized the late former president Nelson Mandela in that "... the deviation from the Freedom Charter was the beginning of the selling out of the revolution". Interestingly, the EFF and ANC now compete as to who should be regarded as the real custodian of the Freedom Charter, while the SACP seems to have built up a hatred towards the EFF, which now parades itself as being more socialist than the SACP and uses Marxist rhetoric much more freely.

As can be observed from Table 2 and Table 2 (continued), the articles listed provide clear evidence that the majority were judged to confirm the movement of South Africa away from capitalism towards socialism and communism (majority blue fill-in). Fifty-three of the 66 articles (80.3%) were judged as blue (movement towards socialism) and only 13 (19.7%) as red (indicative of supporting a free-market capitalist system) in South Africa. Proposition 2 is, thus, accepted, thereby concluding that South Africa is moving away from a free-market capitalism towards the adoption of socialism and communism. This conclusion has a much greater significance for managers should the free-market principles and profit-driven motive of businesses be substituted in favor of socialist and communist systems.

BEE more than anything since the founding of the Republic of South Africa, has placed it at a critical crossroad or junction. To continue with BEE means even more state or government intervention and increased command of the economy akin to socialist and communist states like Russia and China. Its

rejection can steer the country away from the potential catastrophic disaster which may follow, considering the following quotes by Ayn Rand who unequivocally reminds us: "Capitalism has created the highest standard of living ever known on earth. The evidence is incontrovertible. The contrast between West and East Berlin is the latest demonstration, like a laboratory experiment for all to see. Yet, those who are loudest in proclaiming their desire to eliminate poverty are loudest in denouncing capitalism. Man's well-being is not their goal" (Rand, 1966a, p. 66).

"Capitalism has been called a system of greed – yet it is the system that raised the standard of living of its poorest citizens to heights no collectivist system has ever begun to equal, and no tribal gang can conceive of". Capitalism has been called nationalistic – yet it is the only system that banished ethnicity, and made it possible, in the United States, for men of various, formerly antagonistic nationalities to live together in peace.

Capitalism has been called cruel – yet it, brought such hope, progress and general good will that the young people of today, who have not seen it, find it hard to believe" (Rand, 1989, p. 129).

## Conclusion

The purpose of the research was to investigate and analyze: (1) whether BEE had a direct or indirect positive influence on the growth of the economy, the social development and political democracy of post-1994 South Africa; and (2) whether it was moving South Africa away from Western free-market capitalism and rather embracing more government-controlled systems such as socialism eventually leading to communist rule (The Russian- and China-based doctrines).

The "5 Star" research methodology that was previously used in a successful research project guided the research in the utilization of an exploratory qualitative research method in which only secondary data were consulted. The literature sources were selected accredited journal articles, e-newspaper articles and various sources accessed and downloaded from the Internet. For the start of the research, a conceptual framework named QUALT2AM was developed on the basis of a matrix dimension of topics (horizontal) and themes (vertical) in order to consider whether BEE should be considered a solution or rather as the problem.

In continuing the research, e-newspaper articles with statements, quotes or opinions were collected and documented as evidence to judge whether the two proposition could be accepted or rejected. It is acknowledged that this judgement is that of the researcher alone, but based on exact extracts (see

the motivation column in Tables 1A, 1B and 2) of the particular article. Note: The researcher did apply some form of validation as the initial e-articles were judged in October 2014 and again in January 2016 and the judgement then and later showed few discrepancies or deviations.

BEE is undoubtedly more distributive (“share what is available among all – hopefully equal”), perhaps even punitive (“take what is available, redistribute only what you want, but keep as much as possible for the governing elite”) rather than an expansive (“create and produce more for all to benefit based on contribution and effort”) policy which has a negative direct and indirect impact on economic growth, social development and political democracy in South Africa. BEE should, thus, be scrapped. BEE further seems to assimilate the socialist and communist ideologies rather than capitalism’s promise. If this is not the path South Africa wants to be on (seeing that its major trading partners who represent 85% and 90% of South Africa’s foreign direct and non-direct investment as at December 2013) (Jeffery, 2015), the country through the current ANC leadership is clearly moving away from Western countries such as Europe, America and aligning itself with Russia and China. It may not be too late to “turn the ship around” so to speak, especially if the ANC can rid itself of the current pro-socialist and pro-communist leaders in its National Executive Committee (NEC), as well as other prominent positions in its leadership structures (which include ministers and deputy ministers) of which many such occupants are unwavering, declared SACP comrades.

## References

1. ANC. (2016a). Tripartite Alliance. Available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/themes.php?t=Tripartite%20Alliance>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
2. ANC. (2016b). The freedom charter. Available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>. Accessed on 1 February 2016.
3. BBC. (2014). South Africa profile – Timeline. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14094918>. Accessed on 11 November 2014.
4. South African History Online. (2016). The Freedom Charter is adopted in Kliptown. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/freedom-charter-adopted-kliptown>. Accessed on 4 February 2016.
5. Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2005). *Research methods in education*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. UK: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
6. Department of Trade and Industry. (2016a). Economic Empowerment. Available at: [http://www.dti.gov.za/economic\\_empowerment/bee.jsp](http://www.dti.gov.za/economic_empowerment/bee.jsp). Accessed on 26 January 2016.
7. Department of Trade and Industry. (2016b). Government gazette Staatskoerant. Available at: [https://www.thedti.gov.za/economic\\_empowerment/docs/code\\_gud\\_practice10102013.pdf](https://www.thedti.gov.za/economic_empowerment/docs/code_gud_practice10102013.pdf). Accessed on 26 January 2016.
8. Electoral Commission of South Africa. (2014). 2014 National and Provincial Elections: National results. Available at: <http://www.elections.org.za/content/elections/results/2014-national-and-provincial-elections--national-results/>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
9. Giliomee, H. (2013). The Soviets and the ANC: An enduring legacy? Available at: <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/the-soviets-and-the-anc-an-enduring-legacy>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
10. Jeffery, A. (2014). *BEE: Helping or hurting?* Cape Town: Tafelberg.
11. Jeffery, A. (2015a). Anthea Jeffery: Economic needs must trump anti-Western ideology. Available at: <http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Anthea-Jeffery-Economic-needs-must-trump-anti-Western-ideology-20150903>. Accessed on 4 September 2015.

The last point warrants a national debate on whether South Africa will still have a free-market economy or state- and government-controlled economy, thereby turning its back on capitalism and fully embracing socialism leading to communism. Anthea Jeffery (2015b) underscores this point by arguing that “... instead of blindly following the failed socialist prescriptions of a long outdated document [referring to the Freedom Charter], the ANC should recognize the Constitution [of the Republic of South Africa, 1996] as its ‘bible’, uphold its provisions and urgently implement the market-based reforms increasingly vital to investments, growth and jobs”.

In conclusion, another two quotations by Ayn Rand dating back to the early 1960s may add to this vital debate:

“The only proper, moral purpose of a government is to protect man’s rights, which means: to protect him from physical violence – to protect his right to his own life, to his own liberty, to his own property and to the pursuit of his own happiness. Without property rights, no other rights are possible” (Rand, 1961, p. 183).

“When one observes the nightmare of the desperate efforts made by hundreds of thousands of people struggling to escape from the socialized countries of Europe, to escape over barbed-wire fences, under machine-gun fire – one can no longer believe that socialism, in any of its forms, is motivated by benevolence and by the desire to achieve men’s welfare” (Rand, 1964, p. 86).



12. Jeffery, A. (2015b). Anthea Jeffrey: Constitution should be ANC’s bible – not 60 year old Freedom Charter. Available at: <http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Anthea-Jeffrey-Constitution-should-be-ANCs-bible-not-60-year-old-Freedom-Charter-20150624>. Accessed on 4 February 2016.
13. Krüger, L.P. (2014a). South African managers’ perceptions of black economic empowerment (BEE): A “sunset” clause may be necessary to ensure future sustainable growth, *Southern African Business Review*, 18 (1), pp. 80-99.
14. Krüger, L.P. (2014b). Broad-based black economic empowerment (B-BBEE) in South Africa: A moral and ethical management perspective, *Problems and Perspectives in Management*, 12 (4), pp. 442-456.
15. Mackenzie, N. & Knipe, S. (2006). Research dilemmas: paradigms, methods and methodology, *Issues in Educational Research*, 16, pp. 1-10.
16. Mbeki, M. (2011). Interesting article by Moeletsi Mbeki (Thabo Mbeki’s brother). Available at: <https://groups.google.com/forum#!msg/communist-university/CZPXgVekyk/uaDM04i6CVcJ>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
17. Mbeki, M. (2015). *Personal interview with Mr Moeletsi Mbeki by Prof. Louis P. Krüger*. Lonehill: Johannesburg on 5 February 2015.
18. Rand, A. (1961). For the new intellectual: Galt’s speech. Available at: <http://aynrandlexicon.com/lexicon/government/3.html>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
19. Rand, A. (1964). The virtue of selfishness. Available at: <https://www.aynrand.org/campus/globals/lexicon-repository/s/soviet-russia>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
20. Rand, A. (1966). Capitalism: the unknown ideal. Faith and force: the destroyers of the modern world. Available at: <http://aynrandlexicon.com/lexicon/capitalism.html>. Accessed on 26 January 2016.
21. Rand, A. (1989). The voice of reason: essays in objectivist thought. Available at: <http://aynrandlexicon.com/lexicon/capitalism.html>. Accessed on 4 February 2016.
22. SAPA (2014a). Corruption is a cancer – ANC. Available at: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Corruption-is-a-cancer-ANC-20140623>. Accessed on 24 June 2014.
23. Visagie, R. (2012). Methodological rigour and ethics of accountability within a qualitative framework, *Emoyeni Research Collaborations*, pp. 8-12.
24. Visagie, R. (2013). Choosing among the three paradigms, *Emoyeni Research Collaborations*, p. 19.

### Appendix

DATE	SOURCE	REC NR	TOPIC	AOWN	AMNC	ASKD	ASED	ASED	ASCR	ACSI	AAST	AAANC	ALLUN	BCSE	BNMA	BDWV	BPSE	BRHC	BPOM	BICE	BPGE	BCLA	BICP	SHORT TITLE		
20140103	PTANNEWS	1	BEE		X	X		X										X						5 EQUITY FIGHT GOES ON		
20140128	FIN24	2	BEE		X	X				X								X						6 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO CON COURT		
20140213	BEELED	3	BEE																					4 APPOINTED WHITE SOLIDARITY UNION		
20140311	BEELED	4	BEE	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X	X		X						11 WHITES STILL OWE A LOT		
20140320	NSAPA	5	BEE		X	X				X								X						6 PROMOTION ABOUT RACE NOT MERIT		
20140324	NSAPA	6	BEE					X										X						4 ZILLE ON EQUITY REGULATIONS		
20140329	CITIZEN	7	BEE					X																4 MOTSEPE SCORES RBBN IN BEE DEAL		
20140802	NSAPA	8	BEE	X								X						X						4 ANC/C CRITICS WHITE MEDIA OWNERSHIP		
20140826	NSAPA	9	BEE		X	X				X		X		X	X			X						8 WHITES KEPT OUT PUBLIC SERVICE		
20140730	FIN24	10	BEE	X				X										X						3 TELKOM PROPERTY POSES BEE DILEMMA		
20140801	FIN24	11	BEE			X								X				X						2 DEBATING TRANSFORMATION WITS		
20140814	NSAPA	12	BEE			X								X				X						2 FIRE INCOMPETENT FORENSIC EXPERT		
20140821	FIN24	13	BEE					X										X						2 NEED BEE CERTIFICATE?		
20140902	NSAPA	14	BEE		X	X				X								X						6 AA CASE - CON COURT IN FAVOUR OF SAPS		
20140902	NSAPA	15	BEE		X	X												X						5 BARNARD CON COURT RULING		
20140902	NSAPA	16	BEE		X	X												X						4 POLICE WELCOMES CON COURT		
20140903	NSAPA	17	BEE							X								X						3 BARNARD CASE TO UN		
20140904	NSAPA	18	BEE															X						2 SOLIDARITY SAPS COURT		
20140905	FIN24	19	BEE															X						4 SOLIDARITY SAPS LABOUR COURT		
20140909	FIN24	20	BEE							X								X						5 SOLIDARITY UNTERFERRED BY SAPS		
20140918	FIN24	21	BEE	X	X	X	X	X										X						7 RAMAPHOSA STATE’S BEE LIMITATIONS		
20140923	NSAPA	22	BEE			X									X			X						4 REVIEW EQUALITY COURT SOLIDARITY		
20140924	NSAPA	23	BEE															X						2 LEGAL PRACTICE BILL TRANSFORMATION		
20141001	NSAPA	24	BEE			X						X						X	X					6 PHIVEGA NO APOLOGIES FOR AA		
20141001	FIN24	25	BEE	X	X	X	X	X										X						8 NEF MUST PAY COMPENSATION		
20141001	NSAPA	26	BEE	X	X	X	X	X						X				X						6 'RESENTMENT' TOWARDS BLACK SUCCESS		
20141009	NSAPA	27	BEE	X	X	X	X	X						X				X						7 LONMIN PAYMENTS LOANS		
20141011	NSAPA	28	BEE															X						3 DCS IN CONTEMPT COURT		
20141012	FIN24	29	BEE				X											X						2 DTI DEAL ILLEGAL BEE AGENTS		
20141019	FIN24	30	BEE															X						2 MOST CEO, CFO STILL WHITE MALE		
20141019	NSAPA	31	BEE															X						2 DCS CONTEMPT ORDER DISMISSED		
20141023	FIN24	32	BEE															X						2 NEW BEE COUNCIL APPOINTED		
20141030	SOLIDAR	33	BEE	X	X	X	X	X			X							X						8 SOLIDARITY LODGES COMPLAINT UN		
TOTAL: BLUE				1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	1	0	4	34	
TOTAL: RED				8	13	16	8	11	1	5	3	2	0	0	4	6	3	3	13	2	0	2	0	0	13	117
				✓	POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION										✓	POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION										
				⚪	UNDETERMINED/UNKNOWN CONTRIBUTION										⚪	UNDETERMINED/UNKNOWN CONTRIBUTION										
				✗	NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION										✗	NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION										
TOPICS				THEMES										THEMES												
ARM	ARMS DEAL SERITI COMMISSION			AOWN	1			BEE OWNERSHIP							BCSE	11			CORRUPTION & SELF-ENRICHMENT							
ZPT	ZUMA SPY TAPES			AMNC	2			BEE MANAGEMENT CONTROL							BNMA	12			NEPOTISM & MALADMINISTRATION							
MAR	MARKINIA MASSACRE COMMISSION			ASKD	3			BEE SKILLS DEVELOPMENT							BDWV	13			DEMOCRACY & WESTERN VALUES							
NKA	NKANDLA ZUMA HOMESTEAD			ASED	4			BEE ENTERPRISE & SUPPLIER DEVELOPMENT							BPSE	14			PRIVATE SECTOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP							
PFO	PUBLIC PROTECTOR OFFICE			ASED	5			BEE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT							BRHC	15			RACIAL HARMONY & COHESIVENESS							
PAR	PARLIAMENT STATURE			ASCR	6			SOCIALISM COMMUNISM RUSSIA CHINA							BPOM	16			POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND MINORITIES							
ANC	ANC MAJORITY RULING PARTY			ACSI	7			COMMUNITY SERVICES IMPROVEMENT							BICE	17			INTERNATIONAL STATUS EXPORTS							
EFF	ECONOMIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS			AAST	8			AFRICAN STATUS IN UN WORLD BODIES							BPGE	18			PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH ECONOMY							
DAO	DA OPPOSITION PARTIES			AAANC	9			ANC POLITICAL DOMINANCE & MAJORITY RULE							BCLA	19			CRIME, LAWLESSNESS ANARCHY							
BEE	BEE EQUITY EMPLOY AFFIRM ACTION			ALLUN	10			LABOUR AND UNION STRIKES							BICP	20			JUDICIARY, CONSTITUTION AND PARLIAMENT							
NUCR	NUCLEAR RUSSIA																									

Pictogram 1. QUALT2AM BEE October 2014

Table 1A. Impact of BEE (January-December 2014)

№	Title	Year	Motivation
		2014	
1	Equity fight rages on	X	Regional and national demographics employment equity considered
2	ANC vows bitter anti-graft fight	X	Anc to power 20 years - still persistent poverty
3	ANC loyalty is support of a predatory state	X	People right connections loot the state
4	ANC report admits party has failed	X	Anc concede they failed to meet delivery targets
5	Affirmative action case goes to concourt	X	Appeal constitutional court against discrimination on basis of race
6	Our duty to rebuild ubuntu: zuma	✓	Work together in the spirit of ubuntu and respect rule of law
7	Kry pos, al is hy wit : english - gets post even though he is white	✓	Gets senior post after appeal even though he is white
8	Apartheid created sa's problems - zuma	✓	Apartheid created problems of institutionalised racism
9	Kommentaar: wittes skuld nog baie: english - whites owe a lot still	X	Bee benefitted anc cadres unduly - corruption and waste millions
10	Promotion about race, not merit, concourt hears	X	Decision not to promote based on race not merit
11	SA has a good story to tell, says zuma	✓	Legacy apartheid huge and backlogs are massive
12	Mbeki: freedom being abused for personal gain	X	Exploit freedom for personal aggrandisement
13	Zille warns on equity regulations	X	Ee regulations impact on jobs in western cape if implemented - demographics
14	Motsepe scores r8bn in sanlam BEE deal	✓	Made over r8bn from r200m in sanlam ubuntu-botho-bee deal
15	Don't be short-sighted about b-bbee codes	✓	Compliance brings b-bbee support mutual gains real innovation
16	SA sliding into crony capitalism - naidoo	X	Service delivery marred by corruption systems fail by incompetence and mediocrity
17	Only voters can say anc has problem - ramaphosa	✓	Voters will say how they love the party - anc lost support
18	SA still racially divided - ramaphosa	X	SA still gender and racially divided - socially cohesive to close racial gap
19	Anc has transformed SA - makhura	✓	Anc moving country forward - most unequal country in the world?
20	The anc there to serve - ramaphosa	✓	We are your servants - we listen to you
21	Ancyl concerned about white media ownership	X	Control counter-revolutionary whites - anc must own a newspaper
22	Corruption is a cancer - anc	X	Anc officials allegation of fraud, corruption and money laundering
23	Sairr: whites kept out of public service	X	Encouraged to keep posts vacant rather than fill with whites
24	Telkom's property poser	X	Divest telkom's properties delayed by b-bbee considerations
25	Jimmy manyi, adam habib debate transformation	X	Habib debates manyi on equitable representation as a legal issue at wits
26	Nene: nigeria's success a warning to sa	X	Supply side disruptions have plagued sa's economy
27	Government has failed	X	Sit secure in parliament and cover up latest scandals on corruption
28	The black BEE rainbow nation	X	Jobless whites are not even allowed to apply for work
29	Capitalists are using you, protest tell ramaphosa	X	You are a sell-out - ramaphosa must be charged for murdering african people
30	Fire incompetent people - forensic expert	X	Employ competent people ... not people who meet whatever crazy criterion
31	Never forget where we come from - zuma	✓	We must be reminded where we come from - under apartheid
32	In need of a BEE certificate?	X	Valid BEE certificate - exempt micro enterprises must still engage b-bbee
33	Mantasha: private sector must deal with past	✓	Private sector too slow to transform - where state is in charge there is progress
34	Aa case: concourt rules in favour of police	X	Appeal sca decision upheld and set aside - non-promotion on basis of race accepted
35	Barnard disappointed with concourt ruling	X	Barnard against the way they implemented aa - SA best constitution - no discrimination
36	Saps welcomes barnard concourt ruling	X	Saps welcome the judgement of concourt - discrimination accepted
37	Ex-cop barnard now turns to un	X	Take battle to un and ilo - ee laws not with international conventions on racism
38	Solidarity to take saps to court	X	Force saps to consult with trade union goes to labour court
39	Solidarity to court over saps labour talks	X	Solidarity to order saps to consult over aa plan
40	The rise of anc and the decline of black excellence	X	Current crop of anc leaders would not qualify - blatant ineptitude
41	Solidarity undeterred by saps equity case	X	Cases against racial minority groups to continue
42	Minority report: policing black incompetence	X	Divisive concourt ruling - reflects old cracks haunting SA as nation
43	Divided we fall - prosperity is a formula not a political structure	X	Majority must grasp the dynamics of self motivation and importance of education
44	The race game - democracy in flagrante delicto	X	Narrative of racial equality and population proportionality is nonsense
45	Ramaphosa admits state's BEE limitations	X	Be candid about limitations of BEE policies - push agenda transformation
46	Back to basics for local government - zuma	✓	Services to offer in professional manner and review tender systems
47	Open letter to "our" politicians and parliament (institutions)	X	Governing party fails to separate state, government and the anc party
48	Minister to review radebe decision - solidarity	X	Review decision not to appoint white man
49	Zuma signs legal practice bill	✓	Transformation of legal profession - increase skills irrespective of race
50	Phiyega: no apologies for affirmative action	X	Do not be apologetic - redress past injustices within confines of constitution
51	Nef must pay 'sorry money', says madonsela	X	Money withdrawn not "black person" under BEE - citizenship should be checked upfront
52	Mantasha: resentment towards black success	X	Conclusion of black success - must be corrupt or is connected to the anc
53	Lonmin payments were loans, says shanduka	X	Interest free loans prevent company default - endangered lonmin mining license
54	Armed struggle against anc government is becoming inevitable	X	Spirit in the post 1994 anc leadership - despicable rot

Table 1A (cont.). Impact of BEE (January-December 2014)

№	Title	Year	Motivation
		2014	
55	Truth about white monopoly	X	Proven in history and present day - BEE is a bad thing
56	Dcs in contempt of court over jobs - union	X	Correctional services not abided by court decision to observe regional demographics
57	Big problem with illegal BEE agens - dti	X	Illegal verification agents issue fraudulent BEE certificates
58	The eff's petty militarism versus parliament: south africa	X	Anc knows its wrongs - councillors emerge in opulence aloofness
59	Most ceos, cfos still white males - survey	✓	Through thuthuka bursary scheme hundreds of potential black cas
60	Solidarity's contempt of court application dismissed	✓	Dcs not wilfully failed with appointments national and regional demographics
61	Zuma appoints new BEE council members	X	Institutional advisory council to overall monitoring of b-bbee
62	Solidariteit le klag by vn: english - solidarity lays charge at united nations	X	SA government programme aa not in line with un resolution
63	Nzimande lashes out at sabc chair	X	Sabc person lying about having a degree
64	Tutu laments sa's "time warp"	X	Mechanisms to redistribute wealth have failed
65	Symptoms of the 'nongqawuse syndrome' in south africa	X	Nongqawuse tendencies of promulgating populist self-destruction
66	They have animals in africa	X	Claim an undisturbed africa as perfect before invasion of white man

Table 1A (references). Impact of BEE (Jan-Dec 2014)

№	Date	Source	Author	Reference
1	03.01.2014	Pretoria news		<a href="http://pretorianews.newspaperdirect.com/epaper/viewer.aspx">http://pretorianews.newspaperdirect.com/epaper/viewer.aspx</a>
2	11.01.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-vows-bitter-anti-graft-fight-20140111">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-vows-bitter-anti-graft-fight-20140111</a>
3	23.01.2014	Iol Pretoria news	Richard Pithouse	<a href="http://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/opinion/anc-loyalty-is-support-of-a-predatory-state-1.1635955">http://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/opinion/anc-loyalty-is-support-of-a-predatory-state-1.1635955</a>
4	27.01.2014	Iol news	L. Seale & P. Rampedi	<a href="http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-report-admits-party-has-failed-1.1637176">http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-report-admits-party-has-failed-1.1637176</a>
5	29.01.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Affirmative-action-case-goes-to-ConCourt-20140128">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Affirmative-action-case-goes-to-ConCourt-20140128</a>
6	13.02.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Our-duty-to-rebuild-Ubuntu-Zuma-20140213">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Our-duty-to-rebuild-Ubuntu-Zuma-20140213</a>
7	13.02.2014	BEELD	Sorja Carstens	<a href="http://beeld.com/nuus/2014-02-13-kry-pos-al-is-hy-wit">http://beeld.com/nuus/2014-02-13-kry-pos-al-is-hy-wit</a>
8	14.02.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Apartheid-created-SAs-problems-Zuma-20140214">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Apartheid-created-SAs-problems-Zuma-20140214</a>
9	11.03.2014	BEELD	S. Terreblanche	<a href="http://www.beeld.com/opinie/2014-03-11-kommnetaar-wittes-skuld-nog-baie">http://www.beeld.com/opinie/2014-03-11-kommnetaar-wittes-skuld-nog-baie</a>
10	20.03.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Promotion-about-race-not-merit-ConCourt-hears-20140320">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Promotion-about-race-not-merit-ConCourt-hears-20140320</a>
11	21.03.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-has-a-good-story-to-tell-says-Zuma-20140321">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-has-a-good-story-to-tell-says-Zuma-20140321</a>
12	24.03.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mbeki-Freedom-being-abused-for-personal-gain-20140324">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mbeki-Freedom-being-abused-for-personal-gain-20140324</a>
13	25.03.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Zille-warns-on-equity-regulations-20140324-5">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Zille-warns-on-equity-regulations-20140324-5</a>
14	25.03.2014	CITIZEN	Riaz Gardee	<a href="http://citizen.co.za/148953/motsepe-scores-r8bn-in-sanlam-bee-deal/">http://citizen.co.za/148953/motsepe-scores-r8bn-in-sanlam-bee-deal/</a>
15	11.04.2014	FIN24	C. Wijnberg	<a href="http://m.news24.com/fin24/Entrepreneurs/News/Dont-be-short-sighted-about-BBEE-codes-20140411">http://m.news24.com/fin24/Entrepreneurs/News/Dont-be-short-sighted-about-BBEE-codes-20140411</a>
16	17.04.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/SA-sliding-into-crony-capitalism-Naidoo-20140417">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/SA-sliding-into-crony-capitalism-Naidoo-20140417</a>
17	20.04.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/Only-voters-can-say-ANC-has-problem-Ramaphosa-20140420">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/Only-voters-can-say-ANC-has-problem-Ramaphosa-20140420</a>
18	29.04.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/SA-still-racially-divided-Ramaphosa-20140429">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/SA-still-racially-divided-Ramaphosa-20140429</a>
19	30.04.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/ANC-has-transformed-SA-Makhura-20140430">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/ANC-has-transformed-SA-Makhura-20140430</a>
20	01.05.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://news24.com/Elections/News/The-ANC-there-to-serve-Ramaphosa-20140430">http://news24.com/Elections/News/The-ANC-there-to-serve-Ramaphosa-20140430</a>
21	02.05.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Electiosn/News/ANCYL-concerned-about-white-media-ownership-20140502">http://www.news24.com/Electiosn/News/ANCYL-concerned-about-white-media-ownership-20140502</a>
22	23.06.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Corruption-is-a-cancer-ANC-20140623">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Corruption-is-a-cancer-ANC-20140623</a>
23	26.06.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SAIRR-Whites-kept-out-of-public-service-20140626">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SAIRR-Whites-kept-out-of-public-service-20140626</a>
24	30.07.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Tech/Opion/Telkoms-property-poser-20140730">http://www.fin24.com/Tech/Opion/Telkoms-property-poser-20140730</a>
25	01.08.2014	FIN24	M. Smallhome	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Debating-transformation-20140801">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Debating-transformation-20140801</a>
26	01.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Nene-Nigerias-success-a-warning-to-SA-20140801">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Nene-Nigerias-success-a-warning-to-SA-20140801</a>
27	05.08.2014	NEWS24	D. Wadsworth	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Government-has-failed-20140805">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Government-has-failed-20140805</a>
28	08.08.2014	NEWS24	Mav Ricsa	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-Black-BEE-rainbow-nation-20140808">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-Black-BEE-rainbow-nation-20140808</a>
29	12.08.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Capitalists-are-using-you-protests-tell-Ramaphosa-20140812">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Capitalists-are-using-you-protests-tell-Ramaphosa-20140812</a>
30	14.08.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Fire-incompetent-people-forensic-expert-20140814">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Fire-incompetent-people-forensic-expert-20140814</a>
31	15.08.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Never-forget-where-we-come-from-Zuma-20140815">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Never-forget-where-we-come-from-Zuma-20140815</a>
32	21.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Entrepreneurs/Question-And-Answers/In-need-of-a-BEE-certificate-20140821">http://www.fin24.com/Entrepreneurs/Question-And-Answers/In-need-of-a-BEE-certificate-20140821</a>
33	22.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Mantasha-Private-sector-must-deal-with-past-20140822">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Mantasha-Private-sector-must-deal-with-past-20140822</a>
34	02.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/AA-case-ConCourt-rules-in-favour-of-police-20140902">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/AA-case-ConCourt-rules-in-favour-of-police-20140902</a>
35	02.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Barnard-disappointed-with-ConCourt-ruling-20140902">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Barnard-disappointed-with-ConCourt-ruling-20140902</a>
36	02.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Nes/SAPS-welcomes-Barnard-ConCourt-ruling-20140902">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Nes/SAPS-welcomes-Barnard-ConCourt-ruling-20140902</a>
37	03.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Ex-cop-Barnard-now-turns-to-UN-20140903">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Ex-cop-Barnard-now-turns-to-UN-20140903</a>
38	04.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Solidarity-to-take-SAPS-to-court-20140904">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Solidarity-to-take-SAPS-to-court-20140904</a>
39	05.09.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Solidarity-to-court-over-Saps-labour-talks-20140905">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Solidarity-to-court-over-Saps-labour-talks-20140905</a>

Table 1A (references) (cont.). Impact of BEE (Jan-Dec 2014)

No	Date	Source	Author	Reference
40	05.09.2014	NEWS24	Matome Letsoalo	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2014/09/rise-anc-decline-black-excellence/">http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2014/09/rise-anc-decline-black-excellence/</a>
41	09.09.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Solidarity-undeterred-by-Saps-equity-case-20140909">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Solidarity-undeterred-by-Saps-equity-case-20140909</a>
42	09.09.2014	NEWS24	Tshethe Litheko	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/tshethe-litheko/2014/09/minority-report-policing-black-incompetence/">http://voices.news24.com/tshethe-litheko/2014/09/minority-report-policing-black-incompetence/</a>
43	15.09.2014	NEWS24	A. Graeme Wilson	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Divided-we-fall-Prosperity-is-a-formula-not-a-political-structure-20140914">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Divided-we-fall-Prosperity-is-a-formula-not-a-political-structure-20140914</a>
44	16.09.2014	NEWS24	Martin Warburg	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2014/09/race-game-democracy-flagrante-delicto/">http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2014/09/race-game-democracy-flagrante-delicto/</a>
45	18.09.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Ramaphosa-admits-states-BEE-limitations-20140918">http://www.fin24.com/Ramaphosa-admits-states-BEE-limitations-20140918</a>
46	18.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Back-to-basics-for-local-government-Zuma-20140918">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Back-to-basics-for-local-government-Zuma-20140918</a>
47	19.09.2014	NEWS24	Siiphamandla	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Open-Letter-to-OUR-Politicians-and-Parliament-Institutions-20140919">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Open-Letter-to-OUR-Politicians-and-Parliament-Institutions-20140919</a>
48	23.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Minister-to-review-Radebe-decision-Solidarity-20140923">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Minister-to-review-Radebe-decision-Solidarity-20140923</a>
49	24.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zuma-signs-legal-practice-bill-20140924">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zuma-signs-legal-practice-bill-20140924</a>
50	01.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Phiyega-No-apologies-for-affirmative-action-20141001">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Phiyega-No-apologies-for-affirmative-action-20141001</a>
51	01.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/NEF-must-pay-sorry-money-says-Madonsela-20141001">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/NEF-must-pay-sorry-money-says-Madonsela-20141001</a>
52	01.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mantashe-Resentment-towards-black-success-20141001">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Mantashe-Resentment-towards-black-success-20141001</a>
53	03.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Companies/Mining/Lonmin-payments-were-loans-says-Shanduka-20141003">http://www.fin24.com/Companies/Mining/Lonmin-payments-were-loans-says-Shanduka-20141003</a>
54	03.10.2014	NEWS24	Matome Letsoalo	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2014/10/armed-struggle-anc-government-becoming-inevitable/">http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2014/10/armed-struggle-anc-government-becoming-inevitable/</a>
55	05.10.2014	NEWS24	L. Jnr Jooste331	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Truth-about-white-monopoly-20141005">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Truth-about-white-monopoly-20141005</a>
56	11.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/DCS-in-contempt-of-court-over-jobs-union-20141011">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/DCS-in-contempt-of-court-over-jobs-union-20141011</a>
57	12.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Big-problem-with-illegal-BEE-agents-dti-20141012">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Big-problem-with-illegal-BEE-agents-dti-20141012</a>
58	15.10.2014	NEWS24	Brad Cibane	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/brad-cibane/2014/10/economic-freedom-fighters-petty-militarism-will-break-south-africas-democracy/">http://voices.news24.com/brad-cibane/2014/10/economic-freedom-fighters-petty-militarism-will-break-south-africas-democracy/</a>
59	15.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Most-CEOs-CFOs-still-white-males-survey-20141015">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Most-CEOs-CFOs-still-white-males-survey-20141015</a>
60	15.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Solidaritys-contempt-of-court-application-dismissed-20141015">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Solidaritys-contempt-of-court-application-dismissed-20141015</a>
61	23.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Zuma-appoints-new-BEE-council-members-20141023">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Zuma-appoints-new-BEE-council-members-20141023</a>
62	30.10.2014	Solidarity		<a href="https://regsfonds.solidariteit.co.za/solidariteit-le-klagte-by-vn-teen-die-suid-afrikaanse-regering-oor-die-nienakoming-van-vn-resolusie/">https://regsfonds.solidariteit.co.za/solidariteit-le-klagte-by-vn-teen-die-suid-afrikaanse-regering-oor-die-nienakoming-van-vn-resolusie/</a>
63	02.11.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-lashes-out-at-SABC-chair-20141102">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-lashes-out-at-SABC-chair-20141102</a>
64	12.12.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Tutu-laments-SAs-time-warp-20141212">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Tutu-laments-SAs-time-warp-20141212</a>
65	15.12.2014	NEWS24	Fairchance Ncube	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/fairchance-ncube/2014/12/symptoms-nongqawuse-syndrome-south-africa/">http://voices.news24.com/fairchance-ncube/2014/12/symptoms-nongqawuse-syndrome-south-africa/</a>
66	20.12.2014	NEWS24	Celma Costa	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/celma-costa/2014/12/they-have-animals-in-africa/">http://voices.news24.com/celma-costa/2014/12/they-have-animals-in-africa/</a>

Table 1B. Impact of BEE (Jan 2015 – Jan 2016)

No	Title	Year	Motivation
		2015	
67	Anglo could pull plug on eskom coal supply	X	Government require that blacks own at least 55% of a supplier
68	Economy is not working, patel told	X	The BEE thing that has been done ... is not solving economic problems
69	SA BEE criticism casts dark cloud on mining	X	Forced to sell 26% of assets to black south africans to narrow disparities
70	'Flaccid dti lacks courage'	X	Bee issues badly managed by the dti and lacks courage to champion transformation
71	Farewell rainbow nation	X	Black economic empowerment system has failed dismally to create jobs
72	Government in denial about corruption - alliance	X	Diversion of billions of rands from delivery into hands of the elite
73	Business must step up to plate as dti dithers on beee	X	Onus remains on big business to transform its supply chains
74	The true value of sa's BEE deals revealed	✓	Amount generated shows that BEE deals do not create value are false
75	Time to halt BEE - replace with "economic empowerment for the disadvantaged"	X	Warned against BEE ownership requirements will deter foreign direct investment
76	Transformation and "unintended consequences" - subverting democracy	X	Transformation coercive, racially driven and carry's costs to the economy
77	Key interventions did not shift economy - anc	X	Acceleration of b-bee as it has not shifted the economy
78	Corruption a cancer to development	X	Corruption a cancer to development objectives - illicit capital outflows
79	Manyi: 'white-owned' business has betrayed mandela's reconciliation legacy	X	Government to ensure that the consequences for not doing BEE ...
80	SA inc only as strong as its leadership	X	Invariably negative and often scathing in governing by anc
81	Vavi: corruption at root of eskom load shedding	X	Bee suppliers earning more than double the profits with zero value added
82	Phosa slates BEE policy	X	Millions black people see only a few that largely benefitted from tenderpreneurship
83	"Transformation", provocation and confrontation: insurrection looms	X	Included affirmative action and BEE benefitting minority low productivity interests
84	Kgalema molthanthe calling it as it is	✓	Rot of corruption spreads across the state and society
85	Mathews phosa takes swipe at zuma	✓	Form united front against corruption - the country and its people must come first
86	How the world sees us: tim knight- SA's slide from madiba to zuma. oh boy.	X	SA further away from democratic dream - zuma believes SA is his personal fiefdom

Table 1B (cont.). Impact of BEE (Jan 2015 – Jan 2016)

No	Title	Year	Motivation
87	'Zulu king was reflecting on apartheid, not defending it'	X	Black people destroy gains of the past - good and bad in democratic government
88	Trevor manuel blasts zuma's finmin blunder, asks tough questions	X	Dismissing minister - breakdown in trust SA electorate, markets and business
89	Herman mashaba responds: anc failed the people. time for change	X	Anti-constitutional agenda seeking to divide SA along racial lines incite racial disparity
90	Brilliant: johan battersby unpacks nenegate, jacob zuma's greatest blunder	X	Nene obervance of procurement procedures leads to growing band of zuma critics
91	Robert Miller: good ship rsa leaking badly: those in cheap seats don't know	X	Satirical piece - mismanaging, neglecting repairs, untrained crew on critical systems
92	Mailbox: zuma's #nenegate insanity. 10 reasons you should be worried	X	Food, travel, inflation, market, borrow,unemployment, crime, emigration, taxes, debt
93	Destructive zuma busy hollowing out the beloved country	X	Zuma's misrule has gone mainstream - government procurement riddled with graft
		2016	
94	Black entrepreneur, editors defend chris hart	✓	Economics voices - punish ignorant views - transformation equates to mediocrity
95	Twittercide: chris hart - is this the track record of a racist?	X	Economist widely condemned as racist - he isn't - causes racial polarization
96	We are working to strengthen state-owned enterprises - zuma	X	Achievement of financial sustainability through office chief procurement officer
97	Redistribution is a moral imperative - zuma	X	Manage public funds responsibly - a choice between growth and redistribution
98	Do away with policies based on race - mashaba	X	Do away with policies based on race including black economic empowerment
99	Anc using race to loot the country - mashaba	X	Race-based politics - use race to divide - anc ploicies only benefit them and cronies
100	Witch hunt and selective condemnation	X	Outrage over racism cover-up by - calls for racial extermination
101	Zuma needs to be honest	X	Zuma & anc let nation down - corruption, cadre deployment, mismanagement
102	Pic funding claims 'intended to tarnish its integrity'	X	Public investment corporation transferred r40m into account to pay anc staff - claim
103	Maimane got racism reduced	X	America own form of BEE and ee laws - yet system hard to crack - refuse watering down
104	Anc wants kohler to pay r500 000, face criminal charges	X	Anc taking racist to court - kumalo called to do to whites what hitler did to jews
105	The "racist" shield: free speech on trail	X	White resentment through process of systemic racial exclusion
106	SA moves five places on corruption perception index	✓	Extent of corruption in the country stabilising
107	SA walking ratings tightrope	X	Standard & Poor - lower sa's rating - electricity shortage, weak business confidence
108	Is gordhan sa's knight is shining armour?	X	Assurances to the world - SA wakes up to the real mess by nenegate - pragmatism
109	Racism can't be cured or debated - mantashe	X	Transform the economy and access to land - address inequality and racism
110	Racism can't be cured or debated	X	Counter argument - state to protect human rights violation caused by corruption

Proposition 1: decision criteria – majority blue impact: accept proposition BEE directly or indirectly has a positive influence on the economic growth social development and political democracy of South Africa.

Table 1B (references). Impact of BEE (January 2015-January 2016)

No	Date	Source	Author	Reference
67	16.02.2015	FIN24	Jan de Lange	<a href="http://fin24.com/Companies/Mining/Anglo-could-pull-plug-on-Eskom-coal-supply-20150216">http://fin24.com/Companies/Mining/Anglo-could-pull-plug-on-Eskom-coal-supply-20150216</a>
68	13.05.2015	FIN24	Donwald Pressly	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Economy-is-not-working-Patel-told-20150513">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Economy-is-not-working-Patel-told-20150513</a>
69	16.05.2015	M.NEWS24		<a href="http://m.news24.com/fin24/Economy/sa-bee-criticism-casts-dark-cloud-on-mining-20150516">http://m.news24.com/fin24/Economy/sa-bee-criticism-casts-dark-cloud-on-mining-20150516</a>
70	22.05.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Companies/Industrial/Flaccid-dti-lacks-courage-20150522">http://www.fin24.com/Companies/Industrial/Flaccid-dti-lacks-courage-20150522</a>
71	01.06.2015	NEWS24	Sacha Coquelin	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Farewell-Rainbow-Nation-20150601">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Farewell-Rainbow-Nation-20150601</a>
72	17.06.2015	M&G	Adam Wakefield	<a href="http://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-17-government-in-denial-about-corruption-alliance/">http://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-17-government-in-denial-about-corruption-alliance/</a>
73	29.06.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Entrepreneurs/News/Business-must-step-up-to-plate-as-dti-dithers-on-BEE-20150629">http://www.fin24.com/Entrepreneurs/News/Business-must-step-up-to-plate-as-dti-dithers-on-BEE-20150629</a>
74	29.06.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/The-true-value-of-SAs-BEE-deals-revealed-20150629">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/The-true-value-of-SAs-BEE-deals-revealed-20150629</a>
75	09.07.2015	FIN24	Anthea Jeffery	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Time-to-halt-BEE-replace-with-economic-empowerment-for-the-disadvantaged-20150708">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Time-to-halt-BEE-replace-with-economic-empowerment-for-the-disadvantaged-20150708</a>
76	21.07.2015	NEWS24	MARTIN WARBURG	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2015/07/transformation-unintended-consequences-felonies-subvert-democracy/">http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2015/07/transformation-unintended-consequences-felonies-subvert-democracy/</a>
77	21.08.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Key-interventions-did-not-shift-economy-ANC-20150821">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Key-interventions-did-not-shift-economy-ANC-20150821</a>
78	25.08.2015	NEWS24	Thomas Hartleb	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Corruption-a-cancer-to-development-ANC-20150825">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Corruption-a-cancer-to-development-ANC-20150825</a>
79	27.08.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Manyi-White-Owned-business-has-betrayed-Mandelas-reconciliation-legacy-20150821">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Manyi-White-Owned-business-has-betrayed-Mandelas-reconciliation-legacy-20150821</a>
80	27.08.2015	FIN24	Leopold Scholtz	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/SA-Inc-only-as-strong-as-its-leadership-20150827">http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/SA-Inc-only-as-strong-as-its-leadership-20150827</a>
81	11.09.2015	FIN24	Dane Mcdonald	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Eskom/Vavi-Corruption-at-root-of-Eskom-load-shedding-20150911">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Eskom/Vavi-Corruption-at-root-of-Eskom-load-shedding-20150911</a>
82	18.09.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Phosa-slates-BEE-policy-20150918">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Phosa-slates-BEE-policy-20150918</a>
83	01.10.2015	NEWS24	Martin Warburg	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2015/09/transformation-provocation-confrontation-insurrection-looms/">http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2015/09/transformation-provocation-confrontation-insurrection-looms/</a>

Table 1B (references) (cont.). Impact of BEE (January 2015-January 2016)

No	Date	Source	Author	Reference
84	08.11.2015	NEWS24	Ebrahim Harvey	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Opinions/Kgalema-Motlanthe-calling-it-as-it-is-20151108">http://www.news24.com/Opinions/Kgalema-Motlanthe-calling-it-as-it-is-20151108</a>
85	20.11.2015	FIN24	Siseko Njobeni	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economist/mathews-posa-takes-swipe-at-jacob-zuma-20151120">http://www.fin24.com/Economist/mathews-posa-takes-swipe-at-jacob-zuma-20151120</a>
86	20.11.2015	FIN24	Tim Knight	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/how-the-world-sees-us-tim-knight-sas-slide-from-madiba-to-zuma-oh-boy-20151120">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/how-the-world-sees-us-tim-knight-sas-slide-from-madiba-to-zuma-oh-boy-20151120</a>
87	07.12.2015	NEWS24	Amanda Khoza	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zulu-king-was-reflecting-on-apartheid-not-defending-it-20151207">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zulu-king-was-reflecting-on-apartheid-not-defending-it-20151207</a>
88	22.12.2015	FIN24	Trevor Manuel	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/must-read-trevor-manuel-blasts-zumas-finmin-blunder-asks-tough-questions-20151222">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/must-read-trevor-manuel-blasts-zumas-finmin-blunder-asks-tough-questions-20151222</a>
89	22.12.2015	FIN24	Herman Mashaba	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/herman-mashaba-responds-anc-failed-the-people-time-for-change-20151222">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/herman-mashaba-responds-anc-failed-the-people-time-for-change-20151222</a>
90	24.12.2015	FIN24	John Batterby	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/brilliant-john-battersby-unpacks-nenegate-jacob-zumas-greatest-blunder-20151224">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/brilliant-john-battersby-unpacks-nenegate-jacob-zumas-greatest-blunder-20151224</a>
91	28.12.2015	FIN24	Robert Miller	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/robert-miller-good-ship-rsa-leaking-badly-those-in-cheap-seats-dont-know-20151228">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/robert-miller-good-ship-rsa-leaking-badly-those-in-cheap-seats-dont-know-20151228</a>
92	29.12.2015	FIN24	George Vine	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/mailbox-zumas-nenegate-insanity-10-reasons-you-should-be-worried-20151229">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/mailbox-zumas-nenegate-insanity-10-reasons-you-should-be-worried-20151229</a>
93	30.12.2015	FIN24	Alec Hogg	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/how-world-sees-sa-destructive-zuma-busy-hollowing-out-the-beloved-country-20151230">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/how-world-sees-sa-destructive-zuma-busy-hollowing-out-the-beloved-country-20151230</a>
2016				
94	06.01.2016	FIN24	M. le Cordeur	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Tech/News/black-entrepreneur-editors-defend-chris-hart-20160106">http://www.fin24.com/Tech/News/black-entrepreneur-editors-defend-chris-hart-20160106</a>
95	06.06.2016	FIN24	ALEC HOGG	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/twittercide-chris-hart-is-this-the-track-record-of-a-racist-20160106">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/twittercide-chris-hart-is-this-the-track-record-of-a-racist-20160106</a>
96	09.01.2016	NEWS24	K. Ngoepe & G. Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/we-are-working-to-strengthen-state-owned-enterprises-zuma-20160109">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/we-are-working-to-strengthen-state-owned-enterprises-zuma-20160109</a>
97	09.01.2016	NEWS24	G. Quintal & K. Ngoepe	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/redistribution-is-a-moral-and-economic-imperative-zuma-20160109">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/redistribution-is-a-moral-and-economic-imperative-zuma-20160109</a>
98	16.01.2016	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/do-away-with-policies-based-on-race-mashaba-20160116">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/do-away-with-policies-based-on-race-mashaba-20160116</a>
99	18.01.2016	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-using-race-to-loot-the-country-mashaba-20160118">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-using-race-to-loot-the-country-mashaba-20160118</a>
100	19.01.2016	NEWS24	M. du Preex	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/witch-hunts-and-selective-condemnation-20160119">http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/witch-hunts-and-selective-condemnation-20160119</a>
101	20.01.2016	NEWS24	Jenni Evans	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zuma-needs-to-be-honest-buthelezi-20160120">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zuma-needs-to-be-honest-buthelezi-20160120</a>
102	20.01.2016	NEWS24	G. Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/pic-funding-claims-intended-to-tarnish-its-integrity-20160120">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/pic-funding-claims-intended-to-tarnish-its-integrity-20160120</a>
103	20.01.2016	NEWS24	Bo Mbindwane	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/bo-mbindwane/2016/01/maimane-got-racism-bended/">http://voices.news24.com/bo-mbindwane/2016/01/maimane-got-racism-bended/</a>
104	21.01.2016	NEWS24	T. Gqirana	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-wants-kohler-barnard-to-pay-r500-000-face-criminal-charges-20160121">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/anc-wants-kohler-barnard-to-pay-r500-000-face-criminal-charges-20160121</a>
105	26.01.2016	NEWS24	M. Warburg	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2016/01/racist-shield-free-speech-trial/">http://voices.news24.com/martin-warburg/2016/01/racist-shield-free-speech-trial/</a>
106	27.01.2016	NEWS24	G. Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/sa-moves-five-places-on-corruption-perception-index-20160127">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/sa-moves-five-places-on-corruption-perception-index-20160127</a>
107	27.01.2016	NEWS24	C smith	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/sa-walking-ratings-tightrope-20160127">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/sa-walking-ratings-tightrope-20160127</a>
108	27.01.2016	NEWS24	S Moeng	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/is-gordhan-sas-knight-in-shining-armour-20160127">http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/is-gordhan-sas-knight-in-shining-armour-20160127</a>
109	28.01.2016	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/racism-cant-be-cured-or-debated-mantashe-20160128">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/racism-cant-be-cured-or-debated-mantashe-20160128</a>
110	29.01.2016	NEWS24	A. Cordier	<a href="http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/racism-cant-be-cured-or-debated-mantashe-20160129-3">http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/racism-cant-be-cured-or-debated-mantashe-20160129-3</a>

Table 2. Movement towards socialism/communism of BEE (January 2014-January 2016)

No	Title	Year	Motivation
		2014	
1	Socialism is a philosophy of failure	✓	Socialism relates closely to policies of the anc and certainly with those of eff
2	Eff loud-mouth demagogues: cronin	✓	Sacp deputy accuses eff tenderpreneurs in red berets seeking self-enrichment
3	Teach da a lesson : nzimande	✓	Sacp gs accuses da: black people are only good enough to march to parliament
4	Grants helped keep anc in power - analyst	✓	Government social grants helped the anc to maintain its support
5	Davies: SA at root of us, africa trade	X	SA is at the centre of exploring trade opportunities with the us - agoa
6	SA is open to us investment - minister	X	International relations minister- SA needs more american companies to invest
7	Zuma: south africa is open for business	X	Zuma explains how important us investment was
8	Obama could have done more - zuma	X	Zuma's expectations in dealings with africa - believe they could have done more
9	Radebe: minerals belong to the people as a whole	✓	Minerals belong to SA people as a whole and should embrace equity race and gender
10	Sacp: eff a dangerous cancer	✓	Sacp says eff is dangerous cancer smashing parliament
11	Putin-zuma growing closer: what for?	✓	Zuma and putin share opposition to imperialist tendencies of western powers
12	The secret rise of communism in sa	✓	South africa is starting to look like a communist country
13	State is auctioned to the highest bidder	✓	Freedom charter proclaims the people shall govern based on the will of the people
14	The dalai lama and sa's visa dilemma	✓	SA worried about annoying china and thereby risking billions rands in investments
15	Anc wants zuma shielded from 'humiliation' in parly	✓	Anc sg gwede mantashe believes the intended zuma humiliation undermining democracy
16	Parly should allow space to answer questions - mantashe	✓	Nec has noted how parliament has descended into chaos unruly offensive against anc

Table 2 (cont.). Movement towards socialism/communism of BEE (January 2014-January 2016)

№	Title	Year	Motivation
17	Opposition parties good for nothing - nzimande	✓	Those who attack sacp will not survive - sacp proud to be associated with sadtu
18	China 'does not dictate to sa'	✓	Perception of china dictates unfounded - is major trade partner
19	Banks must serve people - nzimande	✓	Banks are exploitative and parasitic and use platform to change the economy
20	Mantashe: mining sector suffers from trust deficit	✓	Government not night watchman for capital - ndp to achieve economic growth
21	Nzimande: SA has plan for youth unemployment	X	"Marshall plan" to assist people unable to find decent employment
22	Anc mps must use their numbers - mantashe	✓	Anc must use large numbers to take charge and make decisions
23	Capital flight dwarfs corruption - sacp	✓	Problems of corruption dwarfed by capital flight and economic transformation
24	Vosloo: anc wants to be big brother	✓	Independent press will find it harder to preserve media freedom under anc
25	Numsa exit a case of self-expulsion - sacp	✓	Numsa leadership has no inclination to be constructive - sacp spokesperson
26	Numsa expulsion: what it means for the anc	✓	Mantashe reaffirmed that numsa expulsion is bad for anc alliance
27	South africa set to become a three party state	✓	Socialists, pragmatists, crony capitalists - socialism on the upsurge
28	Regime change not a bad thing - prof	X	Replacement of anc would be good democracy in practice - sacp must be reminded
29	Anc is the bodyguard of capitalism says eff	X	Anc government accused of being the bodyguard of white capital monopoly
30	Chinese imperialism and african elites are a toxic mixture	✓	China using africa as vast market to dump cheap goods and accommodate citizens
		2015	
31	Govt won't let go of eskom, other soes - expert	✓	Government to "turn around" saa, sabc and sapo disasters on its own
32	A show of who's boss	✓	Corrupt, inept movement, dominated by worshippers of lenin, stalin and the ussr
33	Sa's democracy a juvenile delinquent	✓	Sacp hates eff being more socialist than sacp and using marxist rhetoric more often
34	Floundering and needs to find its own fw de klerk	✓	SA heading for dictatorship - president doesn't regard himself as accountable
35	SA violates international law once, twice, three times - analyst	✓	SA adopting a position on human rights which aligns with likes of china and russia
36	Judiciary shouldn't interfere in politics - nzimade	✓	Sacp doctrine pushed that judiciary overreaching and interfering in political arena
37	Nzimande: al-bashir court challenge was attempt to embarrass govt	✓	Sacp states protocols to be followed like un and au can't be less
38	Al-bashir and the rule of law	✓	Zuma about-turn from the icc is watershed - damage to SA reputation immense
39	Anc actions point towards 60yr old freedom charter - not the constitution	✓	Freedom charter largely drawn up by communists approved by moscow
40	I am white and i want to stay ... But	✓	The constitution and the disregard being dismantled in front of our very eyes
41	Putin welcomes brics leaders amid standoff with west	✓	Moscow believes standoff with west over ukraine is isolated
42	Eff. blade nzimande is an 'intellectual dwarf'	X	Sacp against eff who reject neoliberalism, embrace socialism and use marxism, leninism
43	Trevor manuel's sacp critique important	X	Almost entire top structure of sacp in cabinet and sg anc and president cosatu in sacp
44	Anc wants to 'mend its ways'	✓	Eff gained 11% and da support grew by 6.5% - social transformation strong
45	Icc showing SA 'cheeky arrogance'	✓	Western nations accused of using icc to effect regime change in africa
46	Taxpayers fork out r7m for 40 trips to china ... and counting	✓	China is destination of choice of government for officials and civil servants
47	You had 20 years to focus economy on local industry	✓	Detestable capitalist economy where private sector not obliged to create employment
48	Economic needs must trump anti-western ideology	✓	Anc intent on alienating the west by adopting pro-russia and china stance
49	Socialist by name, capitalist by nature	✓	Is the anc still socialist? Sacp tail wagging the anc dog
50	Equitable investment treaties? Protects china, chastises west	✓	China has bits SA agreement - why not eu and west? Dti terminates bits with eu states
51	SA can't afford anti-west attacks	✓	Zuma goes out of his way to attack the west - "bite the hand that feeds you"
52	Nzimande slams quality of journalism	✓	Sacp deplores media content as "horrifying" - media monopoly catered for middle class
53	Anc has abandoned its founding principles of the new South Africa	✓	Anc has abandoned principles - resorts to bullying, propaganda and hostility
54	Only cowards speak out against anc : zuma	✓	Anc shows signs of dictatorship - previous leaders are now biggest critics of the anc
54	The anc comes first, not the country - zuma	✓	"the anc comes first" comment - people without revolutionary organisation in trouble
55	Zuma's 'anc comes first' comments signs of a dictatorship	✓	Eff - anc speak language of dictators who think they hold monopoly of wisdom
56	Zuma must apologise for 'anc comes first' comment - da	✓	Da - unbecoming of president's sworn oath to be faithful republic
57	Rich white men made mandela turn against the revolution - malema	✓	Deviation of freedom charter beginning of selling out
58	'Politicians who use mandela's name negatively are politically bankrupt'	X	Anc criticizes eff - being disingenuous and they will not engage such individuals
59	Ramaphosa, dlamini hit out at malema	X	Ramaphosa rebukes eff leader - sacp more radical transformation
60	Africa, china relationship at its highest level ever following summit - zuma	✓	Historic outcomes after summit with china who were there when help was needed
61	2016: eight risky events to watch in sa	✓	Barclays/absa disinvestment - government policy of economic nationalism
62	Mandela didn't betray the people of sa	X	Anc leans towards more socialist approach

Table 2 (cont.). Movement towards socialism/communism of BEE (January 2014-January 2016)

No	Title	Year	Motivation
		2016	
63	More China-SA 'in-depth' cooperation	X	More in depth cooperation - open up china economy - no-one in poverty
64	Numsa still on track for new workers' party - jim	✓	Build marxist-leninist workers' party to replace capitalist with socialist society
65	Zuma panel no-show, gordhan rejected as SA stock falls even lower in davos	✓	Zuma star attraction - no show most disappointing wef - difficult questions
66	Would a black economy be the answer to racist white capital?	✓	Black economy centered on employment - create community/state owned companies

Table 2 (references). Movement towards socialism/communism of BEE (January 2014-January 2016)

No	Date	Source	Author	Reference
2014				
1	24.04.2014	NEWS24	Siphiwo Ntshuntshe	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/es-ntshuntshe/2014/04/socialism-philosophy-failure/">http://voices.news24.com/es-ntshuntshe/2014/04/socialism-philosophy-failure/</a>
2	01.05.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/EFF-loud-mouth-demagogues-Cronin-20140501">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/EFF-loud-mouth-demagogues-Cronin-20140501</a>
3	01.05.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://news24.com/Elections/News/Teach-DA-a-lesson-Nzimande-20140501">http://news24.com/Elections/News/Teach-DA-a-lesson-Nzimande-20140501</a>
4	09.05.2015	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/Grants-helped-keep-ANC-in-power-analyst-20140509">http://www.news24.com/Elections/News/Grants-helped-keep-ANC-in-power-analyst-20140509</a>
5	01.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Davies-SA-at-root-of-US-Africa-trade-20140801">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Davies-SA-at-root-of-US-Africa-trade-20140801</a>
6	04.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/SA-is-open-to-US-investment-minister-20140804">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/SA-is-open-to-US-investment-minister-20140804</a>
7	05.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Zuma-South-Africa-is-open-for-business-20140804">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Zuma-South-Africa-is-open-for-business-20140804</a>
8	05.08.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Obama-could-have-done-more-Zuma-20140805">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Obama-could-have-done-more-Zuma-20140805</a>
9	14.08.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Radebe-Minerals-belong-to-people-as-a-whole-20140814">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Radebe-Minerals-belong-to-people-as-a-whole-20140814</a>
10	24.08.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/SACP-EFF-a-dangerous-cancer-20140824">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/SACP-EFF-a-dangerous-cancer-20140824</a>
11	25.08.2014	NEWS24	Siphamandla Zondi	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/siphamandla-zondi/2014/08/putin-zuma-growing-closer/">http://voices.news24.com/siphamandla-zondi/2014/08/putin-zuma-growing-closer/</a>
12	02.09.2014	NEWS24	Jp Le Roux	<a href="http://news24.com/MyNews24/The-secret-rise-of-communism-in-SA-20140902">http://news24.com/MyNews24/The-secret-rise-of-communism-in-SA-20140902</a>
13	08.09.2014	NEWS24	Hubert Khobane	<a href="http://news24.com/MyNews24/State-is-auctioned-to-the-highest-bidder-20140908">http://news24.com/MyNews24/State-is-auctioned-to-the-highest-bidder-20140908</a>
14	14.09.2014	NEWS24	Siphamandla Zondi	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/siphamandla-zondi/2014/09/dalai-lama-sas-visa-dilemma/">http://voices.news24.com/siphamandla-zondi/2014/09/dalai-lama-sas-visa-dilemma/</a>
15	20.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-wants-Zuma-shielded-from-humiliation-in-Party-20140920">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-wants-Zuma-shielded-from-humiliation-in-Party-20140920</a>
16	22.09.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Party-should-allow-space-to-answer-questions-Mantashe-20140922">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Party-should-allow-space-to-answer-questions-Mantashe-20140922</a>
17	02.20.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Opposition-parties-good-for-nothing-Nzimande-20141002">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Opposition-parties-good-for-nothing-Nzimande-20141002</a>
18	03.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/China-does-not-dictate-to-SA-20141003">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/China-does-not-dictate-to-SA-20141003</a>
19	06.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Money/Banking/Banks-must-serve-people-Nzimande-20141005-4">http://www.fin24.com/Money/Banking/Banks-must-serve-people-Nzimande-20141005-4</a>
20	09.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Mantashe-Mining-sector-suffers-from-trust-deficit-20141008">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Mantashe-Mining-sector-suffers-from-trust-deficit-20141008</a>
21	09.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Nzimande-SA-has-plan-for-youth-unemployment-20141009">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Nzimande-SA-has-plan-for-youth-unemployment-20141009</a>
22	12.10.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-MPs-must-use-their-numbers-Mantashe-20141012">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-MPs-must-use-their-numbers-Mantashe-20141012</a>
23	29.10.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Capital-flight-dwarfs-corruption-SACP-20141029-3">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Capital-flight-dwarfs-corruption-SACP-20141029-3</a>
24	05.11.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Vosloo-ANC-wants-control-of-Big-Brother-20141105">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Vosloo-ANC-wants-control-of-Big-Brother-20141105</a>
25	11.11.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/Numsa-exit-a-case-of-self-expulsion-SACP-20141111">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/Numsa-exit-a-case-of-self-expulsion-SACP-20141111</a>
26	11.11.2014	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/Numsa-expulsion-What-it-means-for-the-ANC-20141111">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/Numsa-expulsion-What-it-means-for-the-ANC-20141111</a>
27	17.11.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://voices.news24.com/christo-van-der-rheede/2014/11/south-africa-set-become-three-party-state/">http://voices.news24.com/christo-van-der-rheede/2014/11/south-africa-set-become-three-party-state/</a>
28	04.12.2014	SAPA		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Regime-change-not-a-bad-thing-prof-20141204">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Regime-change-not-a-bad-thing-prof-20141204</a>
29	15.12.2014	NEWS24		<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-is-the-bodyguard-of-capitalism-says-EFF-20141215">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-is-the-bodyguard-of-capitalism-says-EFF-20141215</a>
30	22.12.2014	NEWS24	Fairchance Ncube	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/fairchance-ncube/2014/12/chinese-imperialism-african-elites-toxic-mixture/">http://voices.news24.com/fairchance-ncube/2014/12/chinese-imperialism-african-elites-toxic-mixture/</a>
2015				
31	09.02.2015	FIN24	Daniel Silke	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Govt-wont-let-go-of-Eskom-other-SOEs-expert-20150209">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Govt-wont-let-go-of-Eskom-other-SOEs-expert-20150209</a>
32	19.02.2015	FIN24	Leopold Scholtz	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/A-show-of-whos-boss-20150219">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/A-show-of-whos-boss-20150219</a>
33	24.02.2015	NEWS24	Max du Preez	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/SAs-democracy-a-juvenile-delinquent-20150224">http://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/SAs-democracy-a-juvenile-delinquent-20150224</a>
34	25.02.2015	NEWS24	Allister Sparks	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Columnists/AllisterSparks/Floundering-ANC-needs-to-find-its-own-FW-de-Klerk-20150225">http://www.news24.com/Columnists/AllisterSparks/Floundering-ANC-needs-to-find-its-own-FW-de-Klerk-20150225</a>
35	17.06.2015	NEWS24	Janet Heard	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-violates-international-law-once-twice-three-times-analyst-20150616">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SA-violates-international-law-once-twice-three-times-analyst-20150616</a>
36	18.06.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Judiciary-shouldnt-interfere-in-politics-Nzimande-20150618">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Judiciary-shouldnt-interfere-in-politics-Nzimande-20150618</a>
37	18.06.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-Al-Bashir-court-challenge-was-attempt-to-embarrass-govt-20150618">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-Al-Bashir-court-challenge-was-attempt-to-embarrass-govt-20150618</a>
38	25.06.2015	FIN24	Leopold Scholtz	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Al-Bashir-and-rule-of-law-20150625">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Al-Bashir-and-rule-of-law-20150625</a>
39	26.06.2015	BIZNEWS	Anthea Jeffery	<a href="http://www.biznews.com/thought-leaders/2015/06/26/anthea-jeffrey-constitution-should-be-ancs-bible-not-60-year-old-freedom-charter/">http://www.biznews.com/thought-leaders/2015/06/26/anthea-jeffrey-constitution-should-be-ancs-bible-not-60-year-old-freedom-charter/</a>
40	07.07.2015	NEWS24	Trevor Kleinhans	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/trevor-kleinhans/2015/07/i-am-white-and-i-want-to-stay-but/">http://voices.news24.com/trevor-kleinhans/2015/07/i-am-white-and-i-want-to-stay-but/</a>
41	09.07.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Putin-welcomes-Brics-leaders-amid-standoff-with-West-20150709">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Putin-welcomes-Brics-leaders-amid-standoff-with-West-20150709</a>



Table 2 (references) (cont.). Movement towards socialism/communism of BEE (January 2014-January 2016)

№	Date	Source	Author	Reference
42	13.07.2015	NEWS24	Adam Wakefield	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Politics/EFF-Blade-Nzimande-is-an-intellectual-dwarf-20150713">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Politics/EFF-Blade-Nzimande-is-an-intellectual-dwarf-20150713</a>
43	14.07.2015	NEWS24	Max du Preez	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Columinists/MaxduPreez/Trevor-Manuels-SACP-critique-important-20150714">http://www.news24.com/Columinists/MaxduPreez/Trevor-Manuels-SACP-critique-important-20150714</a>
44	25.08.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-wants-to-mend-its-ways-20150825">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-wants-to-mend-its-ways-20150825</a>
45	25.08.2015	NEWS24	Thomas Hartleb	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ICC-showing-SA-cheeky-arrogance-ANC-20150825">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ICC-showing-SA-cheeky-arrogance-ANC-20150825</a>
46	31.08.2015	NEWS24	Jan Gerber	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Taxpayers-fork-out-R7m-for-40-trips-to-China-and-counting-20150831">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Taxpayers-fork-out-R7m-for-40-trips-to-China-and-counting-20150831</a>
47	02.09.2015	NEWS24	Matome Letsoalo	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2015/09/you-had-20-years-to-focus-economy-on-local-industry/">http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2015/09/you-had-20-years-to-focus-economy-on-local-industry/</a>
48	03.09.2015	NEWS24	Anthea Jeffery	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Anthea-Jeffery-Economic-needs-must-trump-anti-Western-ideology-20150903">http://www.fin24.com/BizNews/Anthea-Jeffery-Economic-needs-must-trump-anti-Western-ideology-20150903</a>
49	17.09.2015	FIN24	Leopold Scholtz	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/Socialist-by-name-capitalist-by-nature-20150917">http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/Socialist-by-name-capitalist-by-nature-20150917</a>
50	23.09.2015	FIN24	Anthea Jeffery	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Biznews/Anthea-Jeffery-Equitable-investment-treaties-Protects-China-chastises-West-20150923">http://www.fin24.com/Biznews/Anthea-Jeffery-Equitable-investment-treaties-Protects-China-chastises-West-20150923</a>
51	01.10.2015	FIN24	Leopold Scholtz	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/SA-cant-afford-anti-West-attacks-20151001">http://www.fin24.com/Opinion/SA-cant-afford-anti-West-attacks-20151001</a>
52	02.10.2015	NEWS24	Jeanette Chabalala	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-slams-quality-of-journalism-20151002">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Nzimande-slams-quality-of-journalism-20151002</a>
53	09.10.2015	NEWS24	Wilmot James	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-has-abandoned-its-founding-principles-of-the-new-South-Africa-Wilmot-James-20151009">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ANC-has-abandoned-its-founding-principles-of-the-new-South-Africa-Wilmot-James-20151009</a>
54	07.11.2015	NEWS24	A. Khoza & G. Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zuma-says-hes-not-a-liability-20151107">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zuma-says-hes-not-a-liability-20151107</a>
54	08.11.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/the-anc-comes-first-not-the-country-zuma-20151108">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/the-anc-comes-first-not-the-country-zuma-20151108</a>
55	08.11.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zumas-anc-comes-first-comments-signs-of-a-dictatorship-eff-20151108">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zumas-anc-comes-first-comments-signs-of-a-dictatorship-eff-20151108</a>
56	08.11.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zuma-must-apologise-for-anc-comes-first-comment-da-20151108">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/zuma-must-apologise-for-anc-comes-first-comment-da-20151108</a>
57	26.11.2015	NEWS24	Ahmed Areff	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/rich-white-men-made-mandela-turn-against-the-revolution-malema-20151126">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/rich-white-men-made-mandela-turn-against-the-revolution-malema-20151126</a>
58	28.11.2015	NEWS24	Genevieve Quintal	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/politicians-who-use-mandelas-name-negatively-are-politically-bankrupt-20151128">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/politicians-who-use-mandelas-name-negatively-are-politically-bankrupt-20151128</a>
59	05.12.2015	NEWS24	Jeff Wicks	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ramaphosa-dlamini-hit-out-at-malema-20151205">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/ramaphosa-dlamini-hit-out-at-malema-20151205</a>
60	05.12.2015	NEWS24	Thulani Gqirana	<a href="http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/africa-china-relationship-at-its-highest-level-ever-following-summit-zuma-20151205">http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/africa-china-relationship-at-its-highest-level-ever-following-summit-zuma-20151205</a>
61	28.12.2015	FIN24		<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/2016-eight-risky-events-to-watch-in-sa-20151228">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/2016-eight-risky-events-to-watch-in-sa-20151228</a>
62	29.12.2015	NEWS24	Max du Preez	<a href="http://www.news24.com/Columinists/MaxduPreez/mandela-didnt-betray-the-people-of-sa-20151229">http://www.news24.com/Columinists/MaxduPreez/mandela-didnt-betray-the-people-of-sa-20151229</a>
2016				
63	19.01.2016	FIN24	C. Smith	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/more-china-sa-in-depth-cooperation-ahead-20160119">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/more-china-sa-in-depth-cooperation-ahead-20160119</a>
64	20.01.2016	FIN24	S. Njobeni	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/numsa-still-on-track-for-new-workers-party-jim-20160120">http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Labour/News/numsa-still-on-track-for-new-workers-party-jim-20160120</a>
65	21.01.2016	FIN24	A. Hogg	<a href="http://www.fin24.com/Biznews/zuma-panel-no-show-gordhan-rejected-as-sa-stock-falls-ever-lower-in-davos-20160121">http://www.fin24.com/Biznews/zuma-panel-no-show-gordhan-rejected-as-sa-stock-falls-ever-lower-in-davos-20160121</a>
66	21.01.2016	NEWS24	M. Letsoalo	<a href="http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2016/01/could-a-black-economy-be-the-answer-to-racist-white-capital/">http://voices.news24.com/matome-letsoalo/2016/01/could-a-black-economy-be-the-answer-to-racist-white-capital/</a>

Proposition 2: decision criteria – majority blue movement – accept proposition BEE moves SA away from western capitalism to socialism and communism.