A Rhetoric or Genuine Transformation? An Afro-Decolonial analysis of Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy

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Abstract

The post-apartheid African National Congress-led government adopted several affirmative actions to dismantle the colonial-apartheid sponsored racial inequality manifested by excluding black people in the country's socioeconomic and political developments. Equally, the emergence of black people in the Democratic Alliance leadership positions saw race as a basis to argue against persisting inequality between the majority of black South Africans and their white counterparts. This occasioned a heated debate within the party between white and black leaders, with the former refuting the use of race in policymaking to address the challenges faced by South Africa. Consequently, most black leaders left the party so that academics and media regard them as being pushed by their white counterparts inside the party, who oppose a shift from conservative to transformative policies. In recent times, the Democratic Alliance has adopted an Economic Justice Policy that excluded race to address inequality, poverty, and unemployment. This desktop article employs the Afro-Decolonial perspective as an alternative lens to interrogate whether the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy manifests that the organisation is committed to transformation or the latter is just rhetoric. Methodologically, Afrocentric qualitative research relied heavily on secondary data and adopted document analysis.

Keywords: Afro-Decolonial, South Africa, Democratic Alliance, Transformation, Rhetoric, Genuine

1. Introduction

The post-1994 South African government acknowledged that democratic transition would be worthless if the colonial-apartheid economic mainstream remained intact. The new government underscores that political freedom must coincide with the economic freedom for most of the South African population, particularly Africans, to strengthen the new democracy. The government adopted affirmative action to transform the colonial-apartheid economic structure, among other measures. For those opposing affirmative action, the principle of non-racialism, access to equal opportunities, and merit are used to demonstrate the drawbacks of such policies. On the other hand, proponents employ the remnants of racism, injustice, and inequality as a justification for adopting and implementing such policies (Andrews 1999). For the African National Congress (ANC), democracy, national liberation, and non-racialism are intertwined. The ANC also believes that democracy should bring about national liberation by disentangling previously oppressed and disadvantaged population groups such as Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The envisaged national liberation is the central aim of the ANC articulated by the National Democratic Revolution as part of freeing black people from political and economic bondage. Thus, for the ANC, the political transition should be accompanied by economic transformation (Anciano 2014). The ANC-led government adopted affirmative action measures such as the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment of 2003 and the Employment Equity Act of 1998 to dismantle the colonial-apartheid sponsored racial inequality manifested by the exclusion of black people in the country's socio-economic developments.

Equally, the emergence of black people in the Democratic Alliance leadership positions saw race as a basis to argue against persisting inequality between the majority of black South Africans and their white counterparts. This occasioned a heated debate within the party between white and black leaders, with the former refuting the use of race in policymaking to address the challenges faced by South Africa. Consequently, most black leaders left the party so that academics and media regard them as being pushed by their white counterparts inside the party, who oppose a shift from conservative to transformative policies. In recent times, the Democratic Alliance has adopted an Economic Justice Policy that excluded race to address inequality, poverty, and unemployment. This

desktop article employs the Afro-Decolonial perspective as an alternative lens to interrogate whether Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy manifests that the organisation is committed to transformation or the latter is just rhetoric. Methodologically, Afrocentric qualitative research relied heavily on secondary data and adopted document analysis. This paper is divided into five sections. The first part of the paper expounds on the Afro-Decolonial lens of analysis as an alternative perspective to analyse the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy. This is followed by the history and analysis of South Africa's major Transformative Affirmative Action Policies. The third section analyses the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy. The subsequent section answers a question as to whether the said policy manifests that the organisation is committed to transformation or the latter is just rhetoric in the Democratic Alliance. The last part of the article provides a conclusion.

2. Afro-Decolonial lens of analysis

Afro-Decolonial lens refers to theoretical principles that emanate from decoloniality and Afrocentricity, which analyses African phenomenon or communities from their position to dismantle perpetual epistemic dislocation committed by Euro-American theories. In this regard, the Afro-Decolonial lens shifts the locus of reason from a Eurocentric perspective, wherein African phenomena or communities are studied and understood outside. It entails the epistemic rejection towards Eurocentric mainstream theories imposed on Africans ranging from Realism which represents the right-wing, and Marxism of the left. It positions Africans epistemically to think based on their experience as the locus of reasoning, studying, and understanding African phenomenon. Epistemic rebellion prevailed in all countries of the South across the world, but a variety of contexts necessitates the contextualisation of the rebellion. In this article, the Afro-Decolonial lens negates conventions, sequence, logic, and theories imposed by Europeans on Africans. In other words, the lens is deployed by marginalised African decolonial thinkers to dismantle the ontological crisis brought by Euro-American coloniality by repositioning African ontological claims to their epistemic locus. Included here is the unveiling of injustice brought by Eurocentrism, by reconceptualising and relooking at explanations brought by Eurocentrism, and coming up with new ways of analysis and discourses. Thus,

through the Afro-Decolonial lens, the researcher will attain epistemic, cognitive, and hermeneutic justice by unmasking injustice embedded in the coloniality of being, power, and knowledge brought by Euro-Americans. The researcher will also unmask other aspects of African dislocation in the socioeconomic realm and propose remedies to attain the relocation of Africa and her people to the centre of the globe (Zondi 2019).

Unlike studies undertaken from a Euro-American perspective, the analysis and understanding of a phenomenon under study are situated to the experience of the South, South Africa in this case. As a decolonial discourse challenging epistemic injustice, the study breaks away from the Eurocentric claim of universality, neutrality, and single truth, by locating the analysis to South Africa, which strives for inclusive development to address challenges brought by the colonial-apartheid government. The said Eurocentric posture is challenged by providing an Afro-Decolonial analysis of the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy. This should be understood within the context that individual arguments are informed by their positionality to a certain class, sexuality, gender, spirituality, linguistic, a locus on the globe, and race in the contemporary world (Grosfoguel 2010). Unlike those undertaken from a Euro-American perspective, the study does not hide or delink the researcher from the analysis. Thus, the researcher's positionality as African in South Africa is not delinked from the subject of study.

3. South Africa's Transformative Affirmative Action Policies

As part of its endeavour to democratise and deracialise the economy, ANC adopted major policies such as the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 and Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment in 2003 (Mosala, Venter, and Bain 2017; Andrews 1999). The 1998 Employment Equity Act seeks to attain equality in the working environment by advocating for equal opportunities and fair treatment of people by eliminating unfair discrimination. More importantly, the Act seeks to promote equality by executing affirmative action measures to redress the unfair discrimination suffered by previously disadvantaged people. This is done to grow their equal representation in occupational categories and levels in the working environment (Alexander 2006; Hoog, Siebers and Linde 2010). The beneficiaries of the Act are black people (including Coloured and Indians),

women of all races, and people living with disabilities (Dupper 2008).

Arguing on the same issue, Ratuva (2006) states that affirmative action was meant to address the economic exclusion of black people to attain equality and justice as stipulated in the 1996 Constitution. The Act came into effect in 1999 to promote access to equal opportunities for previously disadvantaged, with blacks being given precedence in the labour market. Section 55 (1) of that Act outlaws' discrimination in employment based on race, gender, sex, pregnancy, orientation, age, disability, religion, political opinion, culture, language, and birth. Included here is the elevation of black people in managerial positions to develop skills and establish their own business. The Act transformed the apartheid racially driven working environment into a democratised one based on equality of workers irrespective of race. To make this a reality, an employment audit was brought into place to regulate the profile of the workforce report published by employers. This entails adopting an employment plan by employers in deliberations with the workforce to demonstrate the envisaged target to attain equality in the workplace for one to five years. Thus, to enforce employment equity, companies were mandated to submit their plan to the government for monitoring, and companies also provided regular reports, and reasonable penalties were imposed for those violating the provisions. The central aim of this Act is to advance equality and fair treatment in the working environment by eliminating any forms of unfair discrimination. It also seeks to undertake affirmative action measures to address the challenges faced by formerly disadvantaged groups to ensure their equal representation in various occupational categories and levels in the working environment.

Equally, Filatova (2011) argues that policies adopted included the White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service of 1997 and the Employment Equity Act of 1998, which advocate for racial transformation. The Employment Equity Act seeks to promote equal representation in all occupational categories and levels in the working environment through affirmative action measures that address the difficulties faced by previously disadvantaged groups. The Act calls for equal representation in state organisations, institutions, and the private sector. The Act called on employers to submit employment equity plans which project their observance of the affirmative action goals each year and give reports on how the plans will be implemented. Only the National Defence Force, the National Intelligence Agency, and the South African Security Services were

exempted from implementing the Act.

As indicated earlier, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment is one of the affirmative transformative policies adopted by the post-apartheid government. Elibiary (2010) underscores that the ANC regards the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment as a policy adopted to address the injustices brought by apartheid by transforming the South African economy to represent the country's demographic configuration. Beyond that, the policy seeks to address racial inequality and discrimination which predated apartheid. This should be viewed from an angle that racial inequality and discrimination were long brought by colonialism before segregation could be formalised with the adoption of the Apartheid policy in 1948 (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, and Clack 2008). To actualise the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment, beneficiaries are empowered directly through owning and controlling enterprises, including certain assets. They are also afforded positions at the level of senior management. Indirect empowerment through preferential procurement, enterprise development, and corporate social investment is included here. The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment was anticipated to reduce inequality, poverty, unemployment and grow the South African economy. Thus, the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment was viewed as a remedy to triple challenges (inequality, unemployment, and poverty) facing South Africa (Elibiary 2010). Filatova (2011) echoes the same sentiment that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment was adopted to develop black-owned businesses and employment among black people. The Act requires companies doing business with the state to give some shares to black people, managerial positions, and procure goods from black-owned businesses.

By 2010 there was no indication that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment attains its aims and objectives, as South Africa remained an unequal nation, the unemployment rate persists, and the economy grew at a slower rate. Elibiary (2010) stated that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment yielded unintended consequences that curbed the economic growth and worsened the country's condition. Among other things, high transactional and compliance costs have affected innovation, and business development as preoccupation with compliance shifted a focus away from sustainable job creation and development. As a result, the South African market becomes unattractive to investment. Elibiary recommends that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment could be

achieved through a policy that focuses largely on education, training, and skills development and a conducive environment to grow business and attract foreign direct investment. The criticism also comes from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) over crony capitalism, nepotism, and costs of doing business caused by the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment. The policy enriched the few elites affiliated with the ANC, thus empowering black people. Moeletsi Mbeki, drawn by Elibiary (2010: 21), advances that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment 'undermines the ANC's longstanding policy of non-racialism and perpetuates a sense of victimhood'.

Mosala, Venter, and Bain (2017) remark that the highly-rated Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment has brought in the cadre deployment strategy and largely failed to redistribute the wealth to the majority of previously disadvantaged black South Africans enriching few elites. Inferring from this, Mosala et al. (2017) postulate that the ANC has restored the colonial economy through Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment by pursuing de-racialisation policies that promote inequality, poverty, unemployment, racism, and dispossession. This policy has replaced the envisaged transformation with a reformist programme of the national elite. Equally, Filatova (2011) postulates that the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment has yielded few billionaires and exacerbated corruption and failed to change the lives of envisaged historically disadvantaged people. The policy has failed to produce well-educated, skilled, entrepreneurial, and experienced black middle-class but has instead promoted ill-prepared and under-qualified middle-class who exploit their proximity to government promoting racial distribution.

The adoption and execution of affirmative action policies in the private and public sectors are meant to prepare black managers and fill the previously reserved positions for their white counterparts. Adam (1997) indicates that white people held 85% to 95% of senior management and other key government posts in the past. This has spurred calls for the training of the excluded and underrepresented groups to be included on boards and other governing bodies. Drawn by Adam (1997: 240), Nelson Mandela describes affirmative action as 'corrective action to bring previously disadvantaged people to the same competitive levels as those who have been advantaged'.

Affirmative Action has been labelled as perpetuating racial identities of the past and racism instead of using class as a guiding lens to address inequality. The

inclusion of all blacks as eligible beneficiaries leads to the exclusion of most black people to benefit from the redistribution. However, the use of race in addressing the South African triple challenges (inequality, poverty, and unemployment) cannot be overlooked given that racial groups were brought forth by racial discrimination of the past, which disadvantaged non-whites (Dupper 2008). Ratuva (2006) views the transformation policies as pro-black affirmative action measures meant to redress apartheid pro-white affirmative action policies which legalise the exclusion of black people. These policies were meant to empower blacks to advance their economic, educational, cultural, and political conditions. In other words, they were adopted to address the difficulties faced by black people in employment, income, poverty, and education. Scholars like Madona Mbatha, as cited by Ratuva (2006), articulates that restoring racism as competence is not based on colour but one's skills. Thus, Mbatha recommends that competition should take precedence to level the playing field.

The ANC, cited by Anciano (2014), states that the apartheid institutionalised racial hierarchy should be eradicated by empowering black people, especially Africans, through a radical transformation of key sectors of the economy. Non-racialism should coexist with self-emancipation by black people, wherein Africans preside over their liberation. In essence, non-racialism should be contextualised within the historical injustice wherein black people, especially Africans, face the apartheid exclusionary socioeconomic structure. Cronin (2011), drawn by Anciano (2014: 40), avers that 'You can't build a sustainable non-racial society in which unemployment, inequality, and poverty are still profoundly skewed by a racialised past. You can't hope for enduring non-racialism when material realities…continue to reproduce the same racialised advantages and disadvantages'. For Cronin (2011), if the system caused the crime, building a non-racial South Africa requires a 'transformation of the material conditions themselves'.

The ANC formulated affirmative action policies with an awareness and intention to deracialise the economy and open job opportunities to the previously disadvantaged. Inferring from this, it could be argued that affirmative action policies are meant to bring conditions in which such policies will no longer be needed. This suggests that racial classification cannot be ignored in post-apartheid if there is a quest for equality in society. Thus, ANC views the transformation of apartheid socio-economic legacy as a precondition to attaining

non-racialism (Anciano 2014).

Despite the Constitutional provision of equality, the ANC transformation policies redress the past discrimination by disadvantaging the previously advantaged groups. The setbacks of the Employment Equity Act are that job allocation is largely driven by race, which suggests that the majority of qualified whites are being excluded. Moreover, the issue of the class or social position of black people is overlooked, thus disadvantaging those who live in poverty (Stacey 2003). While the Provision of equality is used to counter the adoption and implementation of affirmative action, Section 9 of that principle underscores that equality entails outright and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To advance equality, legislative and other measures may be carried out to protect and promote groups disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. Equally, Section 195 of Chapter 10 of the South African Constitution on Public Administration states that 'Public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people, with employment and personnel management practices based on ability, objectivity, fairness, and the need to redress the imbalances of the past to achieve broad representation'.

However, Vincent Maphai, cited by (Adam 1997: 243), views the inclusion of affirmative action in the South African Constitution as a basis to legalise discriminatory legislation and replicate the apartheid use of state resources to promote certain groups while disadvantaging others. On the other hand, Adam (1997) echoes the same sentiment that the use of race as a basis for affirmative action overlooks the fact that some blacks do not largely need affirmative action policies but can secure such benefits. Thus race-based focus enables the already privileged black because it overlooks class differences. In other words, apartheid has oppressed and disadvantaged all blacks, but they were not equally affected.

In the context of Afro-Decolonial analysis, the post-apartheid government adopted race-based affirmative action policies to relocate black people, women of all races, and people living with disabilities from the margins at the working environment in both public and private sector. Specifically, such policies were adopted to relocate the majority of Africans, which were largely disadvantaged and dislocated to the margins of the mainstream economy and their national wealth. However, such policies are undercut by cadre deployment strategy, exclusion of class amongst Africans in their implementation, and corruption. To remedy this, the ANC should prioritise class, competence, and skills to

implement such policies.

4. Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy

Before adopting the Economic Justice Policy, Democratic Alliance has been very critical of the ANC race-based policies. On this one, Mottiar (2015) argues that the 2014 election poster for the organisation was labelled as insulting to black people. The scathing was spurred by the sentiments projected by the poster as saying, 'We support BEE that creates jobs, not billionaires' was deemed insulting to black people and, it was argued, suggests that the DA would prefer to see black South Africans as 'labour, not as owners of the means of production' (Hlongwane 2013 cited by Mottiar 2015). Mottiar (2015) argues further that the Democratic Alliance approach on policies that impact the majority of voters it seeks to draw is confusing and contributes to its lower support base. A case in point is the Democratic Alliance backtracks on the vote is cast in favour of the Employment Equity Amendment Bill tabled before parliament in 2013. In her words, Helen Zille justified the withdrawal of their vote cast in October 2013, describing the Bill in a newsletter titled 'A plane crash that should have been avoided', Zille said the turnabout was due to the party 'dropping the ball'. She explained that the DA could not support legislation that 'is based on racial coercion [and that] will undermine growth, reduce jobs, drive away investment and work against black empowerment' (Zille 2013 cited by Mottiar 2015: 113-114). Cited by Mnikati (2020: 90) in another case, Zille argues that 'we must challenge the idea that blackness is a proxy for disadvantage when it enables this fig leaf for corruption and the kind of mess we are seeing in the state-owned enterprises'.

    It is worth noting that there is a divergence view within Democratic Alliance over race-based policies. In agreement, Mnikati (2020) underscores that one of the recurring problems in the Democratic Alliance policy position is the divergence over the use of race among party members. For example, other members view the use of policies as Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment as necessary and responsive to the contemporary developments of post-apartheid South Africa, while others regard such policies as dispensable. The 2013 developments sparked disagreement between Zille and the former party's parliamentary leader, Lindiwe Mazibuko, who called for a strong stance on the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment and other affirmative action policies. Equally, other

Democratic Alliance black leaders raised discontent over the party's stance on affirmative action and labelled that as confusing to voters as affirmative action is largely important to black electorates targeted by the organisation (Mottiar 2015). Arguing in favour of affirmative action policies, Gana (2019), as drawn by Mnikati (2020: 93), underscores that apartheid was unjust practice favouring white people over their black counterparts. This development necessitates the adoption of race-driven policies to undo such historical injustice. Thus, for Gana (2019), Democratic Alliance is not a party for all South Africans.

In recent times, Democratic Alliance adopted the Economic Justice policy, which excluded race as a basis for policymaking and implementation. For Democratic Alliance, the legacy of apartheid economic exclusion should be addressed so that South Africans will be disentangled from the past racial classification. People continue to benefit from existing policies, especially when the policies do not transform from one racial category to another after being empowered. Despite this, the current policies are projected by the government as suitable measures to redress the economic legacy of apartheid. On Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment, Democratic Alliance believes that this policy focuses largely on the ownership and management of companies instead of the contribution made by the private sector. Moreover, political affiliation takes precedence in the transformation of senior executive leaders of companies rather than advancing education to increase people's access to highly skilled jobs (DA 2020).

In agreement, Nicolson (2020) argues that the Democratic Alliance Policy Conference rejected the use of race in their policies as a basis to identify and uplift the previously disadvantaged people, black people in this case. Among others, the party called for the replacement of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment and other policies centred on race and gender with measures acknowledging the contribution made by companies to meet Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Through the proposed policy, the requirement of black ownership will be abolished, and procurement in the state will prioritise competent companies and contribute to SDGs. Equally, Davis (2020) and Ndenze (2020) aver that the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy advocates discarding race-based empowerment policies. The said Economic Justice Policy urged the removal of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment and other race-based and gender-based policies with a policy that assesses the contribution

made by the business sector on SDGs.

Nicolson (2020) is very critical against the Democratic Alliance SDGs for focusing on the business sector to develop and transform society. Nicolson argues that these companies have benefited from apartheid injustice, and their operation is not in keeping with the transformation set by the post-apartheid government as they promote the exploitation of workers, communities, and the environment.

Among others, Democratic Alliance rejects the expropriation of land with a compensation bill. For DA, any property loss should be accompanied by fair compensation to avoid encroaching private property rights. Further, state-owned land should be redistributed to build houses for the poor. In cases where there is a need to employ private property (land), land should be expropriated with compensation below the market value (DA 2020). Expressing the same sentiment on the expropriation of land without compensation, Mnikati (2020) underscores that Democratic Alliance regards the Bill as a major threat to the Constitution and the banking sector. On labour-related issues, the Democratic Alliance advocates for introducing the Job Seekers Exemption Certificate (JSEC) for long-term unemployed South Africans to be exempted from the minimum wage bill and take a job of any wage. Equally, employers can apply for the same exemption from the minimum wage bill (DA 2020). On the other hand, Mnikati (2020) postulates that the JSEC cannot be a viable option for a country with a history of exploiting cheap labour, such as South Africa.

However, the discard of race in the Democratic Alliance could be described as an attempt to regain the support the party has lost to the Freedom Front Plus. In agreement, Mnikati (2020) argues that replacing non-racialism with identity politics has increased the support of Freedom Front Plus in recent elections. This is so because the shift provided a comfort zone for disillusioned voters who have supported Democratic Alliance. In other words, Helen Zille's ascendancy to the Democratic Alliance Federal Chair brought a policy shift within the organisation to regain the support lost by the party to the Freedom Front Plus.

Further, her election to the highest office was followed by the resignation of leaders deemed to be proponents of race-based policies. Mnikati captures this very well when he argues that Helen Zille's election sparked the resignation of former party Johannesburg Mayor Herman Mashaba and the national leader, Mmusi Maimane. Mashaba, cited in Mnikati (2020: 74), indicates that 'the election of

Helen Zille is a victory for people who stand diametrically against my belief systems'. On the other hand, Mmusi avers that 'the DA was not the vehicle best suited to take forward the vision of building "One SA for All". Inferring from the preceding arguments, one can argue that Maimane and Mashaba's arguments suggest that Zille's election meant the party shifted towards conservative liberalism, which put white interests first.

Equally, after he was elected, the interim organisation leader, John Steenhuisen, called for adopting a redress policy in which its success is not measured based on race. For Steenhuisen, race should be discarded, favouring redress policies that focused on black people who formed the majority of the poorest in the country. The existing race-based policies worsened the conditions of poor South Africans, and their wealthy counterparts became wealthier (Mnikati 2020).

5. A Rhetoric or Genuine Transformation?

Leaning on coloniality, as explained by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), this section answers a question as to whether the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy represents the organisation stance to transformation, or the latter is rhetoric in the organisation. Ndlovu-Gatsheni attributes African challenges to coloniality which sustains colonial power patterns characterised by Western control, domination, and exploitation of countries of the South.

Inferring to the Economic Justice Policy, it is safe to argue that the Democratic Alliance is not committed to transformation, and the latter is rhetoric to the party. With this policy stance, the Democratic Alliance promotes the reforms advocated by coloniality instead of the transformation called decoloniality. By reforms, the author refers to a few changes that left the economic mainstream intact, such as equal rights instead of transformation, which seeks outright change in the mainstream economy. This is corroborated by the party stance against the expropriation of land without compensation and the use of Section 25 of the Constitution to override the expropriation bill. This should be understood within the context that the 1996 Constitution forms part of colonial reforms measures undertaken by colonisers to ensure that the stolen land remains the private property of whites, while blacks languish at the margins as landless. Maldonado-Torres (2016) and Mpofu (2017) argue that under coloniality, expropriation is carried out with the pretext of developing the market through

trade and investment. This replicates colonial practices as people continue to experience dispossession even under the new administration. In the context of the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy, expropriation of land without compensation is frustrated with threats that will drive investors away; thus, the party promotes the perpetual landless state of the majority of black people and uses the 1996 colonial reformist Constitution to guise its agenda.

Ntsebeza (2007) advances that the property clause in the South African Constitution protects the expropriation of land without compensation taken illegally by whites during colonialism and apartheid. Through the Natives Land Act of 1913, white colonisers institutionalised the dispossession of more than 90% of the land from indigenous people in South Africa. The indigenous people shifted from successful farmers to labourers in the mines and farms emanated from dispossessed land. The Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy on the land issue could be described as an anti-decolonial stance undertaken by the party to frustrate transformative initiative which seeks to dismantle the colonial-apartheid racial classification and hierarchy in accessing the resources. This should be understood within the context that human beings are classified and hierarchicased based on race under coloniality, which determines their access to the resources as stipulated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013). Racial classification and hierarchisation have led to African people's relegation to the margins as objects of development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012). Thus, the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy promotes and sustains blacks' use as objects of development to their white counterparts. This development is not different from black elites who benefit from the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment affirmative action at the expense of most of their black counterparts languishing at the margins of national wealth as victims of exploitative practices such as lower wages. The introduction of initiatives such as JSEC demonstrates that the Democratic Alliance policy posture is largely skewed to promote and preserve whites' interests. Apart from being delinked from South African history, as Mnikati (2020) mentioned, the Democratic Alliance proposed JSEC suggests that unemployed black people should strive to secure jobs and care about a decent wage. This policy implies that poverty will grow as remuneration will be consumed by basic needs. Given the above, the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy sustains dual oppression instead of pushing for the implementation of transformative affirmative action policies to eligible beneficiaries and dismantling the exploitation of such

policies by some black political affiliates elites, their families, and allies.

Biko, cited by More (2004: 93), defines black as those who were politically, economically, and socially discriminated against through legislation in South Africa and thus united to disentangle themselves from oppression. Non-racialism that overlooks or negates the existence of race is in a way recognising its existence. Moreover, denialism against the existence of race suggests that there is unity and sameness of humanity. In other words, the people in question are united with society being equal and enjoying the same privileges and benefits. Drawing the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy in the South African context, the policy could be referred to as denialism as the condition of black people cannot be addressed without acknowledging race as a basis for inequality, unemployment, and poverty in the country. While not all black people were equally disadvantaged, race cannot be overlooked in addressing the South African challenges. Maimane, drawn by Moloko (2020), underscores that the use of race does not make one racist and black people remain systematically excluded.

The European diaspora in Africa is used to frustrate any attempt of decolonisation as they did not encounter colonisation. This should be understood within the context that the Western diaspora benefitted from colonialism and apartheid. In this regard, coloniality sustains their ill-gotten wealth while decoloniality threatens that, including racial hierarchy, which projects them as superior beings at the apex, while black people languish at the margins (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016). In the context of the Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy, the said policy is a strive by white conservatives within the party to frustrate policies that are meant to redistribute the ill-gotten property of their white voters. Gumede (2014) captures this very well when he states that for most ANC supporters and members, the Democratic Alliance is viewed as a white-dominant party with white interests at heart and overlooking economic inequality faced by the majority of previously disadvantaged black people.

6. Conclusion

This article adds to the academic discourse on South Africa's economic development and growth policies by using the Afro-Decolonial lens as an alternative perspective to analyse Democratic Alliance Economic Justice Policy. Specifically, the article seeks to determine whether the policy manifests the organisation com-

mitment to transformation or the latter is rhetoric within the party. It established that the said policy contributes to the colonial practice of promoting reform policies while frustrating transformative policies which seek to decolonise South Africa's economic mainstream. Thus, the party policy stance on transformation is rhetoric to guise its conservative approach. While the ANC affirmative action policies have been undercut by corruption, cadre deployment strategy, and class exclusion in their implementation, race cannot be ignored in addressing South Africa's triple challenges. This is so because unemployment, inequality, and poverty remain skewed favouring race.

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