

# Final Draft Consolidated Resolutions to the COSATU 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress

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## **Preface**

These are the draft consolidated resolutions submitted by affiliates to the 10<sup>th</sup> COSATU National Congress. They are an outcome of an intense preparatory process in which two meetings of affiliates' delegates which included their NOBs were convened, first on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September and on the 10<sup>th</sup> September 2009.

The principle that have guided this process included ensuring that everything was to be done to ensure that in the process of consolidating and integrating these resolutions the content and the gist of the original resolutions submitted by affiliates was not to be compromised.

The draft resolutions captured herein are only those submitted as per the constitutional time lines and as per the extension dates agreed to in the Special CEC held on 19<sup>th</sup> August 2009.

These are only Draft Resolutions to be discussed, debated and adopted by the National Congress and they are not the policy of COSATU until such time that they are adopted by the National Congress.

We would like to thank all the members of the Resolutions Committee for their sterling work in producing these draft resolutions. This committee will continue to execute its task even during the congress.

We hope this document will assist the affiliates in their preparations for effective engagement in the congress and will make an easy reference during congress debates and discussions.

Let the debate begin!

Amandla!

## **1. Political Resolutions**

### **1.1. The National Democratic Revolution and Socialism: NEHAWU, CEPPWAWU**

Noting that:

- (a) Post-apartheid South Africa has seen the development of a small black-bourgeoisie largely through patronage of white capital and the state.
- (b) The emergence and domination of the 1996 Class Project before the Polokwane-watershed has caused massive confusion in the ANC and a rupture on the shared NDR perspective within the Alliance.
- (c) The 52<sup>nd</sup> conference of the ANC in Polokwane represented an important milestone for the working class struggle.
- (d) The Polokwane watershed and the victory over the 1996 Class Project within the ANC has created an opportunity for the reassertion of the Alliance shared perspective on a radical national democratic revolution based on the vision of the Freedom Charter.

Further noting that:

- a) The NDR constitutes the primary objective of :
  - Achieving National liberation.
  - Having the working class as the driving and dominant force behind the struggle to end poverty and exploitation, resultant from the structural crisis created by the systematic racist, capitalist and neo-liberal policies of globalization.
  - Transforming the state machinery
- b) Trade unions themselves in their whole history are subject to contestations by various class forces in society and that these ideological contestations have taken different forms in different historical periods. COSATU is no exception.
- c) Trade unions are not class political parties; they are class organisations that should always locate their struggles within the context of broader class struggles in society. COSATU has consistently maintains this strategic posture.
- d) COSATU is the organised detachment of the working class that is politically capable of defending the Polokwane gains.

Believing that:

- (a) The emergence of COPE marks a major realignment of socio-political forces in line with the unravelling class structure of our society especially within black communities.
- (b) The ideological orientation of 1996 Class Project represents a complete deviation from the shared NDR perspective within the Alliance.
- (c) The Polokwane watershed represents a major strategic setback rather than a complete destruction of the 1996 Class Project in the ANC and in the alliance as a whole.
- (d) The NDR is the most direct route to socialism in South Africa.

- (e) The National Democratic Revolution (NDR), is a common project of the democratic forces led by the ANC
- (f) The NDR objectives have not been fully realised
- (g) The key objective of the NDR still remains that of addressing the national, class and gender contradictions in their interrelationship.
- (h) The need to continue the debate on how the organised working class under the leadership of COSATU can advance the NDR
- (i) it is important to consistently develop our understanding of the unfolding NDR in the current political conjuncture
- (j) The resolution of the interrelated class, race and gender oppressions and contradictions that characterise our society can only take place in the national democratic revolution led by the working class and deepened towards socialism.
- (k) The working class is the chief motive force in Alliance with other popular forces that have objective interests in the deepening of the NDR such as the rural poor and the broad petty-bourgeois strata.
- (l) The objective interests of this Alliance of the motive forces of the NDR led by working class stand in irreconcilable contradiction with those of the big monopoly capital – black or white.
- (m) The reassertion of the historical NDR perspective can only be entrenched within the ANC if the working class builds its hegemony through a sustained process of the swelling-of-the-ranks and the assertion of the working class leadership and ideology.

We therefore resolve:

- (a) That COSATU should consciously defend the Polokwane gains and utilise the political and economic policy spaces created by Polokwane
- (b) To develop programmes and put in place processes to consolidate and deepen the NDR as a viable project that can allow the working class to achieve Socialism.
- (c) That COSATU affiliates should prioritise workplace issues and locate them within the broader class struggles
- (d) To systematically organise political education and theoretical debates in the structures of the federation and affiliates with the view of sharpening our understanding of the national democratic revolution and socialist struggles within the context of an ANC-led Alliance.
- (e) To ensure that the working class occupies the opening spaces in the ANC and in the broader society as part of our struggle to build working class hegemony and leadership.
- (f) To Work towards a broader coalition with community-based organisations around the socioeconomic crisis affecting the working class as part of building a popular mass movement for socialism.
- (g) to Engage the SACP on its Medium-Term Vision with the view to create an alignment and synergy of the programmes in a manner that gives concrete expression to the struggle of deepening the NDR towards socialism, as part of our review of the 2015 Plan.

- (h) To ideologically maintain the momentum of Polokwane and to remain on the offensive against the reassertion of the agenda and organisational practice of the 1996 Class Project as members of the ANC and as part of the Alliance.
- (i) That all these should be done as part of ensuring that the second decade of freedom benefits the working class and the poor.

### **1.2. Building the Alliance: NEHAWU, SADTU, NUMSA, SACTWU**

Noting that:

- a) The basis of the unity of the Alliance is its combined ideological commitment to building a new democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society and its anti-imperialist stance.
- b) The unity of the movement is under attack from the splinter group launched in December 2009 and meaning the ANC contested elections against the splinter group in some of its stronghold.
- c) The macro-economic climate, particularly the current crisis poses challenges to the Alliance leadership particularly with regard to the realisation of the Polokwane commitments and our Election manifesto
- d) The lack of conscience and prevalence of corruption by some of our comrades deployed in the state.
- e) The Freedom Charter and the Reconstruction and development Programme [RDP] as an integrated, coherent socio-economic framework which sought to mobilize our people and the country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future.
- f) The setting up of the Chris Hani Institute for the advancement of cadreship development.
- g) There have been some serious strides and victories made since the 9<sup>th</sup> national congress in terms of fostering the unity within the Alliance.
- h) The 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolution on the revolutionary role that the Tripartite Alliance has in taking forward the objectives of the national democratic revolution.
- i) Sufficient consensus both within the Alliance and in the society is needed on what transpired in Polokwane and what needs to be done to consolidate the Polokwane outcomes.
- j) An Alliance Summit that took place in 2008 emerged with conclusions to re-position the alliance as a strategic political centre to collectively drive the NDR
- k) The tendency to belittle COSATU and the SACP, including direct attack on its senior leadership by some in the ANC is now a thing of the past.
- l) Despite the sense of unity in the Alliance at the national level, much still needs to be done in provinces.

Further noting that:

- a) That the fundamental contradictions of apartheid-capitalism and colonialism of a special type remain in place
- b) Despite repeal of some apartheid laws the basic political, social, racial and gender relations of oppression and exploitation remain intact
- c) These are manifested in high levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and lowering of living standards which breeds crime and other anti-social phenomenon.



Believing that:

- a) The Alliance remains the vehicle for consolidating and deepening the National Democratic Revolution and for initiating fundamental socialist transformation
- b) The working class and the poor constitute the key motive force in driving forward the NDR
- c) Only the Alliance, in which the working class has claimed its rightful leadership place, can drive forward the NDR to its logical conclusion – socialism.
- d)
- e) Polokwane has ushered in a political space and re- focus to the Freedom Charter as our strategic vision.
- f) Through comradesly debates, not bureaucratic suppression of debates, and properly structured process of arriving at a consensus and unity the proper mode of functioning of the Alliance can be renewed with a focus on the strategic challenges facing our revolution
- g) The mass poverty and unemployment highlight the challenges facing the core constituency of the ANC.

Resolve to:

- a) Re-affirm the resolution on the Alliance as a strategic political centre.
- b) Re-affirm the 4<sup>th</sup> CC resolution on the Alliance building a Policy Institute to develop and monitor implementation of Alliance policy decisions.
- c) The opening of a new chapter in Alliance relations to ensure mass involvement in the transformation project in order to ensure that the mass base remains our insurance and source of power against the entrenched power of capital and those defending minority privileges.
- d) Develop common understanding within the Alliance of what Polokwane means for the Alliance at all levels.
- e) Define what should be done in the current period to consolidate the outcomes of Polokwane.
- f) A qualitative shift in the Alliance politics should entail at least the following;
- g) A functioning Alliance that determines strategy and deployment jointly and hold deployees accountable.
- h) The translation of ANC and Alliance policies into clear state programmes, and clear protocol and organizational arrangement
- i) Internal cohesion and unity of all formations of the Alliance
- j) A clear programme to reverse all the cultures that have erupted in the recent past.
- k) The creation of an Alliance apparatus to manage day to day affairs of the Alliance
- l) A common approach to capital, domestic and international.
- m) A clear organisational programme to build the ANC and the Alliance on the ground.
- n) Condemn the political culture of crass materialism, patronage, careerism, taking hold within the congress movement as part of the renewal.

- o) Move decisively to address the underlying challenges confronting our society.
- p) Confirm the existing COSATU policy to support and build the Alliance [ANC, SACP & SANCO] and call on members to swell the ranks of all Alliance organizations and to participate in their activities.
- q) The swelling of the ranks of the ANC be with conscious and disciplined cadres.
- r) The Federation, its affiliates, the SACP and the other Alliance partners should work on strengthening the Chris Hani Institute.

Further Resolve that:

- a) Alliance Secretariat at the National level to develop a Political Framework on the ideal features of the Alliance structures / operation as the political guidance at all levels
- b) the affiliates other structures of the federation must internalized alliance decisions
- c) Alliance leadership be deployed on permanent basis to provide political service to all the lower structures of the Alliance to ensure coherency and less political tensions
- d) All Alliance national summits resolutions be cascaded down to all lower Alliance structures within two months after the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress
- e) The Alliance annual programme of actions / year planner for all the activities be developed at all levels of the Alliance
- f) The Alliance to finalize the issue of the Alliance Pact / Reconfiguration of the Alliance resolutions as adopted by the COSATU and the SACP respectively in their previous constitutional meetings
- g) Comprehensive programme be developed to rebuild, resource and focus SANCO , COSAS , SASCO on their strategic political tasks
- h) Recall / deployment policy of the Alliance be developed to avert the abuse, marginalization and abuse of political authority by some ANC structures
- i) Political Code of conduct be developed for all the Alliance leadership and the political deployees as to guide their conduct to protect the image of the Alliance / institutions where they are deployed
- j) Intensification of the political education programme / revolutionarising the Alliance structures / broader, masses to as to take charge of the political destiny as their own liberators under the custodianship of the Alliance and the MDM
- k) Audit the affiliates leadership/cadreship that are serving the Alliance, Mass democratic Movement formation including the Organs of People's Power such as the CPFs, SGBs, Clinic or Hospital Boards, Commuter Forums etc
- l) Special focus be the unity and cohesion of SANCO at all levels also expose political opportunism of people using SANCO as a political instrument to ascend to power or be deployed
- m) ANC's Imvuselelo / Buye'ekhaya and the SACP's Know Your Neighbourhood Campaigns should form an integral part of the Alliance's ongoing joint programmes to avoid the political lull or disintegration of the Alliance post-elections campaign

- n) The Alliance lekgotlas or summits must be convened by November 2009 for the strategic implementation of the 2009 national elections manifesto including repositioning the Alliance for the 2011 local government elections

### **1.3. The Alliance Pact: NUMSA,**

Noting that

- a) In the COSATU 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress we resolved on the need informed by material conditions at the time for an Alliance pact at the centre of which was the desire to democratise the Alliance and among others ensure that Alliance partners are equal and jointly determine policy and deployments together
- b) In the COSATU 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress we resolved that if the pact was rejected COSATU had to convene a Special Central Committee to decide on the next step
- c) The ANC rejected the pact, and COSATU did not convene a Special Central Committee to decide on the next step and that this could partially have been informed by the reading of Polokwane, i.e., the new space that we agreed it provided
- d) Post-Polokwane there is a re-emergence of the pre-Polokwane situation's political, organisational and class realignments or reconfigurations within the Alliance and that whilst the Alliance has improved nationally, the Alliance Political Council is not functioning as we had expected and in most provinces provincial cabinets/executives and key deployments were determined at the exclusion of the SACP and COSATU.

We therefore resolve

- a) COSATU should continue to engage around the reconfiguration of the Alliance and the Electoral Pact with the view of ensuring the leading role of the working class as the primary motive force of our revolution and basing all policy on the objectives of the Freedom Charter & RDP
- b) That measures to realise the democratisation of the Alliance and ensuring that all partners are treated equal must not be conceptualised in isolation from the objective of our 2015 Plan on swelling the ranks of the ANC.
- c) The federation must find new ways on how to realise the democratisation of the Alliance so that it can serve in concrete terms as the political centre, moving from the notion of the ANC-led government to ANC-led Alliance government and leadership of our society at all levels.

### **1.4. Building the SACP: NUMSA**

Resolve:

- a) Affiliates/COSATU should be encouraged to adopt SACP Provincial Organisers/Secretaries
- b) The Conference of the left must be implemented within 12 months.

- c) We note that post Polokwane increased the number of SACP leaders who are serving in government and as COSATU we are interested in having a strong SACP. While we support increased visibility of communists in legislatures and government at all levels as well as in all other centres of power (the community, the workplace, the ideological terrain the economy and the state in particular), we call on the SACP to carryout, manage and support deployments in a manner that will not compromise the independent identity and impact of the Party. In this, the questions who or which position/s is/are full time is a tactical issue rather than strategic and must be flexible to the continually changing conditions for so long as deployments contribute positively towards the realisation of the objectives of the Party's Medium Term Vision (MTV) at the centre of which is to exercise working class power and impact. We recognise however that the SACP is the ultimate formation that is well positioned to make a relevant decision on this matter in its forthcoming Special National Congress and other Congresses to follow.
- d) The question of mandates for those deployed to the state, not only by the SACP but also by COSATU, has got to be dealt with so matters relating to accountability can be addressed. As things stand, those comrades who are in the state are deployed in terms of the ANC's election procedure, which states that they are all ultimately accountable to the ANC. What mandates have the SACP and COSATU given to those of their cadres deployed in the state? Are these comrades empowered to implement these mandates? If so, what about the ANC mandate from the premise of which they have been deployed and the ANC discipline to which they are subjected? What if the positions of the SACP and COSATU differ from those that the ANC wants comrades in the state to implement?

#### **1.5. Building the Alliance in the Western Cape and in the KZN (Zululand area: NUM, SACTWU**

Noting that:

- a. ANC and its Alliance partners had a disappointing outcome in the W Cape Province, during the 2009 general elections.
- b. Strong support need to be lobbied for future successes, especially in the coloured communities.
- c. A key cause of this disappointing outcome can be attributed to infighting in the province.
- d. The Western Cape Province is known for her unique political dilemmas which obviously have a bearing in the national political landscape

Believing that:

- a) Western Cape is one of the strategic provinces in the map of South Africa therefore normally highly contested between political parties in the country.

Therefore resolve that:

- a) COSATU should continue to engage the Alliance Secretariat to conduct a thorough and objective study on the Political and Socio Economic outlook of the Western Cape results which should assist in the planning for the 2011 local government elections and 2014 national elections.

- b) The study should be extended to the KZN to ascertain the growth of the ANC in that the results may be used as an organizational reference on problematic areas
- c) The ANC should mobilize the Alliance as a matter of priority to attend to the Western Cape Province as part of preparation for the elections and ANC victory.
- d) COSATU should develop a programme to educate and motivate worker leaders politically to strengthen the Alliance structures in local communities.
- e) To campaign for the uplifting of socio–economic standards among all communities.
- f) To facilitate stronger integration of worker leaders into local ANC structures.
- g) COSATU to launch an awareness campaign nationally to make our country's constitution a living document amongst citizens, especially among workers and at school level in order to help empower current and future voters about their rights.

#### **1.6. Development of Political and Ideological Consciousness. NEHAWU, NUMSA**

Noting that:

- a) The 2015 plan is benchmarked on building working class power as one of the key strategies of taking forward the National Democratic Revolution.
- b) Our society is characterised by intense ideological contestation.
- c) The important role played by the Chris Hani Institute and the Chris Hani Brigade Schools in sharpening and shaping our ideological grounding and clarity has since come to an end.
- d) The dominant role played by the bourgeois media in the battle of ideas in society and that the working class has yet to have its own electronic or national print media.

Believing that:

- a) With an all rounded cadreship capable of advancing and defending the working class at all material times, political education remains central and core.
- b) Both the Chris Hani Institute and Chris Hani Brigades are critical in the capacity building of the required cadreship.

Resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm the 2015 plan in deepening the political work through establishment of socialist forums as platforms of engaging in debates on all the challenges facing the working class and building membership capacity on the ground.
- b) Transform trade union consciousness into socialist consciousness and allocate resources and raise funds to carryout political education in order to achieve this. We should also focus on involving youth structures in deepening their understanding of the NDR and its interrelationship and distinctiveness to struggles for a socialist revolution. In this we should also target schools and further and higher education.
- c) Rebuilding and resourcing the Chris Hani Institute as a strong engine for ideological grounding and political education. This should include redefining its role and the Labour Service Organizations such as ILRIG, DITSELA etc.

- d) Revive the convening of the quarterly Chris Hani Brigade Schools, starting from 2010. Each affiliates must at least convene two political schools in the provinces/locals per year
- e) Convene COSATU national political schools annually.
- f) Campaign to the public broadcaster for regular and scheduled slots focusing on labour/working class issues and against current programme promoting elitism and bourgeois ideology.
- g) Campaign for the creation of workers' schools and resource centres in the higher education sector.
- h) COSATU to develop the Political Syllabus and clear political benchmarks for all the lower structures and the affiliates
- i) Chris Hani Brigade be revived , but the selection criteria be developed as to avoid recruiting comrades who are not political activists
- j) All affiliates to identify the pool of Cadres (Affiliates Brigade Projects within 2 months after the COSATU 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress)
- k) The COSATU Political Commission must supervise and guide progress on political education and Chris Hani Brigades
- l) Affiliates/federation to annually raise funds and budget for the Political Schools and Marxist (left) political economy education economic literacy education programmes
- m) All affiliates to be encouraged to employ National and Provincial Political Educators to drive the political education programme on coherent basis
- n) COSATU Political Education Forums be revived in the context of evaluating , monitoring and sharing experiences and lessons by the affiliates
- o) Year Planner be developed by the federation in the provinces, locals and also by the affiliates on the political education programmes/Socialist Forums and all programmes be evaluated by constitutional structures on quarterly basis.

### **1.7. COSATU 2015 Plan: NUMSA**

Implementation framework and synergy between the COSATU 2015 Plan and the SACP Medium Term Vision (MTV)

Noting:

- a) A number of the affiliates and the structures of the federation failed dismally to internalise the COSATU 2015 Plan
- b) There has been a lack of internal political benchmarks including creating synergy between 2015 Plan and other programmes of the affiliates/federation structures including encapsulating the 2015 Plan on the Affiliates/federation's structures Annual Strategic Plans
- c) Inadequate/insufficient budgeting for the Plan
- d) Failure to deepen the understanding of the cadreship at all levels of the federation/affiliates on the strategic importance of the 2015 Plan

- e) Failure to internalise and create synergy between the 2015 Plan and also the SACP's Medium Term Vision (MTV) underpinned by similar objectives of the 2015 Plan
- f) Lack of joint Programmes of Action (POA) with the SACP Structures across all levels

Resolve

- a) All affiliates and structures of the federation to deepen the political understanding across all levels of our structures on the strategic / political significance of both the 2015 Plan and the Medium Term Vision of the SACP
- b) Integration of the COSATU 2015 Plan and the SACP MTV political benchmarks with the affiliates and the federation's Annual Strategic Plans
- c) Quarterly monitoring/evaluation on the implementation of the Plans/targets by all the structures of the federation and affiliates
- d) Joint Political Programmes with the SACP across all levels in driving both the 2015 Plan and the MTV
- e) 2015 Plan be declared as a strategic political project that will require proper funding and the political commission and or elected office bearers across all the levels of the federation and affiliates be assigned a special task of monitoring and driving this Programme to ensure coherency including asserting leadership authority.

#### **1.8. Racism, Sexism, Tribalism and Xenophobia: FAWU**

Noting that:

- a) The existing COSATU resolutions on the subject.
- b) The 2008 May Day speakers notes on the issue.

Believing that:

- a) Racism, sexism, tribalism and xenophobia divide the working class (workers and the poor).
- b) Working class solidarity must transcend these divisive tendencies.

Therefore Resolves

- a) To call on government and parliament adopt the Africa Day and pass legislation enabling this day to be a paid public holiday.
- b) To mount an educational programme within our structures on the dangers and divisive nature of racism, sexism, tribalism and xenophobia.

#### **1.9. Xenophobia: NUMSA**

Noting

- a) South African society is struggling with poverty social inequality, violations of human rights and crimes of all sorts, particularly against poor women and children who are vulnerable and marginalized. Many of the migrants are refugees fleeing wars and economic devastation on the continent.
- b) From 2008 we witnessed xenophobic attacks largely to migrants from neighbouring countries by our brothers and sisters in South Africa. COSATU affiliates lost members and shop stewards who were killed during these attacks.
- c) At least 62 people were killed, hundreds injured and tens and thousands uprooted. Many of these people are still stranded in makeshift camps and shelters.
- d) The xenophobic attacks happened in settings where scarcity and intense competition converge and are largely out of bounds for the police, poorly integrated into local governance systems and appear to have weak political structures. The attacks took place at the height of food prices and food riots taking place in other parts of Africa.
- e) Demands in informal settlements, townships and rural areas are generally ignored and needs misunderstood, and consequently grievances accumulate and snowball into a combustible charm of precariousness and resentment.
- f) A ground swell of hostility against migrants and refugees from elsewhere in Africa and Asia has been evident since 1990 when SA Catholic Bishops Conference was moved to speak against xenophobia.
- g) The role the media played to reinforce caricatures of African migrants as conmen and criminals and their Asian peers as gougers and exploiters.
- h) The harassment extension and exploitation of refugees, migrants workers had become institutionalized, routinely rounded up and shaken down, their coerced bribes supplement the earnings of thousands of state employees.
- i) Foreigners are accused of swamping scarce rental housing, jumping housing queues or illegally buying their way into occupancy.
- j) The availability of vast numbers of skilled, legally insecure and economically desperate workers enable the employers to undermine workers rights, suppress wages generally and bypass much of the regulatory framework of the formal labour system.
- k) South Africa relied on migrant labour system from Southern African for many years.

Further noting:

- a) The creation of temporary camps for the displaced foreign nationals by the government provided a temporary relief, but more still needs to be done to heal our society of the negative impact caused by colonialism and apartheid in entrenching African-self hatred among locals and between them and other African citizens.
- b) Crude re-integration without addressing fundamental problems, of foreign nationals into communities that displaced them does not represent the best solution (there are still problems of access to work permits and therefore work, income, housing and other basic services).



Believing:

- a) If not brought to an end decisively xenophobic eruptions have a potential to divide the African working class along nationalities and weaken the working class struggle against the bourgeois in the continent and elsewhere.
- b) The main causes of the xenophobic eruptions include:
  - The capitalist system that increases and reproduces the reserve army of labour (the unemployed) and replaces locals by foreign nationals at low wages and cruel conditions of employment:
  - competition for scares resources;
  - poor performance and corruption in the home affairs department; and
  - Bad border control policies which result to failure in recording who leaves and enters the country.

Therefore Resolve:

- a) COSATU condemns the xenophobic attacks against fellow workers from neighbouring countries and urges government to put measures to protect them.
- b) Mass movement of illegal immigrants to South Africa should be investigated so that we are able to deal root causes of that movement. The economic situation of the continent which is partly responsible for such immigration should be addressed as a matter of urgency by governments and people of the continent.
- c) Immigrant workers, whether legal or not must be protected by the formal labour system and existing bargaining agreements and authorities must ascertain those facts before deportation. COSATU must campaign to legalise foreign nationals who had been working for one employer for several years.
- d) COSATU should assist foreign nationals to benefit from Skills Development Act. Department of Labour and other government agencies must assess skills of foreign nationals so that they can help this country develop. Those who had lost their records of their qualifications or proof of their skills in the process coming to South Africa must be helped to verify their skills. In this regard we must campaign that Africa Day is declared a public holiday in the whole continent.
- e) COSATU should name and shame employers who exploit foreign nationals and subject them to horrible conditions.
- f) We must re-build civil society organisations in communities that are poor and banished onto the periphery of the system. COSATU should educate members and the broader community against Xenophobia. We should draw resources from the state to use Africa Day's celebration, sports and cultural activities to creatively build unity in working class communities with foreign nationals.
- g) We repair and boost the capacities of service organization and NGOs to help impoverished communities press home their concerns and demands on service delivery.

- h) We must put ideals of non racialism back in the spotlight of debate and share experiences of the xenophobic attacks. We should cooperate with SACP branches in building working class consciousness and we should integrate foreign nationals back into our communities e.g. through exchange programmes so that we can understand where they come from and move forward. SASCO should be urged to build more relationships with foreign students and organizations.
- i) Border control policies, Home Affairs, Safety & Security Department and the Housing Department must overhaul and re-orientate to realize efficient and effective public service. Decisive action needs to be taken to root out corruption in these departments.
- j) Government must educate civil servants and ordinary citizens on how to handle, respect and forge cordial relations with foreign nationals.
- k) The re-integration of the displaced as a result of xenophobic and Afro-phobic eruptions back into communities where they were displaced must address the fundamental causes of the problem of high levels of unemployment, delivery of basic services such as water, housing & electricity, etc.
- l) The Disaster Management Act should be amended in order to be explicit about the roles of different spheres of government and non-governmental organisations.

#### **1.10. Xenophobia: SAMWU**

Noting:

- a) Xenophobic attacks continue to blight our democracy and generate unacceptable insecurities in many communities.
- b) There has not been a single conviction for a serious offence (for example rape, murder or assault) arising from the 2008 attacks that took place when no less than 62 innocent people lost their lives.
- c) Compelling evidence has emerged of an increase in 'institutionalised xenophobia' for example through inhumane treatment, harassment and corruption suffered by immigrant workers at the hands of Home Affairs and other authorities.
- d) The increasing role that private companies are playing in the detention of immigrants and the profits they make from the misery of the 'repatriation industry'.
- e) The media and police attacks that have been made on those who provide emergency shelter for immigrants such as those on the Methodist Centre in Johannesburg and elsewhere.
- f) The existence of progressive union policies on xenophobia, coupled with positive interventions by some unions to counter xenophobia, but the lack of any central, coordinated and consistent campaign.

Therefore Resolves:

- a) COSATU must organise a broad based conference on Xenophobia early in 2010 to develop an on-going campaign against xenophobia that will involve all unions, immigrant organisations, social movements, and others.

- b) We ensure that the campaign works towards the elimination of xenophobia in all of its forms and including harassment, corruption, misrepresentation, exploitation and exclusion.
  - c) All unions are urged to include xenophobia and the threat it poses for the working class in union education programmes and in union publications.
  - d) Unions who organise workers in Home Affairs and the Police and Immigration Departments must not condone or unconsciously act in any way which is xenophobic, and must be supported to address these issues more broadly within their unions.
  - e) Government be engaged to develop and put in place, a progressive and humane immigration policy that reflects the realities of our continent and which is based on working class internationalism and solidarity.
  - f) Government must work for regional and continental development so that workers are not forced by economic necessity to migrate in order to support their families and communities. Furthermore to see immigration not as a “problem” but as opportunity to address regional co-operation.
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### **1.11. The implementation of the ANC 2009 National Elections Manifesto: NUMSA**

Noting that:

- a) The ANC manifesto entitled “MY ANC; MY VISION; MY FUTURE” publicly launched on the 10th January 2009 during the 97th January 8th Anniversary Celebrations.
- b) The five priority areas of the ANC government in the next five years: Creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods; Education; Health; Crime; Rural development, including land reform, and food production and security
- c) The ANC Polokwane Conference policy resolutions
- d) The COSATU Central Committee resolve on the PACT
- e) The emergence of the Congress of the People (COPE)
- f) The role played by the SACP, COSATU and the progressive youth organisations such as COSAS, SASCO , ANC YL and the YCL in mobilizing for an overwhelming majority for the ANC in the 2009 National Elections

Believing that:

- a) To an extent the current economic crisis imposes serious limitations on what is possible for government to implement in line with the five priority areas.
- b) The current reported declining of benefits of members and the envisaged collapse of private medical schemes necessitate the fast tracking of the implementation of the National Health Insurance [NHI]
- c) The 2009 Manifesto is also the ANC plan to mobilize all our people and all the resources to accelerate progress in building a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.
- d) The mass support enjoyed by the ANC and the democratic movement is an important lever that must be creatively used to tilt the balance of forces.
- e) The central concerns of our constituency are jobs , basic services, and an end to poverty and crime

Therefore Resolve that

- a) The ANC led government must prioritize and implement 2009 Manifesto as guided by the Freedom Charter; the ANC Strategy and Tactics; the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); the Constitution of South Africa; relevant resolutions and policies of 52nd ANC National Conference (Polokwane); the 2008 January 8th NEC Statement and the 15 Year Review of Government.
- b) The best assurance for COSATU in the current unfolding economic crisis, and the implementation of the 2009 Manifesto priorities should not be mere undertakings by leaders but a concrete implementation with clear implementation strategies, as well as monitoring and evaluation.

**1.12. Draft Workers Manifesto Framework for a Socialist South Africa: NUMSA**

*Working Class Programme for a Socialist South Africa: NUMSA*

Noting that:

- a) The 9<sup>TH</sup> COSATU National Congress resolved that there must be a thorough preparation for the transition programme from capitalism to socialism
- b) In South Africa, historically and since the advent of capitalism, the majority of the South African working class have always struggled for a Socialist South Africa. This historical fact is well captured in the entirety of the documents of the liberation movement
- c) No amount of tinkering with the existing or future conditions of South African capitalism will ever fully address the historic crisis of unemployment, inequalities, mass poverty, unequal access to social and cultural services, and the generally poor state of the majority of the people of South Africa
- d) The proletarian movement has a critical role to play in bringing the capitalist system to its downfall and in executing a socialist revolution
- e) Historically, there has never been any better conditions to state and fight for the case for socialism than the current global and South African deep seated, systemic and structural crisis of capitalism with its attendant mass impoverishment of the working class

Therefore resolve that

- a) As part of the revolutionary proletarian movement COSATU must develop its own guide to the struggle for a socialist revolution and this must be in the form of an executable Programme in line with the federation's 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolution
- b) This Programme must be presented as an overarching vision, strategy and conjunctural tactics for a Socialist South Africa, and be adopted by the COSATU National Congresses

- c) The immediate, transitional and long term demands to be outlined (stipulated) in the Programme must be born out of a process of democratic consultation with the working class as part and parcel of the mobilisation for a socialist revolution
- d) The terms of reference for this Programme must include the following:
  - i. A Marxist dialectical and historical materialist approach to the analysis of the international and local contexts. Such an analysis should then be used to elaborate and produce:
    - The history of South Africa both in its international and local complexities and contexts
    - The development of the capitalist system in South Africa and class struggle, including wars of dispossession and the national liberation struggle, located in their historical perspective.
    - Analysis of the South African economy, social realities and the political situation in the current conjuncture
    - The obtaining conditions of the working class in South Africa and their dialectical linkages to class struggles, located in their historical perspective
    - The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and its role and relationship to the condition of the working class in South Africa and the struggles of the working class for a Socialist South Africa
    - The ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance – its origins, historic mission and situational analysis vis-à-vis the NDR
    - The struggle for a socialist revolution and its relationship to the NDR
    - The immediate, transitional and long term demands of the working class for a socialist South Africa
  - ii. The Freedom Charter demands that the wealth of the country including all its natural resources beneath and above the soil and water, and productive capacity, be restored to the people as a whole, (i.e. nationalized). These demands have long been formulated and accepted by the working class, constitute the basis from which to start the formulation of the demands of the proposed programme;
  - iii. This 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of Cosatu must outline the practical time bound actions to support the realisation of the Programme, including the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress creating a relevant structure to supervise the production of the detailed Programme for a Socialist South Africa to be canvassed among the working class of South Africa. A framework proposal is therefore set out below;

### **1.12.1. Draft Workers Manifesto Framework**

For A Socialist South Africa

September 2009

This Draft Manifesto Framework is presented to the Cosatu 10<sup>th</sup> National Cosatu Congress as a way of taking forward the decision in Cosatu's 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress in 2006 to task Cosatu and Naledi to develop a process that would "culminate in a draft Manifesto of the Working Class in South Africa that will inform all the campaigns of the Federation and the SACP". The draft Manifesto below is intended as a guide of what the Manifesto could contain and look like.

**A. Introduction**

This "Draft Workers Manifesto for a Socialist South Africa":

1. Explains the origins and illustrates the history of South African capitalism, and locates it in the global capitalist system.
2. Narrates the story of class struggles in South Africa.
3. Illustrates the history of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.
4. Defines what the National Democratic Revolution was all about.
5. Explains what was achieved in 1994.
6. Explains the possible transitional and long term demands of the working class for a Socialist South Africa.
7. Outlines a possible Framework for a minimum working class Programme of Action to achieve a Socialist South Africa.

**B. Origins and global location of South African capitalism**

This Chapter of the Manifesto would cover the following:

1. An account of pre-capitalist South Africa.
2. An account of the advent of capitalism in South Africa.
3. An account of how African and other societies were violently disrupted, by capitalism in South Africa.
4. The composition and structure of South African capitalism from 1652 to date.
5. A precise description of the place of South African capitalism in the global system of capitalism.
6. A sharp description of the composition, structure and internal and external class and other dynamics of South African capitalism today.

### C. A history of class struggles in South Africa

This Chapter would contain the following:

1. An account of the origins of class struggles in South Africa
2. A brief history of the complex relationships between class, race and gender struggles and nationalist struggles in South Africa.
3. An account of milestones in working class struggles in South Africa.
4. A history of the Congress of South African Trade Unions
5. An account of the history of Leftists, Socialists and Communists in South Africa.

### D. History of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa

This Chapter would deal with the following:

1. A history of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa
2. A brief account of the leading nationalist political formations in the history of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.
3. A history of the African National Congress (ANC).
4. A history of the ANC led Alliance

### E. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

This Chapter would cover the following:

1. The history of, concept and practice of the National Democratic Revolution in South Africa.
2. A problematic of the NDR, citing the class struggles around the future of the NDR in South Africa.
3. The NDR and the struggle for Socialism in South Africa.
4. Key milestones in the history of the NDR in South Africa.
5. The NDR and the ANC, SACP, and COSATU, post 1994.
6. The NDR post 1994 and the struggle for Socialism in South Africa.
7. Is there a need to go beyond the "NDR", post 1994, in the struggle for Socialism?

### F. The 1994 "democratic breakthrough" in South Africa

This Chapter would deal with the following:

1. The nature and class content of the 1994 “democratic breakthrough” in South Africa
2. An illustration of the class and other compromises which the 1994 democratic breakthrough demanded.
3. The political content of the 1994 democratic breakthrough – the liberal post Apartheid South African Constitution.
4. Possibilities for a peaceful transition to Socialism, using the 1994 democratic breakthrough.
5. The emerging class, race, gender and national content of political struggles in South Africa post the 1994 democratic breakthrough.

<p><b>G. Transitional and Long Term Revolutionary Demands of South African Workers for a Socialist South Africa</b></p>
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This Chapter would explain what is meant by transitional and long term working class demands for a Socialist South Africa:

1. Transitional demands are the immediate basic demands which must lay a basis for beginning to construct a Socialist South Africa.
2. Long Term Revolutionary Demands represent the long term strategic vision for a Socialist South Africa.
3. Careful thought and detail would have to be devoted to defining and crafting these demands.
4. These demands would have to be democratic made through public working class forums at shop floors, in communities, in the affiliates of Cosatu, in conferences with other progressive formation who would be willing to participate in the struggle for Socialism in South Africa and so on.

<p><b>H. Draft Transitional Demands for laying the basis for a Socialist South Africa</b></p>
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These Transitional Demands are not exhaustive, and are only illustrative of the kind of formulation required to make such demands:

1. Immediately, nationalize the major means of production.
2. Declare education, health and a meal a day available for everyone.
3. Create state facilitated anti crime volunteer units in working class communities.
4. Centralise the major means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.



5. Create a workers bank to concentrate all pension and provident funds, medical aids funds and union investments into a single bank.
6. Create a national housing bank to facilitate the provision of decent housing for the working class.
7. Begin restructuring the state – executive, judiciary and parliament – in the interests of the working class.
8. Abolish labour broking.
9. Abolish retrenchments.
10. Workers takeover of companies threatened with closures because of the collapse of the neoliberal paradigm of global capitalism.

<b>I. Long Term Revolutionary Demands</b>
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Simultaneously as the Transitional Demands are being democratic composed, Long Term Demands for a Socialist South Africa would be made as well:

1. Abolish bourgeois private property.
2. Nationalise, socialise and democratise all key strategic means of production in South Africa such as land, water, minerals, mines, banks, oil companies, shipyards, telecommunications, transport, food, housing, etc, etc, etc.
3. Concentrate all credit and the power to make money in the hands of the state.
4. Abolish the bourgeoisie executive, parliamentary and justice system, and replace them with working class state structures.
5. Abolish the distinction between former white suburbs and shacks and townships, and between rural areas and urban areas.
6. Everyone to enjoy the right to work, housing, education, health and a healthy environment.
7. Everyone to work.

<b>J. Framework for a Programme of Action to Achieve Socialism in South Africa</b>
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The Manifesto would conclude with a Programme of Action to win Socialism in South Africa. Such a Programme would detail how to do the following:

1. Education, mobilisation, and organisation of the maximum number of workers in South Africa for the struggle for Socialism.
2. Organisation and mobilisation of “civil society” behind the demand for Socialism in South Africa.

3. Reconstitution of the South African Communist Party into a party of Revolution.
4. Creation of community Socialist Units.
5. Creation of shop-floor Socialist Units.

**1.13. *Building a Developmental State to deepen the NDR and advance the struggle for a Socialist South Africa: NUMSA, NEHAWU***

Noting that:

- a) Polokwane charged the Alliance:
  - i. To move towards a developmental state.
  - ii. To radically alter the accumulation regime in this country.
- b) To direct all socio-economic and macro-economic policies at decent job creation
- c) The Freedom Charter propagates state ownership of the commanding heights of the economy and control of the private sector for the benefit of the people.
- d) The need for fundamental reorganisation and restructuring of inherited state institution and the construction of a radically different state.
- e) In the current conjecture the NDR requires the creation of developmental interventionist state that among others seeks to roll back the market, discipline, regulate and expropriate capital to advance our democratic developmental objectives.
- f) The thoroughgoing nature of the NDR and its dialectical relationship with socialism.

Further Noting that

- a) The fact that over the past three decades Neoliberalism has defined the role and character of the capitalist state in most parts of the world including South Africa, as part of globalisation.
- b) The retreat of Neoliberalism as a dominant political and socioeconomic accumulation regime in the midst of the current deep-seated global capitalist crisis.
- c) The post-Apartheid state embarked on the liberalisation of trade policy, partial commodification of public services, privatisation, and deregulation of sectors and the relaxation of the exchange controls informed by the dominant Neoliberal orthodoxy.
- d) The commitment in the new government to build a developmental state, to break-away from the inherited Apartheid development path and to meet socioeconomic challenges and priorities identified in Polokwane.
- e) The broad support for an increased role of the state in the economy and for the need to roll-back the market and the private sector in the delivery of public services.

Believing that:

- a) The current interventions of the state in the economy in the USA and Western Europe are largely intended to save capitalism rather than to move towards an alternative developmental path.

- b) Despite achievements in the transformation of the Apartheid state and in the delivery of services to our people, the post-Apartheid state has largely served the interests of capital and elites in our society.
- c) The developmental state in South Africa must be built to leverage the transformation of social relations in our society in terms of class, race and gender.
- d) Our developmental state must be primarily defined by the practical role it plays in the economy in advancing the NDR and the fulfilment of the demands of the Freedom Charter.
- e) The role and features of our developmental state must include:
  - Active state-led interventions in the economy – including an expansionary macroeconomic policy, active industrial strategy, the nationalisation of strategic industries, the creation of other collective forms of ownership, the expropriation of land for the land-hungry and a creation of a comprehensive social wage.
  - Working class-centred – the government and all organs of the state, including the role of the parastatals being biased and oriented towards the interests of the broader working class majority.
  - Participatory democracy – the deepening of democratisation across institutions of the state and popular participation in the formulation of policy and delivery of services across all spheres of government.
  - Anti-imperialist – a commitment to national self-determination, especially with regards to socioeconomic policies, trade and foreign policy.

Resolve that:

- a) 9<sup>th</sup> COSATU National Congress resolutions on NDR must be reaffirmed and a mass mobilisation programme be adopted to realise them.
- b) To advance the building of an interventionist, activist, socialist-oriented developmental state whose role in the economy is aimed at implementing the provisions of the freedom charter without distortion while at the same time combating right-wing revisionist tendencies to the freedom charter.
- c) In particular, the above requires a radical programme to transfer the wealth, productive resources and capacity back to the people as a whole rather than turning the masses of our people whose majority is the working class into passive recipients of service delivery as if that constitute a fundamental fault in our economy.
- d) As components of the organised working class, COSATU must assert through practical programmes the role of the working class as the main motive and leading force of the NDR
- e) COSATU must prioritise a programme that will mobilise progressive social forces to push the state in addressing agrarian and land reform on an anti-capitalist basis. Among others this requires a comprehensive industrial strategy that will promote agro-processing democratic forms of production organisation.

Further Resolve that:

- a) Recognising the imperative of reconfiguring the state in order to deliver on the developmental state, the Alliance must take full sovereignty for policy formulation and implementation.
- b) In order to achieve the above, the function of economic policy formulation in the state and implementation must lie in the Economic Development Department.
- c) The Planning Commission must ensure that the state delivers.
- d) That the developmental state should decisively intervene to restructure the economy and redistribute resources away from the developed to the underdeveloped areas using a variety of policy instruments including taxation
- e) Developmental state should also intervene to build a socialist economy that is orientated towards meeting social needs
- f) That the South African constitution should outlaw poverty as unconstitutional and impose a responsibility on the state to intervene to eradicate poverty
- g) South African developmental state should constitutionalise the right to work, and unemployment should be made unconstitutional and that should impose on the state to guarantee full employment of all citizens
- h) As a way of dealing with asset poverty, the new Minister of Human Settlement must make sure that all the newly built houses have a Refrigerator, Stove and solar geyser
- i) That the developmental state should force development finance institutions to finance worker owned co-ops that are producing socially useful products.
- j) Stimulate discussions in the structures of the federation and affiliates to further define the character and role of the developmental state and the policies that it must pursue as part of an on-going process of clarifying our perspective.
- k) Campaign for the implementation of ANC and Alliance policies calling for state interventions in the economy.
- l) Specifically mandate COSATU public sector unions including those organising in parastatals and municipalities to work together in developing a common perspective and programme defining their role in building the developmental state.
- m) Engage the Alliance and other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement in discussions on the developmental state.

#### **1.14. The ANC and Governance: NUMSA**

We Reaffirm:

- a) The relevance of COSATU 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolutions on swelling the ranks of the ANC, and that COSATU must develop targets and monitor progress in swelling the ranks of the ANC.
- b) The COSATU 2015 Plan in building the hegemony of the working class in all spheres and

structures of our society including in the ANC

And therefore resolve:

- a) We must struggle to ensure a dominant working class influence on the ANC and make certain that it changes the structure of the South African economy and its capitalist accumulation path.
- b) We must champion for ANC-led Alliance government instead of an ANC-led government and call on government to use embark on expansionary fiscal policy to develop a proper infrastructure for our previously and still marginalised communities as we cannot afford the current conditions where townships and rural areas and schools in these poor communities are still as they were in the past or have experienced little progress.
- c) COSATU must call for a progressive democratic participatory budget process in all spheres of government.
- d) COSATU at national level must champion a discussion on the future of provinces and interface through public hearings with the department of local government on this matter.
- e) COSATU to build capacity of its leadership, especially at local level to effectively engage on political (which includes governance), economic and social development.

**1.15. Provincial Government: NUMSA**

Congress resolves

To persuade the Alliance partners to scrap provincial government as a sphere of governance and replace it with an administration of national government at provincial level. This will reduce unnecessary spending on bureaucracy and strengthen local government to deliver the services to the poor in terms of the Freedom Charter and the aspirations of the Morogoro Strategy and Tactics.

**1.16. Building of the Local State: NUMSA**

Noting:

- a) That the ways in which local municipalities were demarcated entailed inadequacies whereby in some cases poor local authorities that lack both the capacity and adequate resources to do their job were clustered.
- b) Spending patterns of the local state continue to focus on traditionally white areas while dominance e standards in previously disadvantaged communities are in decline.

Therefore Resolve:

- a) The way in which poor municipalities in the country were consolidated under the demarcation process should be revisited.

- b) That the concept of large metro municipalities that exclude small towns and rural areas that previously relied on them is a disaster and it must be reviewed and include these poor rural areas.
- c) We must therefore build a completely different local state whose first mission is to transform the inherited apartheid infrastructure that prioritized a tiny minority. We need a local state that plans for the majority of the people
- d) This means that budget processes must be informed by the need to fundamentally alter our apartheid dominance. Our budgets should not be informed by national allocations to the local state but by the extent of backlogs that exist in our communities
- e) The Alliance needs to question the suitability of IDPs. We need to develop planning instruments that will help reverse current re-racialisation tendencies and radically transform what we have inherited.
- f) Poor communities must receive free services and we must introduce progressive tariffs to address the fact that many people cannot pay large amounts for services; and the Alliance must deal with the problem of re-racialisation, market dominance and persisting racial social geography in most towns, coastal resorts and cities. Current settlements patterns are determined by ongoing 'market colonialism'. Our people cannot afford to buy property in formerly white areas and action must be taken to change this.
- g) Municipalities and metros must stop filling positions via labour brokers and agencies.
- h) The current public sector ethos needs to be reassessed and steps taken to develop a public service ethic based on people's power rather than on providing services as commodities.
- i) We need to redefine who is poor. Some municipalities only give free services to pensioners or those on household incomes of less than R1500. This excludes many people who are struggling to survive. The current definition of who is indigent or poor is too mean and exclusionary.
- j) Local people's committees must be built with people trained to monitor their own services as well as the work of local government more generally. It is on this basis that we can revisit the current culture of not paying for services.

#### **1.17. 2011 Local Government Elections: NUMSA**

##### Resolve

- a) The Alliance to convene two days post elections summits at all levels to evaluate and plan for the 2011 Local Government Elections
- b) Alliance Elections Structures be established before the end of 2009
- c) All the Volunteers not to be demobilized, but to be recruited and their role to be redefined
- d) ANC and the Alliance to develop strategies and programme of action in ensuring the implementation of the elections manifesto commitments and other concerns of the communities submitted on the street sheets as to immediately address the serious problems related to service delivery

- e) Special focus be on youth, religious formations and other hot spots areas where there are challenges of unity and cohesion, and also where the ANC has not performed well in the April National Elections, to recapture the lost ground and also to consolidate the ANC/Alliance political support
- f) Alliance partners must each embark on their own process of identifying candidates (list) for elections rather than the present pre-Polokwane system of candidates ultimately decided by and accountable to the ANC alone. Once the Alliance partners have each determined their list preferences there must be a process that will consolidate a final list ensuring that all partners are represented properly as determined jointly by the Alliance partners and all candidates shall be accountable (otherwise and ultimately) to the Alliance rather than the ANC alone. Each Alliance partner should however reserve the right to recall its candidates should it be convinced that they have conducted themselves in an inconsistent manner. The Alliance must agree on the attributes that candidates for elections and all positions across all spheres must fulfill both in the democratic processes.
- g) The issue of deployments where the ANC regions and provinces have embarked upon deployment without the involvement of the SACP and COSATU.

**1.18. Service delivery: NUMSA**

- a) The Alliance must define and develop a common programme of action to recapture the lost ground and also provide political leadership to communities
- b) Urgent Service Delivery Summits must be convened by the Alliance (municipalities to develop comprehensive service delivery strategy)
- c) Alliance leadership must develop a programme of action and visit the hotspots across the length and breadth of our country before November 2009
- d) We must build capacity and political confidence of Alliance structures especially at the local level and reposition them to act jointly in dealing with service delivery issues
- e) The 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolutions on service delivery must be reaffirmed.
- f) Most importantly, the Alliance must urgently define and adopt a programme for the transfer of our productive resources and capacity back to the people as a whole. Any measures to champion the notion of service delivery that are short of this most important measure will simply be setting the movement up for failure. The fundamental problem that our society finds itself as passed over by colonialism and apartheid is that of dispossession, inequality and poverty.
- g) COSATU must push for the convening of Service Delivery Summits in which communities directly participate in identifying solutions to the many service delivery problems. Fundamental in this should be the strategic orientation that South Africa's service delivery problems are embedded in the legacy of colonialism and apartheid social relations in which the vast majority of our resources are in the hands of a few and that better service delivery has also taken a similar trajectory. Any measures that are therefore short of transferring wealth and productive

capacity back to the people as a whole both as the Morogoro Strategy and Tactics and the Freedom Charter assert will simply be setting up our ANC-led Alliance to failure.

**1.19. Improving service to members and building relationship with communities: NUMSA**

Noting that:

- (a) Non participation of affiliate organisers in COSATU structures
- (b) Resolutions taken in last Congresses are not implemented and are hence recycled in next Congresses
- (c) COSATU and affiliates have neglected building relationships with communities, particularly when it comes to solidarity on community issues

Therefore resolve that:

- (a) Congress to mandate the first CEC after this Congress to commission a large scale study on the state of service delivery to membership and on the basis of such a report, the CEC should develop guidelines on how best to improve service to our members.
- (b) CEC delegates should be deployed to different provinces to get the feel on the different challenges of affiliates
- (c) For the purposes of organizing and campaigns, we should establish COSATU zonal/ area shop steward councils/committees.
- (d) Local summits to be held per affiliate in each local to assist with report backs to members.
- (e) COSATU CC must evaluate resolutions that we have passed and if they have not been implemented investigate why.
- (f) COSATU to explore the pooling of resources at local level to employ COSATU local organisers to support Affiliates including ensuring implementation of COSATU resolutions by affiliates. The local organiser should be at the center of community struggles in their respective areas
- (g) COSATU to establish local service centers including shared office space, organisers and paralegal services
- (h) COSATU to implement proper system of reporting and accountability for service, drawing on effective models from Affiliates.
- (i) All COSATU affiliates to ensure that their organisers are participating in the COSATU structures
- (j) Affiliates to ensure their organisers are taking part in the organisers forum

**1.20. Service Delivery: NUM**

Noting that:

- a) In the last 15 years of democracy, the ANC led government has achieved a lot for the workers and the poor.



- b) There is a high level of corruption and lack of service delivery in various local municipalities around the country.
- c) The lack of service delivery has led to the continuous protest throughout the country.
- d) Some tendencies emanating from these protests as some people use them to settle outstanding political score with the local leadership including local councilors.

*Believing:*

- a) Much still needs to be done with regard to the improvement of service delivery.
- b) The government is on the right track in combating corruption and increasing the level of service to the people of South Africa.
- c) Most of these protests emanates from our own comrades who are not giving adequate support to the deployed cadres.
- d) While the concerns raised by the communities are genuine, there are some elements of counter revolutionaries who are using these protests to advance their own personal interests.

*Resolved:*

- a) Workers must actively participate in governance structures at local level including branches of the ANC so as to help educate the people at grass roots level on how government operates.
- b) To work closely with our ANC councilors to achieve this objective
- c) Support the government on its programmes to enhance service delivery

**1.21. Police brutality and state repression during protest actions: SATAWU**

*Noting:-*

- a) The 9<sup>th</sup> Congress Resolution on Police Brutality
- b) that no progress has been made in our engagement with the state and that has been witnessed in various instances including the following:
  - o The police brutality that was meted during the strike actions of SATAWU and SAMWU members among others over the last few years
  - o The loss of life and injuries as a result of their actions to workers exercising their rights to strike and protest publicly.
- c) The political and the legal implication of these forms of brutality on the right to strike and assemble as enshrined in the Country's Constitution being undermined
- d) SATAWU and COSATU Western Cape had lodged a complaint against the police during the 2006 Security strike.
- e) The malicious prosecutions of strikers and protesters by the state law enforcement agencies that were never proved but nevertheless have high legal expenses attached in terms of bail and time spent in courts.

*Therefore resolves:*

- a) To rally for support and work relentlessly with progressive organizations to campaign against this injustice.

- b) To approach the Human Rights Commission for an enquiry into the police brutality and violence during protest actions and malicious prosecutions of workers.
- c) To continue to take legal action if required against the authorities.
- d) To condemn with the strongest possible terms the apartheid style of police brutality during these lawful and peaceful demonstrations and to call upon the police top brass to put effective measures / systems to stop police brutality.
- e) To campaign vigorously for the re-training of the public order police unit and transform its mentality from the apartheid reaction unit (trigger happy police force) which believes in nothing else but the bullet language to a democratic police service with crowd control skills and tactics.
- f) To push for the democratization of the procedures for applying for the gatherings including doing away with the sole power of the municipalities to unilaterally grant and cancel actions and doing away with the power of the police to disperse workers when there is no threat to peace as it is intended to undermine our Constitutional right to strike and picket.
- g) To campaign for the review of the Public Gatherings Act which is reminiscent of the Internal Security Act and given its pre-1994 apartheid context
- h) COSATU and its affiliates affected by such police brutality must consistently lodge formal complaints with the Independent Complaints Directorate with a view to secure investigations and sue for damages where necessary
- i) That Minister of Policy ensuring proper use of the police with regard to crowd control.

## **1.22. Special Resolutions on the Planning Commission Green Paper.**

### **Noting that:**

- a. The Government has released its Green Paper on the National Planning Commission (NPC) in which it recognises:
  - i. That it has previously failed to provide a strategic plan and vision since the demise of the Reconstruction and Development Programme(RDP);
  - ii. That it has failed to prioritised the use of resources; and
  - iii. That there have been failures of coordination of government.
- b. The Green Paper on the NPC fails to recognise that Governments planning failures have been a consequence of Government's own policies which in the past 15 years have served financial capital and conglomerates and other interests at the expense of the people.
- c. Macroeconomic and financial policies, since GEAR, in particular, have also been central to the absence of strategic vision and planning, coordination and prioritisation.
- d. Ironically, the individual most responsible for these failings when he was Minister of Finance should now take responsibility for rectifying them without a single mention of the role of finance at all, in the Green Paper on the NPC.
- e. The Minister responsible for the NPC does not mention the urgent need, today, to break completely with the neoliberal strategies and policies of the past, particularly in view of the current global crisis of neoliberal capitalism

- f. To the contrary, the Green Paper in fact continues to moronically parrot the now dry and erroneous refrain that South Africa has “A stable economic platform *that* has enabled rising investment, rising employment and a steady reduction in the proportion of people living in poverty”.

Therefore resolve that:

- a. The first task of the NPC should be to offer a comprehensive assessment of the way in which finance and macroeconomic policy must be transformed in order to guarantee stability and provide the foundations for higher levels of investments across all sectors of the economy, with the public sector taking the lead. Without this, planning for all other areas included in the Green Paper will be a waste of time and effort.
- b. We reject framework proposed by the Green Paper in which its long term vision is designed to make short term trade – offs. In an economy with such high levels of under and unemployment, the task of the long term vision should be to expand across all levels appropriate provisions rather than to make trade - offs between them.
- c. In the light of the now infamous “Harvard Commission” we reject the Green Paper’s deliberate reliance of the work of the NPC on the so called “independent experts and respected intellectuals” at the expense of more democratic, popular and inclusive process.
- d. We reject the implied weakening of the efforts to build a “developmental state” that directly intervenes in the economy on behalf of the working and poor people of South Africa by relying on extremely technocratic and thus authoritarian methods of planning.
- e. That the Alliance meet to give clear political leadership to the task of creating the NCP and its relationships to the rest of Government.

## **2. Socio – Economic Resolutions**

### **2.1. Climate change (SADTU)**

#### *Noting*

- a) The mounting evidence of global warming and climate change and its harmful effects, e.g. on the sustainable production of food, and environmental degradation
- b) The global economic meltdown resulting in recession and job loss
- c) That some countries are already beginning to invest heavily in renewal energy technologies (e.g. USA, China)
- d) That information on climate change is not readily available to our people
- e) That although the rich G8 nations did commit to the objective of limiting the rise in temperature to 2 degrees centigrade (Germany, June 2009), they failed to provide a clear lead on moving towards a low-carbon economy in a manner that is fair to workers and communities.

#### *Believing*

- a) That the achievement of a low carbon economy is both an imperative to combat climate change and an opportunity to develop new skills and products

- b) That government investment is essential to create new jobs
- c) That it is important to conscientise our people around issues of climate change
- d) That the forthcoming UN Climate Change Conference to take place in Copenhagen in December 2009 must give leadership in combating climate change

*Resolves*

- a) To call on government to invest in new green technologies in order to create new kinds of skills and jobs whilst reducing the carbon footprint.
- b) To call on government – in consultation with stakeholders - to develop policy:
  - For the construction of energy and water efficient buildings, infrastructure and transport systems, and
  - To provide training and create jobs in new sustainable eco industries – solar, wind, hydro, biofuels etc
  - To encourage recycling of waste
  - To encourage more efficient use of energy
- c) To call on the federation and government to inform membership and the public and to encourage behaviour change in relation to climate change. As a part of this strategy, environmental education must be integrated across the curriculum in our schools.
- d) That the federation should lobby for a firm stand on climate change – in line with the proposals made herein – at the Copenhagen Conference on Climate change. Any agreement must include action on green jobs, financing of support for developing countries and support for just transition strategies aimed at protecting the most vulnerable from the effects of climate change. Provision must be made for consultation with trade unions and civil society.

**2.2. Public Service: NEHAWU, SAMWU, NUMSA, NUMSA, NUMS, SAMWU POPCRU**

*Noting*

- a) That our resolution on the “Integration of Public Administration” at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress supports:
- b) The integration of different spheres of government.
- c) The need for a stronger role for Local Government.
- d) The rationalisation of conditions of employment and remuneration of public sector workers across all spheres of government.
- e) The creation of parity between rural and urban public sector workers.
- f) That since 2007, there has been some engagement between labour and government on the Single Public Service Bill until it was withdrawn before the 2009 elections.
- g) That government has indicated its intention to re-introduce the Single Public Service Bill, also known as the Public Administration management Bill, this year, 2009, in the same form as before.
- h) The Bill is intended to:

- i) Provide single administration between the spheres of government.
- j) Bring about harmony in conditions of employment between all the spheres of government.
- k) Bring about increased access to communities in single, but multiple centres of access.
- l) Regulate the organisation and functioning, management and staffing in all spheres of government while, at the same time, seeking to respect the powers vested in by the Constitution in municipalities particularly the power to appoint, direct and dismiss their own employees;
- m) Promote developmental and participatory public administration as part of a package of initiatives aimed at building the developmental state;
- n) Address staff shortages but fails to address the steady decline of employment levels, the corresponding freezing of posts resulting in the chronic staff shortages.
- o) The Bill, while proposing certain forms of restructuring and integration:
  - Makes no attempt at re-incorporating parastatals and other government entities and agencies;
  - Ignores the ongoing provincial and local government policy review process;
  - Ignores the framework for integrated development planning provided in the Municipal Systems Act.
  - While supposedly creating a single public service, maintains and in fact entrenches the differences existing in terms and conditions of employment of workers employed and central/provincial level and those at local government level with no commitment to fund any equalisation process.
- p) Municipal workers were not sufficiently consulted in the processes leading up to the development of the Bill.
- q) The weakening of local government through political in-fighting, abuse of power, looting of state resources, patronage, mismatch of skills, casualisation and the substituting of permanent employees with consultants etc.
- r) The establishment of a Ministerial Strategic Team to tackle problems existing in local government.

#### Believing

- (a) The necessary legal framework already exists for enhancing service delivery across all spheres of government.
- (b) The Bill singularly fails to reflect on the failure of central, provincial and local government to implement progressive local government legislation aimed at building the developmental state the Bill is seeking to advance.
- (c) The South African developmental state's starting point is the Constitution and in particular the application of the principle of subsidiary.
- (d) There are indeed certain impediments to building integrated government. These are in the main:

- Differences in terms and conditions of employment between workers in local government and those at provincial and national level. This is further compounded by discrepancies within the local government sector;
  - Existing funding arrangements which seriously impact on the ability of local government to fulfil its constitutional mandate.
- (e) In the absence of any real commitment by government to fund the creation of uniformity in terms and conditions of employment, integration of services will fail.
- (f) The Single Public Service Bill also introduced problematic clauses that:
- allowed for the establishment of government agencies;
  - sought to amend certain conditions of employment, which should be part of collective bargaining; and
  - Sought to make the transfer of staff between spheres much easier – our concern being that this could be used to avoid the filling of existing vacancies in the public service.
- (g) The introduction of a Single Public Service Bill should be a step towards building the Developmental State, and that this process should include:
- Integration and unification of conditions of employment and remuneration among all spheres of government.
  - Integration and unification of access to service delivery in communities and across all spheres.
  - Creation of parity between rural and urban areas both for public sector workers as well as access to services.

#### Resolves

- a) To reaffirm our support for the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress resolution on integration of public administration
  - b) That the Bill should be withdrawn and any further discussion regarding building the developmental state and all its attendant features be conducted within the ongoing provincial and local government policy review process spearheaded by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs.
  - c) That the Ministerial Strategic Team must be expanded to include representatives from national departments whose services impact on municipal services and representatives of civil society.
  - d) That this process must include discussion on the role of parastatals and other government entities and agencies.
  - e) Engagement should commence amongst employer and employee parties within the three spheres of government regarding the most effective ways of eliminating the current discrepancies and before the re-tabling of the Single Public Service Bill in Parliament.
  - f) To ensure that the public service affiliates of COSATU develop a common position in line with the federation's position supporting a single public service, prior to engagement with government.
  - g) To Engage the Alliance partners and other organisations of the Mass Democratic Movement in discussions on the Single Public Service.
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### **2.3. Delivering services: NUMSA**

#### Noting

- a) The current fetishisation of service delivery is obscuring the fundamental problems of the crisis of South African capitalism.
- b) That townships, informal settlements and rural areas are still haunted by poor infrastructure while rich middle class suburbs enjoy high standards of infrastructure and service delivery.
- c) Increased community eruption over poor service delivery and corruption in municipalities; and also worries that some sinister forces could have taken an opportunity through these eruptions to champion their self-interested ends.
- d) That our dream of a better life for all is evaporating in the face of deepening poverty and misery, and that the current capitalist system crisis is worsening matters.
- e) Currently Ward Committees are forms of voluntarism.
- f) There is lack of transformation in that there are still apartheid managers in our system that are not willing to implement government policies and as such are frustrating politicians and service delivery.
- g) That our society is still racially divided with gaps in service delivery exacerbated by the inequalities caused by the yawning wage gap between the highly paid and lowly paid.
- h) That the ways in which local municipalities were demarcated entailed inadequacies, whereby in some cases poor local authorities that lack both the capacity and adequate resources to do their job were clustered.
- i) Spending patterns of the local state continue to focus on traditionally white areas while standards in previously disadvantaged communities are in decline.

#### Believing

- a) Government has a contribution to make in bettering the lives of ordinary people.
- b) Society based on solidarity is possible and sustainable and better for the future of South Africa.
- c) That government will not work better without pressure from below led by the organised working class.
- d) Frontline staff who are members of public sector affiliates often treat other workers and the poor in a disrespectful manner.
- e) While public sector staff are predisposed to reflect broader social attitudes and prejudices, 'serving the people' is a prerequisite to the struggle for socialism.
- f) A public used to hostility from public sector workers have very real reason to protect the public service from privatisation or the workers from redundancy.

#### Worried

- a) That any measures short of socialism and full implementation of the Freedom Charter, particularly the transfer of our productive resources and capacity to the people as a whole, will

simply be setting up our ANC-led National Liberation Movement for failure. The signs are already emerging as reflected in the ever widening gap between the rich and poor and the poor beginning to revolt.

#### Resolves

- a) The organised working class must take the lead in service delivery struggles and fight for implementation of a programme for the complete transfer and restoration of our productive resources and capacity to the people as a whole.
- b) COSATU must adopt a mass mobilisation campaign in order to realise this.
- c) That in order to address moral value, discipline, unemployment, further training, skills shortages and crime, the state to introduce voluntary military and other kinds of training for youth between the ages of 18 to 23.
- d) COSATU must continuously monitor the performance of government at all levels of governance. COSATU Office Bearers to give analytical reports at all constitutional structures on such a review.
- e) COSATU within the Alliance must champion the reconstitution and strengthening of transitional management teams (that were set up after Polokwane to guard against looting) into standing structures of the Alliance to monitor and direct policy implementation.
- f) We call upon all affiliates and COSATU locals and regions/provinces to campaign on service delivery within their locals and regions/provinces and to ensure that the accountability of politicians and government officials does not get compromised.
- g) That clinics as primary health care facilities should be open 24/7.
- h) Those serving in public office, e.g. Ward Committee Members, hospital board members should be compensated in the form of a stipend enjoyed by other volunteers in Government Departments with the right to recall if they are not performing adequately.
- i) The 2008 Alliance summit resolution on the review of all the outsourced services must be reaffirmed and insourced.
- j) The way in which poor municipalities in the country were consolidated under the demarcation process should be revisited.
- k) That the concept of large metro municipalities that exclude small towns and rural areas that previously relied on them is a disaster and it must be reviewed and include these poor rural areas.
- l) We must therefore build a completely different local state whose first mission is to transform the inherited apartheid infrastructure that prioritized a tiny minority. We need a local state that plans for the majority of the people
- m) This means that budget processes must be informed by the need to fundamentally alter our apartheid dominance. Our budgets should not be informed by national allocations to the local state but by the extent of backlogs that exist in our communities
- n) The Alliance needs to question the suitability of IDPs. We need to develop planning instruments that will help reverse current re-racialisation tendencies and radically transform what we have inherited.



- o) Poor communities must receive free services and we must introduce progressive tariffs to address the fact that many people cannot pay large amounts for services; and the Alliance must deal with the problem of re-racialisation, market dominance and persisting racial social geography in most towns, coastal resorts and cities. Current settlements patterns are determined by ongoing 'market colonialism'. Our people cannot afford to buy property in formerly white areas and action must be taken to change this.
  - p) All public authorities must stop filling positions via labour brokers and agencies.
  - q) The current public sector ethos needs to be reassessed and steps taken to develop a public service ethic based on people's power rather than on providing services as commodities.
  - r) We need to redefine who is poor. Some municipalities only give free services to pensioners or those on household incomes of less than R1500. This excludes many people who are struggling to survive. The current definition of who is indigent or poor is too mean and exclusionary.
  - s) Local people's committees must be built with people trained to monitor their own services as well as the work of local government more generally. It is on this basis that we can revisit the current culture of not paying for services.
  - t) To make the building of a public sector ethos part of the education programmes of all public sector unions.
  - u) Government to employ more people to do service delivery: blocked drains and houses etc
  - v) Develop a campaign against all outsourced services in our municipalities, and force municipalities to end outsourced contracts
  - w) Government must do away with consultants and instead employ engineers on a full-time basis.
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#### **2.4. Health, NEHAWU, SACTWU & DENOSA**

##### *Noting*

- a) The very poor health status of South Africans, with high infant and child mortality rates and low life expectancy as a result of the lack of access to health care of the majority of our population.
- b) Poor servicing, under staffing and a lack of proper resources in hospitals and day hospitals
- c) South Africa is already falling behind in relation to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals on health.
- d) The poor state of the Primary Health Care and the District Health System at the moment, despite the adoption of good policies on these by the government.
- e) South Africa spends a big proportion of its national income on health by international comparison, but the bulk of these resources are consumed by the for-profit private sector and benefit a minority of the population. It is one of the most skewed and unequal healthcare systems in the world, favouring the 'haves' to the detriment of the 'have-nots'. There is heavy concentration of benefits in the privileged 40% of the population who receive about 60% of health benefits.
- f) There are disparities in the distribution of human resources in health between the public and private sectors despite the fact that the majority of health workers are trained by the state.

- g) There are inefficiencies in the use of available resources for health promotion, prevention of diseases, treatment and rehabilitation.
- h) The growing high costs of medical schemes and un-affordability of medical aids to many workers, and loss of medical aid benefits due to the current massive job losses.
- i) The ANC Polokwane conference resolution identified health as the key priority for the next five years and the one on the establishment of a state pharmaceutical manufacturing company.
- j) The NHI system is a proposed healthcare funding model in line with the national health transformation process
- k) The transformation of the health system is part of an ANC congress resolution on Health & Education
- l) The NHI is a universal system that covers the entire population irrespective of whether you have contributed to the scheme or not.
- m) South Africa's free market approach to health care cannot be sustainable in the long term for the working class and the poor
- n) The South African Health care system is nurse-centered.
- o) There is lack of focused, proper coordinated and managed nursing services and resources in the country.
- p) Lack of coordination and management of nursing services has led to proliferation of seminars and conferences with the sole aim of making money and therefore exploiting the system.
- q) The government has developed a nursing strategy, which seeks to respond to and address challenges faced by nursing in South Africa.
- r) The nursing strategy for South Africa focuses on:
  - Modelling nursing as a career of choice to attract and retain nurses in the profession.
  - Maintaining an adequate production of nursing staff.
  - Scientifically develop and further the nursing profession and
  - Creating a clear career path.

#### Believing

- a) Fifteen years into democracy, South African health care system is still flawed by the imbalances of the past in which it was architected to cater for the population based on racial and class lines. The infrastructural make up of the health care institutions was designed to service the minority at the expense of the majority. This is more evident on the two tier health care system wherein the private health care system has and continues to develop at the expense of the public health care system. The allocation of funds and resources is still skewed towards the geographical white orientated section of our society.
- b) South Africa is a developmental state and therefore health care delivery system forms the key pillar of its social security.
- c) The struggle for the transformation of South African society is incomplete
- d) The current two-tier system serves to perpetuate and accentuate inequalities
- e) Access to resources continues to be out of the grasp of working class and the poor
- f) Healthcare is a fundamental socio-economic right enshrined in the Constitution
- g) The principle of social solidarity whereby the state provides mechanisms to ensure cross-subsidisation in the funding and access to health care must not be based on the individual's ability to pay but on the individual's health care needs.

- h) There is a sound economic rationale for introducing the NHI to ensure universal access to quality health care.
- i) Resources within the private and public sectors must be pooled to progressively realise the right of all to access quality health care services.
- j) The market-driven private medical scheme industry cannot guarantee health care for all.
- k) The successful implementation of the NHI requires the transformation of our health system as a whole including a stronger orientation towards the Primary Health Care Approach in the context of a properly functioning District Health System.
- l) The introduction of the NHI is but a step towards the broader transformation of our health system towards the full socialisation of health care and medicine.
- m) The under-funded and overworked public sector must be strengthened to care for the majority of our citizens especially those who cannot afford to pay for quality health services.
- n) Community Care Workers (CCWs) are a cornerstone of the delivery of services within the context of the Primary Health Care Approach.
- o) The integration of the CCWs into the public service, with a living wage dispensation will not only contribute to a reduction in unemployment and poverty but also contribute towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals.
- p) The ANC Polokwane conference resolution identified health as the key priority for the next five years.
- q) The two-tier system of health care in South Africa continues to perpetuate class and race divisions and entrenches disproportionate funding of, and access to health care.
- r) The strain and burden of disease imposed by, among others, increase in population growth and HIV and AIDS pandemic on the health care system.
- s) Health care is a right and not a privilege and it must be universal equally accessible to all citizens.
- t) Medical Aids system is not sustainable as evident by the current status quo through the erosion of member benefits.
- u) Support the basic principles contained in the Draft Health Plan such as:
  - NHI covering all South Africans;
  - Free access at the point of use;
  - Mandatory progressive contribution according to one's ability to pay;
  - Provision of comprehensive health services that meet established quality standards; and
  - A single fund that is publicly administered.

Therefore Resolves to:

- a) Call for the full implementation of the Primary Health Care Approach by the national and provincial departments of health as an essential element in the implementation of the NHI.
- b) Support the call by government to implement a comprehensive Primary Health Care Approach, including the establishment of a framework for proper training and expansion of the cadre of Community Care Workers.
- c) Call for the expansion the Community Care Workers in the context of the implementation of the PHC approach.

- d) Vigorously organise Community Care Workers working in the NGOs, whilst campaigning for their employment in the public service.
  - e) Ensure that the introduction of the NHI does not take place at the expense of workers who are currently employed in the private medical aid scheme industry through engagement with government.
  - f) Engage government with a view of ensuring that the creation of the NHI strengthens the move towards the creation of a state pharmaceutical company and local procurement of medicine.
  - g) Ensure that the implementation of the NHI is mass driven so that our members can monitor the implementation.
  - h) Expose the waste and misuse of health care funds in the medical scheme industry for purpose of profit making.
  - i) Call for the filling of all currently vacant posts within the public health sector and to open new posts where necessary as well as call for the revitalisation of all public health facilities.
  - j) Radically review the Human Health Resource Plan to ensure appropriate targets are set for the employment and production of doctors, nurses and other health workers in the public sector.
  - k) Resist moves by the private sector to acquire permits to train doctors.
  - l) Review the funding model to address equitable distribution such that funding is proportional to the size of an institution and the population that it serves.
  - m) Launch a campaign for better servicing, staffing and resourcing in hospitals and day hospitals, and to affirm and endorse the campaign for the National Health Insurance and to expedite its implementation;
  - n) To assist COSATU to elevate this issue to its priority status in our society and to educate and create awareness of the NHI through all avenues in society, in particular the workplace and communities
  - o) Establish the Nursing directorate both nationally and provincially with the mandate, among others:
    - p) To drive the implementation of the existing Nursing Strategy
    - q) To coordinate and manage nursing services and
    - r) To strengthen the Nursing regulatory body (South African Nursing Council) to be an autonomous professional institute.
- 

## **2.5. Occupational Health and Safety (NUMSA) & (SAMWU)**

### *Noting:*

- a) Majority of employers undermine the health and safety Act
- b) Lack of health and safety committees and safety reps in workplaces
- c) Lack of education and training for health and safety coordinators in the workplaces on COIDA and OHSA
- d) Lack of health and safety of coordinators in our LSSC and Regional structures
- e) Inability by the DOL inspectors to do monthly inspections and audits in workplaces before incidents takes place

- f) Lack of training by COSATU affiliates which is aimed at training workplace health and safety committees
- g) Workers take health and safety issues for granted
- h) Occupational accidents, many resulting in death, remain a feature of the South African workplace especially in the mines.
- i) Most of these accidents are because workers are exposed to hazardous working conditions.
- j) Health, safety and environment are concerns that also have a distinctive gender dimension, and this must not be overlooked.
- k) The current legal system permits much of the cost arising from these accidents to be carried by the workers and their families.

*Therefore Resolve:*

- a) In our workplaces we must ensure that there is a permanent employment of health and safety officers
- b) COIDA representative term of office as per the Act.
- c) Dept of Labour to provide statistics per year breakdown on different diseases and higher ratio injuries to all provinces & regions.
- d) To expose companies not complying with safety regulations and HIV/Aids through forging Alliances with nearby communities and declare them as Worst employers
- e) COSATU to raise funds and to secure human resources for assistance with our health and safety programmes.
- f) Expose companies using chemicals banned from overseas which infect people with diseases. Where there are death and injuries at workplaces, such employers must be fined and face criminal charges
- g) We must have a campaign to government around the two health and safety Acts - Mines Act and OHSA as well as Aids
- h) Health and safety environment industry benefit be established with hefty penalties for employer's negligence and also introduce sound benefits for employees.
- i) Labour needs to work closely with the "green scorpions" in their fight against incessant pollution of our environment thereby preserving our ecosystem and aquatic system and minimizing global warming.
- j) COSATU to run awareness campaigns on importance of adherence to health and safety measures and the impact of environmental pollution
- k) COSATU must campaign tirelessly to ensure that the health and safety of workers are respected by employers by amongst others:
  - o Placing pressure on government to improve its enforcement capabilities;

- Calling for amendments to the current legal framework to ensure that employers take full responsibility for poor occupational health performance and any associated environmental damage;
  - Bolstering the capacity of affiliates to conclude and health and safety agreements with all employers;
  - Campaign for the establishment of Health Care Centres within all companies to ensure that preventative measures are put in place and treatment is readily available to workers exposed to hazardous working conditions; and
  - Calling for the establishment of an agency capable of assessing and advising on the environmental impact of production processes.
- l) All unions are encouraged to appoint full time Health and Safety Officers to provide appropriate education, to enhance campaign work and to empower workplace health and safety representatives. Such officers must be gender sensitive and mainstream gender in their work.
- m)
- 

## **2.6. Government Employee Medical Scheme [GEMS]: POPCRU**

Noting that:

- a) The rationale behind the restructuring of the medical industry as discussed in the 2001 Polokwane summit which culminated in the establishment of GEMS as per PSCBC Resolution 1/2006.
- b) The high level of dissatisfaction from members of GEMS as a result of the following:
  - c) Its inability to deliver qualitative medical care as was envisaged.
  - d) Its lack of capacity to provide competitive services and benefits.
- e) The unavailability of other closed schemes as well as many individual public servants to join GEMS.
- f) The inaccessibility of medical care as a result of the centralization of a service point by GEMS on the provision of chronic medication.
- g) That there is generally a high need of accessible quality medical care.

Believe that:

- a) The notion behind the establishment of all inclusive, collaborative and capacitated medical infrastructures in the public service will form the basis for the provision of qualitative medical care and services.
- b) GEMS in its current form will not be able to satisfy the rationale for the restructuring of the medical industry as envisaged in the 2001 Polokwane Summit.
- c) An all-inclusive medical infrastructure will have the necessary bargaining power to influence the medical industry for the easy acquisition of medical benefit and services for the working class.

Resolving that:

- a) To embark on an all inclusive and collaborative activities to influence the overhaul of GEMS in its entirety in order to live up to the initial provisions as embodied in the PSCBC Resolution 7/2001.
  - b) To ensure that the overhauling result in the following:
    - c) Accessibility of medical care by everybody.
    - d) Quality and affordable benefits and services.
    - e) Organizational capacity to ensure job creation.
    - f) Initiate processes that will culminate in the realization of a single closed medical scheme in the public service and elimination of monopoly of the industry by the capital.
  - g) To continuously fight for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against other forms of medical care from the mainstream e.g. Traditional and Spiritual Healing.
  - h) To eventually fight for realization of long human life expectancy through the provision of free qualitative medical care that will, amongst others assist in economic growth.
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### **2.7. HIV/Aids: SACTWU, NEHAWU, CEPPWAWU and (NUMSA)**

Noting

- a) HIV/AIDS is a pandemic of epic proportions
- b) Workers and communities are most affected by this pandemic
- c) Although the issue is tabled in the collective bargaining arena, not much is being done by the union in the workplace and in the community
- d) Although pharmaceuticals is one of the union's key sectors, it has not placed demands on pharmaceutical companies to provide HIV/AIDS drugs for workers and the poor
- e) There is no clear union policy on HIV/AIDS
- f) Lack/non existence of Workplace policies on HIV/AIDS
- g) Lack/non-existence of Wellness Workplace programme
- h) Lack/non existence of roll out of ARVs at workplaces
- i) Lack of education on broader wellness concepts in dealing with stigma
- j) Non existence of peer educators within affiliates and workplaces
- k) Lack/non-existence of community outreach by the affiliates except on National days
- l) That there is a continued increase in the HIV/Aids epidemic in South Africa. COSATU members are among the lowest paid in the Country. Rural workers are among the most marginalised.

- m) The lack of progress made by the South African National Aids Council (SANAC) despite the restructuring and resourcing in October 2007 and the subsequent commitment to inclusivity.
- n) The aim of South Africa's National Strategic Plan (NSP) on HIV / AIDS and STI 2007-2011 is to halve new HIV infections by 2011.
- o) The importance of a well-coordinated effective HIV/ AIDS unit within COSATU at national and provincial levels to ensure the accountability of SANAC to the labour constituency.
- p) The Free State Provincial Health Department was bailed out by the national department after suspending the admission of new patients onto the ARV treatment programme in November 2008 due to financial constraints that has led to long waiting list of patients.
- q) The high level of defaulters is also related to the grant system for HIV positive people on treatment which is linked to CD4 levels as financial needs for the poor do not change when patients lose their grants as the CD4 count rises.
- r) Consistent challenges in provision of milk for HIV positive mothers due to shortages and mismanagement.
- s) That task-shifting is already underway in many health facilities in order to deal with the increasing patient burden created by the HIV/AIDS pandemic.
- t) The health department has not republished the guidelines on ART and PMTCT since 2004 and that the guidelines in use are out-of-date.
- u) The high-rate of TB/HIV co-infections and the breakdown in health systems that has lead to an epidemic of drug-resistant TB.
- v) That drug-resistant TB rates are much higher amongst health workers than the general population, because of occupational exposure.
- w) The consolidation of the pharmaceutical industry e.g. the purchase by GlaxoSmithKline of 16% of Aspen Pharmacare.

#### Believing

- a) The location of the secretariat of SANAC at the DOH has become an impediment to its accountability and ability to make progress.
- b) Each sector has responsibilities to make sure that each of the four key priority areas (Prevention; Treatment Care and Support; Research and, Access to Human Rights and Justice) embodied in the 19 objectives of the NSP is reached.
- c) Provinces have been given leeway to reprioritize HIV/AIDS funding in a manner that allows them to re-route ARV treatment funding to supplement budget shortfalls in other areas.
- d) The monitoring and evaluation of the Anti-Retroviral Treatment (ART) and Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission (PMTCT) programmes is inadequate, thus making planning for these programmes extremely difficult.
- e) The CD4 count of patients is not an effective basis for the allocation of grants to HIV positive people
- f) Within the Primary Health Care Approach, patients should be treated at health facilities close to their homes.



- g) TB and HIV treatment should be integrated wherever possible and as early as possible.
- h) The on-going consolidation in the pharmaceutical industry has the potential to result to monopolistic pricing of medicines. HIV/AIDS is a pandemic of epic proportions
- i) Workers and communities are most affected by this pandemic
- j) Although the issue is tabled in the collective bargaining arena, not much is being done by the union in the workplace and in the community
- k) Although pharmaceuticals is one of the union's key sectors, it has not placed demands on pharmaceutical companies to provide HIV/AIDS drugs for workers and the poor
- l) There is no clear union policy on HIV/AIDS
- m) That primary healthcare clinics should be more accessible to people than hospitals, to assist our people in terms of testing and confidentiality.

*Resolves*

- a) That Anti- retroviral treatment be made available in clinics, particularly in rural areas where hospitals are not available.
- b) That COSATU should launch a campaign for a roll-out of mobile health care clinics in rural areas, with specific focus on HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment services.
- c) SANAC should be asked to account for its activities since November 2007.
- d) The Deputy Chairperson of SANAC should be a full-time position to ensure smooth running and accountability to the chairperson (Deputy President of the country).
- e) The Secretariat of SANAC should be located outside the DOH.
- f) The HIV/AIDS committees of COSATU should report regularly to meetings of national and provincial leadership structures.
- g) We should call for a National Strategic Plan implementation summit between November 2009 and January 2010 to review progress by the sectors and the challenges in reaching the percentage targets in the NSP's key priorities.
- h) An audit of expenditure of provincial HIV/AIDS budgets should be conducted.
- i) The allocation of HIV/AIDS funds to provincial health departments should be aligned to the NSP targets, especially for ART and PMTCT.
- j) Uniform information technology system to support effective and efficient monitoring and evaluation of key indicators in these programmes should be established.
- k) The basis for the extension of grants to HIV positive people within the framework of the Basic Income Grant should be investigated.
- l) Professional councils should collaborate to develop scopes of practice which shall practically deal with the needs of patients arising from the HIV/AIDS pandemic
- m) A campaign for the establishment of a framework for expansion, regulation and proper training of Community Care Workers should be started or continued.

- n) The Department of Health should produce a viable Human Resources Plan that addresses the shortage of Health Care Workers.
- o) The DOH Adult ART Guidelines, Pediatric ART Guidelines and PMTCT Guidelines reflecting new scientific findings that can benefit patients with HIV should be updated and published regularly.
- p) New models of TB management, especially for drug-resistant TB, that involve greater community involvement in care and decentralisation of care to primary clinics (such as the models piloted in Khayelitsha, Cape Town) should be implemented.
- q) Early testing of people for HIV so that the incidence of TB is reduced through earlier ART intervention should be encouraged.
- r) Measures need to be taken to control occupational exposure among health care workers to limit the spread of drug-resistant TB.
- s) The Competition Commission must vigilantly monitor pharmaceutical company actions and drug prices whilst government considers a state pharmaceutical company and local procurement of medicine.
- t) To strengthen the awareness and education campaigns concerning HIV/AIDS
- u) To increase efforts against the spread of HIV/AIDS through participation in international, national, sectoral and local initiatives
- v) To target communities and not only the workplace
- w) Negotiate for cheaper anti-retroviral drug prices with pharmaceutical companies
- x) Ensure that the rights of workers in the bargaining for a are not exploited due to HIV/AIDS
- y) Engage with progressive HIV/AIDS organisations for effective campaigns and information-sharing
- z) To develop an HIV/AIDS policy

Further Resolve :

- a) Establish Peer educators forum in all affiliates and the support groups
- b) COSATU to develop monitoring mechanism on the training of peer educators
- c) COSATU locals to initiate Orphanage Wellness Programs to all affiliates and extended communities
- d) COSATU local structures must link with the community based education institutions (schools) to run education on wellness
- e) Affiliates in their establishments to ensure the roll out of ARVs to their members and spouses/partners, free of charge
- f) COSATU locals must work with affiliates, NGOs and government health department to ensure the smooth transit of workers who have lost employment and had medical aids to access the ARVs (continuation) without having to start from nowhere.
- g) To strengthen the awareness and education campaigns concerning HIV/AIDS

- h) To increase efforts against the spread of HIV/AIDS through participation in international, national, sectoral and local initiatives
- i) To target communities and not only the workplace
- j) Negotiate for cheaper anti-retroviral drug prices with pharmaceutical companies
- k) Ensure that the rights of workers in the bargaining for a are not exploited due to HIV/AIDS
- l) Engage with progressive HIV/AIDS organisations for effective campaigns and information-sharing.
- m) To develop an HIV/AIDS policy

### **2.8. Education: NEHAWU, NUM & NUMSA**

#### *Noting*

- a) Education is one of the key priorities of our country in the next five years of the new government.
- b) A major development in the establishment of a dedicated ministry and department of higher education and training.
- c) Despite the increasing number of black students, tertiary education institutions (i.e. universities, universities of technology and FET colleges) remain untransformed with regards to the orientation of their institutional mission in relation to South Africa and Africa, the course content of most of their academic disciplines and the institutional governance systems.
- d) In historically white institutions racism remains rife and none of these institutions have embarked on thorough-going programmes to deal with it.
- e) Trade union membership density remains relatively low in the sector, both with regards to the academic and non-academic workers.
- f) The absence of functioning collective bargaining units in both the higher education and FET college sectors.
- g) Since 1994 there has been an escalation of outsourcing and privatisation of various operations in these institutions that has led to retrenchments, casualisation and the deterioration of the conditions of service of the workers.
- h) Various institutions of higher learning continue to pay their principals or rectors and managers extremely high remuneration packages in the face of low pay and casualisation suffered by workers and the escalation of student fees.
- i) South Africa is experiencing a massive skills shortage, including the intermediary technical and vocational skills.
- j) Government has unilaterally enacted the Further Education and Training Colleges Act of 2006, which has taken workers in the sector out of the public service into the employ of the individual FET institutions.

- k) Since the introduction of the new curriculum (Senior Certificate-Vocational), higher education institutions do not anymore admit many graduates from the FET colleges.
- l) Government has made a commitment to ensure the development of skills through the expansion of the FET enrolment to achieve a target of 1 million graduates by 2014.
- m) The opening of the doors of learning is by and large still dictated by the social economic circumstances of a typical South African household. As a result the quality of schooling & education amongst our communities is not equal compared to the standards in the more affluent communities and suburbs.
- n) Our children in this regard would always be at a disadvantage and in a way limited in their abilities to achieve.

#### Believing

- a) Education should be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.
- b) Institutional autonomy and academic freedom remain the primary mechanisms used to block thorough-going transformation, the creation of collective bargaining and to resist coordinated and targeted programme to meet the country's skills development challenges.
- c) Part of the reasons for the severe shortage of technical and vocational skills is the internationally abnormal situation of a high enrolment in higher education, a low Technikon university enrolment and even lower enrolment in FET colleges in South Africa.
- d) The FET sector is an important pillar in the development of the necessary skills base for economic development.
- e) The implementation of the new curriculum of the National Certificate (Vocational) and the Further Education and Training Colleges Act of 2006 have compounded problems affecting the FET sector.
- f) Tertiary education, in particular higher education is playing a crucial role in the reproduction of the dominant ideological outlook in society that seeks to maintain the status quo.
- g) The manner in which the new curriculum has been implemented in the FET sector has compounded problems of high failure rate, high drop-out rate and increasing exit of lectures from the sector.
- h) Greater success can be achieved if we build a solid foundation. A solid foundation in a child's life should be an early childhood education system of good quality.

#### Resolves to:

- a) Engage the new Ministry of Higher Education and Skills on:
  - o Scrapping clauses in the Further Education and Training Colleges Act that provided for the creation of autonomous FET institutions in order to ensure that all workers in the sector are brought back to the employ of the public service.
  - o Consultative review process of the new curriculum and its implementation with the view of ensuring that there is an enhancement of reticulation between FET and the other tertiary education sectors.

- Call for the integration of the colleges sector as a whole, including the nursing and agricultural colleges, with the Department of Higher Education and Training setting a framework of standard and norms.
- Call for the creation of a collective bargaining unit in the higher education sector, including a mechanism for the regulation of the remuneration packages of the vice chancellors’.
- Call for the introduction of community service for all students in areas identified by the state and where there is a greatest need.
- Call for a national summit on the curriculum review with the view to move towards a relevant and progressive orientation of the higher education system in line with the country’s development imperatives.
- Call for an audit of all colleges that have been closed, merged or those operating independently, to ascertain where and how those that have been closed could be re-opened.
- Work with the South African Students’ Congress and other progressive formations in campaigning:
  - Against unfair academic and financial exclusions and racism in tertiary institutions.
  - For thoroughgoing transformation and democratization of the governance structures beyond tokenistic race and gender appointments and students and worker participation.
  - Call for moratorium on outsourcing and privatisation in the entire tertiary education sector in line with the resolutions of the Alliance summit held in May 2008.
  - Call for engagements and implementation of recommendations in the report of the Ministerial Committee on “Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions” in all institutions.
- b) Develop a clear and targeted programme of recruiting and organising workers in different tertiary education institutions.
- c) Government to assess the quality of education in all communities both poor and rich. Also to eradicate differences in the system, by introducing a sustainable early childhood education system this would ensure that the level of quality of the education system benefits all our children.

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## **2.9. Union education: NUMSA**

### *Noting*

- a) The establishment of the Macro–Economic Research Group (MERG) in the run up to the 1994 elections to assist the federation and affiliates by strengthening their capacity to engage on issues of a macro-economic nature.
- b) That COSATU has initiated the Open the Doors Project.

### *Resolve*

- a) That COSATU must create a MERG II structure to assist it with assembling a socialist industrial strategy.
  - b) The necessary macro-economic strategy to underpin both industrial strategy and sector-specific strategies.
  - c) Such a structure must also be tasked to produce education materials for the working class on these matters.
  - d) Unions must use their strength and mobilizing power to negotiate time offs rather than relying on the LRA to secure substantial paid time offs for shop stewards.
  - e) Political discussions forums are established at COSATU provincial and local level at least once per quarter. Local Education forums be revived to ensure the political discussions forums at local level are effective and ensure that majority of shop stewards participate
  - f) focused programs to build internal union capacity focusing on education and facilitation skills and material development for educators, shop stewards, organizers and gender coordinators with particular focus on provincial and local level
  - g) COSATU to consider opening workers education and training centers across provinces in partnership with NALEDI & other interested NGO and Universities
  - h) Revival of the Chris Hani Brigade(CHB) Provincial education Pool(PEP) and other educational bodies which provides education
  - i) COSATU to persuade all its affiliates to hold Workers Indaba, Ear to the ground program as part of educating members
  - j) COSATU to encourage its affiliates that are without education officers at provincial level to have those so that affiliates can develop internal capacity on education (Naledi recommendation)
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## **2.10. SETA funding windows and grand disbursement :( NUM)**

### *Noting*

- a) SETAs are established to facilitate and support training through disbursement of grants ,
- b) There is no efficient control and monitoring mechanism on utilizations of these grants ,
- c) Control of mandatory grants is in the hands of employers.
- d) Most of the funded skills projects are not linked to the achievements of a qualification as they are not unit standard based,

### *Believing:*

- a) The standardized monitoring of both discretionary and mandatory grants by SETAs is important for the achievement of the objective of the Skills Development and funding for impact thereof,

### *Resolves:*

- a) The Skills Development Act must be amended to empower SETAs to have control and monitoring mechanism for proper utilization of mandatory grants, beyond submission of Workplace Skills Plans,
  - b) SETA to develop a monitoring and quality control mechanisms on utilization of Discretionary Funds,
  - c) Skills Development Parastatals or School of Excellence funded by National Skills Fund to act as employers for workers who want to enter long term education and training courses be established.
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### **2.11. Food security: NUMSA, SACTWU & FAWU**

Noting that internationally

- a) World Bank, IMF and now WTO are forcing countries to decrease investment in food production and reduce support for peasant and small farmers despite the fact that small farmers are key food producers in the world; and that there are imbalances in this to the extent that the imperialist power, the USA, the European Union and Japan, continue to heavily subsidise their farmers and agricultural products and that this to the destruction of developing economies agriculture and farming in general.
- b) Especially developing countries are forced in WTO agreements to liberalise their agricultural market and to reduce import duties.

Noting that in South Africa

- a) High food prices are affecting the majority of the people in South Africa who are poor, unemployed and the working poor.
- b) The economic gap that still exists between the rich and the marginalised poor is widening at an alarming rate.
- c) The majority of South African Workers fall within the category of the working poor because of the poverty and starvation wages that are not increasing to match the high food and energy prices.
- d) The Country is still facing a serious backlog on the provision of houses to the poor.
- e) The Policies adopted by the 1996 class project have been conservative and liberal to the detriment of the poor and the working class.
- f) The first decade of our freedom has not benefited the poor and the marginalised, which includes the working class for the past 15 years.
- g) The electricity price increase is a major blow for the majority of the poor people in South Africa and coincides with the escalating food prices.
- h) The electricity price increases will severely affect the poor while ESKOM will continue make huge profits and pay exuberant bonuses to their bosses.

- i) The majority of our rural poor have not yet tasted the benefits of the Government electrification programme and because of the current price increase, they may not be able to access the basic service in their lifetime because they will not be able to afford.
- j) The electricity price increase is being passed on to the poor and it is going to impact on the rollout of electricity programmes as it will affect government's targets to provide electricity to the poor especially the rural household.
- k) That the sizable number of households experiencing regular hunger and malnutrition is a substantial societal problem.
- l) The price-fixing and excessive pricing of food products and input supplies in the food production and supply chain.
- m) The 8<sup>th</sup> COSATU congress resolutions, the ANC Polokwane conference resolutions and the 2009 ANC manifesto.

Believing that in South Africa:

- a) People have a right to eat and be fed but the price of basic needs is unacceptably high and is affecting our country's poor
- b) The majority of our people cannot afford these basic needs of life. (N Cape)
- c) Unemployment and poverty amongst the majority of our people are worsening rather than improving.
- d) The spate of price increases will endanger the stability of our society giving rise to riots and divisions among the poor e.g. xenophobic attacks.
- e) The decision to increase food and energy prices amounts to taking away the basic rights for ordinary South Africans.
- f) The root cause of high food and energy prices is as a result of greed by capitalist to maximise profits, the economic and fiscal policies that are not properly regulated, influx of migrants and of course the oil crisis.
- g) The Competition Tribunal has not been firm on its mandate as it relates to this aspect and it resulted in major Companies monopolising markets, and price fixing among big businesses has an impact on the current higher food and energy prices we are experiencing.
- h) The electricity crisis is primarily a direct result of poor investments planning and serious lack of political will during 1990s invest in the infrastructure to sustain the level of anticipated growth.
- i) That household food security should become central to poverty eradication and ensuring of sustainable livelihoods.
- j) That the amended competition legislation will assist in deterring price-fixing and excessive pricing of food products.
- k) That an independent study on the risks, costs and benefits of the rollout of GMOs food has not taken place.

Therefore Resolves:

Internationally:



- a) Countries should give priority to their domestic food production in order to become less dependent on the world market. This means increased investment in peasant and farmer based food production for domestic need.
- b) Developed countries should be enabled to achieve food self-sufficiency.
- c) Import controls with taxes and quotas are needed to regulate imports and avoid dumping or low price imports that undermine domestic production.

Domestically:

- a) Government must champion a state-led agricultural activity as a basis for thoroughgoing industrial and rural development.
- b) Land currently used for game farming and golf estates should be expropriated and restored to productive use.
- c) State programme must ensure proper support to agriculture including seed distribution, supply of implements and tractors; and access to managers and extension officers to assist the process.
- d) Former irrigation schemes must be revamped and people employed
- e) Development of new agricultural co-operatives must be encouraged and accelerate their outcomes so that members can buy food at a lower price.
- f) Cheap finance for farmers must be made available but former co-operatives which now operate as private companies in the agricultural sector should not benefit.
- g) Local manufacture of agricultural implements and tractors should be encouraged. Alternative forms of food distribution to current food production and retail monopolies should be investigated and encouraged.
- h) We endorse Polokwane resolutions on land sequestration, on rural development, land reform and agrarian reform and they should be implemented with immediate effect.
- i) COSATU must champion a campaign that will call on government to regulate food prices to be within the earning power of workers and the poor. Such a campaign should include a progressive tariff on electricity and water.
- j) COSATU to research what additional foods should be zero-rated.
- k) COSATU must mobilise civil society around consumer activism so that we consumers determine the prices rather than leaving the price to the market.
- l) The Property clause in the Constitution should be reversed together with other clauses inhibiting land restitution.
- m) We call upon the democratic government to make land available for farming in all regions for cooperative usage for food.
- n) We call upon our government to commission a research study with China and India on how they are dealing with non citizens who want to buy land or infrastructure development in their country.
- o) We should demand that the whole food supply chain should be nationalised so as to take on the big companies in the food supply chain.

- p) That there is a need for Government to subsidise the basic necessities like food, petrol and electricity so that we have a stable economy and create an environment where such are accessible and affordable to the working class and poor.
- q) That there is a need for the Government to ensure that the electricity cost remains low for the poor communities.
- r) That Government begins to ensure that there are meaningful and progressive interventions in respect of National energy regulation in favor of the poor and that there is a mechanism in place to control and regulate food, electricity and energy prices.
- s) The inflation targeting does not serve the interest of a developmental state and that there is a need to transform our macro-economic policies to address the needs of a developmental state.
- t) To call on the State President to immediately sign into law the amended version of the Competition Act.
- u) To call on government to place moratorium on the roll-out of GMO trials and production until such time as there is adequate reporting on compliance with the GMO Act, as amended.
- v) To call for the nationalization of SASOL Ltd, particularly its chemical (fertilizer and energy/fuel) division(s) and for moratorium on privatization of Foskor by the IDC.
- w) To call on government to set-up state-owned food processing, procurement and distribution enterprises across food chains (e.g. grain-wheat-flour-bread value-chain)
- x) To call for the convening of a national food security and food quality/safety summit preceded by an Alliance mini-summit. The resolutions of such a summit would be the basis for government policy and laws in addressing the problem of food security and food quality/safety.
- y) To call on government to immediately extend child support grant (CSG) to children under 18 years.

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## **2.12. Industrial policy: NUMSA SACTWU & FAWU**

### *Noting*

- a) That there is a growing de-industrialisation of our country.
- b) Jobless growth that could likely enter a period of decline as the present global structural and systematic capitalist crisis deepens.
- c) The building of a domestic market was compromised by the ruthless pursuit of foreign direct investment (FDI), a strategy that has turned out to be flawed as foreign investors attach strings to investment; among others FDI has largely been motivated by a search for short-term profits and has gone into new work practices, acquisitions and mergers, etc.
- d) The power of capital remains largely unchecked with price fixing, import parity pricing (IPP) and import penetration that are stifling economic development and destroy local jobs respectively.
- e) Illegal trade and counterfeit goods impact negatively on the labour market and our economy generally.

- f) In the absence of a coherent and integrated industrial strategy that cuts across all sectors and regions to also address unequal development between rural and urban, the fragmented strategies currently adopted appear to be mainly about making it cheaper for business to do business.
- g) Land redistribution and agrarian reform are not adequately covered by National Industrial Policy Framework (NIPF), leading to a lack of focus on agricultural transformation and advancement in particular small scale agricultural production.

Believing that:

- a) Our future economic sustainability requires the growth of industrial capacity, so that we do not just become suppliers of raw materials to the industrialised world.
- b) There is a need for an active industrial strategy that requires active state intervention on behalf of the poor and the working class and democratic participatory planning.

Therefore Resolves:

- a) Government must be transparent in Trade Agreements (TA) processes and respect the imperative of employment creation and protection in deciding to enter into such agreements.
- b) Affiliates through COSATU must hold a quarterly review/engage vigorously with the Trade and Industry (DTI) and government industrial policy around products that affect the sectors where Numsa is involved and ensure that it nurtures the metal industry and is beneficial to the people of South Africa as a whole.
- c) Affiliates and COSATU must further put in place practical mechanisms to monitor both quantitative and qualitative changes (e.g. employment trends such as retrenchments and changes in the nature of employment such as casualisation and short-term contracts) with regards to employment in all employers and sectors where it organises.

Further resolves to struggle for a vibrant industrial strategy characterised by the following features:

- a) Transformation of production, ownership and control patterns in the economy in the interests of the working class and the poor in line with the Freedom Charter's call that the people shall share the country's wealth.
- b) Government must seek to transform the shareholding of Multi National Companies or foreign companies in South Africa so that their shareholdings make up less than 51%. Foreign shareholders must bring productive benefits to the company.
- c) State intervention in favour of the working class and the poor.
- d) Emphasis on downstream industries and small scale agricultural production which includes co-operatives.
- e) Strengthening of competition laws to impose heavy fines and to bite.
- f) The reversal of colonial, apartheid, neo-liberal, dependent development trajectory.
- g) Adequate balance between industrialisation on the one hand and agriculture and rural development on the other.
- h) Prevention of dumping.
- i) Local content promotion.

- j) Heavy tax on scrap metal export.
  - k) Aggressive drive against illegal trading and counterfeit goods that stifle economic growth and development.
  - l) The promotion of investment in the productive sectors of the economy rather than speculative financial markets.
  - m) COSATU to lead on conceptualization of innovative employment-creating industrial sectors.
  - n) Access research funding for cleaner vehicles.
  - o) An Industrial Strategy Project should be launched for each sector, to develop a developmental industry plan for each, which caters for the needs of our people, strengthens the developmental state and safeguards jobs.
  - p) The federation should launch a project to develop industrial research capacity within the affiliates.
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### **2.13. Industrial Development Corporation Act: SACTWU**

Noting:

- a) The IDC ACT was promulgated in 1940.

Believing:

- b) The IDC Act should be modernised to serve our needs for decent jobs as opposed to narrow commercial considerations.

Resolves

- c) *To campaign for the IDC ACT to be amended to serve our needs for decent jobs as opposed to narrow commercial considerations*
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### **2.14. Competition Commission: NUMSA**

Noting

- a) White monopoly capital is still dominating the South African economy.
- b) That 75% of the economy is in the hands of a few whites.
- c) That liberation without the economy returning to the hands of the majority poor of our country is shadow of the liberation.
- d) Increase of prices globally is affecting our country's poor.

- e) Limitations of power from the commission to act on the companies.

Resolves

- a) Empower the Competition Commission to increase penalties on those Companies that are operating unethically.
- b) The above behaviour (Collusion) by these Companies should be *Criminalised* and CEOs to be jailed and blacklisted.
- c) The fines imposed on companies for collusion must be increased, and be directed to a trust that must be dedicated to creating jobs.
- d) Section 13 of Competition Act must be amended to be in line with Section 12 which refers to larger and intermediate businesses with the notice period extended to 14 days.

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### **2.15. World trade and industrial policy: (FAWU)**

*Noting*

- a) The reneging on the development principles of Doha Development Round of WTO trade negotiations by the global north in these negotiations.
- b) The current global economic crises.

*Believing*

- a) That the countries of the global south need and deserve policy sovereignty on economic development.
- b) That demands by the developed countries for the developing countries to open their markets on industry and services sectors are unfair and anti-developmental for the global south.
- c) That the global north must implement the development principles agreed to in the Doha Round.

*Resolves*

- a) To call on our government to apply for/insist on a correct status as a developing country in the WTO.
  - b) To call on government to completely conclude its industrial strategy/policy as a basis to finalise its trade policy approach.
  - c) To call on government to reject the current proposed EU's EPA agreement with SACU and/or SADC and insist on renegotiations.
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### **2.16. Crime: POPCRU, NUMSA & SACTWU**

*Noting:*

- a) The government's responsibility to provide safety and security to its citizens at all times.
- b) Privatization of state responsibilities is wicked and shows the way to job losses.
- c) In the security sector it is not only prisons that can be privatized.
- d) That there is constant and continuous media reinforcement of public confidence in private sector operations.
- e) The response of the state to the general problem of crime in the country.
- f) The negative effect and consequences that crime has on our lives and communities
- g) That crime causes a lot of deaths, rapes, bombing of ATMS, robbing of small businesses, etc. often robbing innocent victims of their right to life.
- h) Government investment in policing should be accompanied by investing in dealing with the fundamental causes.
- i) We condemn those police that are trigger happy
- j) We sympathise with the families of policemen and women who are killed in the line of duty.
- k) There are proposed amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act.
- l) That crime is primarily caused by the capitalist system which produces unemployment, poverty and inequality.

Believing that:

- a) Capital's interest is about maximizing profit at the expense of jobs and service.
- b) Escalation of private security companies without control undermines the responsibility of the state to provide security for its citizens.
- c) That there are better options that the state can employ in dealing with the problem of crime.
- d) The security of citizens is the sole responsibility of the state and should remain that way.

Resolves:

- a) We must reject any form of privatization within the police sector.
- b) To campaign for the strengthening and building of the capacity of the state to deal with crime.
- c) To ensure that all citizens enjoy safety and security at the lowest price by engaging in campaigns that will ensure efficiency and effectiveness of the current state apparatus that are tasked to deal with crime.
- d) To engage the state to come up with mechanisms to control and curtail the escalating number of private security companies through legislation.
- e) To participate in any efforts that are intended to enhance safety and security of the state and its citizens.

- f) Government and trade unions should work together in reducing unemployment, inequality and poverty, and this should entail measures to confront the capitalist system as the fundamental source of all these problems.
- g) We condemn any measures that condone 'shoot to kill' because they undermine the right to life.
- h) Any amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act must not trample on the rights of the citizens and the working class.
- i) COSATU must take measures to ensure that the right to life is protected.
- j) COSATU must call for the strengthening of the ICD.
- k) Police intake should be increased accompanied by bettering their wages and conditions of employment including training and resource them to be able to carry out their functions.
- l) COSATU should cooperate with the ANC and SACP on setting up street committees that are ideologically well-trained to ensure that they are not hijacked for other purposes. The street committees should be allowed to deal with crime in their own communities including setting up volunteer programmes to ensure that young people serve their communities with pride.
- m) COSATU must condemn and rebuke any call for the reintroduction of the death penalty under another name.
- n) To launch an anti-crime campaign, inclusive of the building of street committees in every community.

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**2.17. Privatization of prisons: POPCRU**

Noting:

- a) Government has embarked on a process of privatizing prisons.
- b) It is government's obligation to keep offenders into custody, run and manage all the operations pertaining to corrections.
- c) The institutions already constructed and operated under the privatized system consume half the budget for the department of Correctional Services
- d) Privatization of state errands is awful and leads to job losses.
- e) The department of Correctional Services is on a process of further pursuing construction of prisons by private entities.

Believing:

- a) The capital's concentration is about making best use of profit at the expense of jobs and proper delivery of service.
- b) The acceleration of private route for running of prisons undermines the responsibility of the government to rehabilitate offenders.