

NEHAWU

National Education Health and Allied Workers Union



10TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

{26-29 June 2013}

PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS

1. PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS

1.1. International working class solidarity work

1.1.1. International Context, Working Class Solidarity and Mobilisation

Noting that:

- (a) Our 10th national congress provides a platform to take stock of the present international situation, in which capitalism remains a dominant system, determining affairs of all humanity across the world.
- (b) Our ideological approach commits us to embrace the unity of democratic, progressive, communist and working class forces in the world, to strengthen organizations of the working people in challenging the international power of the capitalist system, to struggle side by side, with those who are objects of imperialist control, who are mounting daily resistance against the system.
- (c) Whilst the international labour movement formed an integral part of the progressive, democratic world forces that defeated fascist dictatorship over 6 decades ago, there are new contradictions in the present international situation that must be appreciated in the common interest of all humanity.
- (d) The forces that led the counter-fascist offensive which brought about major transformations in the international world system and put an end to the Second World War, establishing a firm basis in colonized countries to wage national liberation struggles and to achieve independence for their peoples have disappeared.
- (e) The Great October Socialist Russian Revolution of 1917 was the lynchpin for world revolutionary events that brought about the growth of the international movement committed to challenging the international power of the world capitalist system.
- (f) During the late 1990's and early 2000, the 1996 class project attempted a neoliberal capture of our revolutionary movement, fundamentally expressed by severe distortions in our theory of the National Democratic Revolution and through attempts to introduce a detour and espousing a neoliberal vision for South Africa's insertion into the global economy.
- (g) With the adoption of Gear, the main proponents saw in the character of our economic transition, the justification to advance economic policy perspectives that brought about an intersection with the dominant neo-liberal paradigm, and brought about a period of wholesale privatization, outsourcing, casualisation and liberalization.
- (h) A period of declassing of our national democratic revolution emerged, constituted in demobilization, ideological disarmament and attacks directed at the socialist axis in our alliance.
- (i) The eschewing of neoliberal policies in our movement, buttressed the general liquidation of even moderately radical gains of the working class.
- (j) Certain measures arising from the failed policies prescribed by the IMF and the World Bank were introduced and laid the basis for the imposition of bourgeois doctrines, departing from what was essentially an anti-capitalist national democratic revolution.
- (k) In the context of our pre-independence period, the momentum of huge levels of mobilization of the global economy saw important struggles in various countries.
- (l) It would be naïve to dismiss all these as political paranoia and not see the link to active attempts at imperialist destabilization aiming to put off track our national democratic

ambitions. They should be analysed in the context of worldwide counter-revolutionary situations pre-colonial independence in Chile, Nicaragua, the DRC, with the assassinations of leaders within revolutionary movements, such as Lumumba, Sankara, Chris Hani and the others.

- (m) The relevance of the SACP position that, *"The fact that third world democratic projects are less confronted with Cold War anti communist crusades (although just such a crusade persists against Cuba) does not mean that powerful global forces have nothing but good intentions in mind for countries like South Africa"*.
- (n) In the context of a changing world, better prospects have emerged, with new conditions for the inception of socialist oriented struggles evident in the world, in capitalist Europe, in the US and in progressive Latin American countries and in the middle east and north Africa.
- (o) To analyse in our conditions, Lenin's emphasis on (i) The inability of the ruling classes to maintain their rule in an unchanged form, (ii) the misery of the oppressed classes and (iii) a significant increase of the activity of the masses, as the three main conditions regarding the onset of socialist revolution.
- (p) BRICS represents the emergence of a new counter-hegemonic political pole in the light of the relative decline of political power by advanced capitalist countries, mainly US imperialism.
- (q) The worldwide resurgence of radical popular struggles against oppression has effectively disrupted the alignment of many rightwing and conservative forces, with imperialism, leading to the increase of forces that are on the side of the national, democratic and revolutionary struggles aiming to put an end to imperialist oppression and capitalist world domination.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm our commitment to the international fight against capitalist oppression and pursue the overthrow of the capitalist system, construct a better, more humane society on the foundations of a Marxist-Leninist outlook.
- (b) Promote solidarity actions with all the working peoples of the world who are objects of capitalist oppression and exploitation.
- (c) Contribute to the growth of the international revolutionary communist and workers movement including the class oriented trade union movement that Nehawu belongs to, especially in Southern Africa and the African continent at large.
- (d) Struggle against the remnants of the 1996 class project, the new tendency and their international agenda, by promoting social and labour rights and opposition against neo-liberalism.
- (e) Oppose all pro-capitalist solutions as our country has been profoundly affected by the structural downturn and systemic collapse of the global neoliberal capitalist economy.
- (f) Contribute to the formulation of humane migration policies in South Africa, that restore fundamental rights for migrants, including rights to health, education and descent employment and to fight against xenophobia by deepening the class consciousness amongst our members.
- (g) Assist in the resolution of African conflicts guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and our opposition to imperialism and safeguard the sovereignty of our countries against imperialist interventions.
- (h) Strengthen the SACP role in the Africa Left Networking Forum and to cooperate with Sao Paulo Forum in exchanging experiences and to embrace their goal *"of tearing down the neoliberal model and constructing an alternative that meets the immediate and historical demands of our peoples"*.

- (i) Put a call on the working class and peoples of South Africa, the African continent and the world, to denounce the ambitions of imperialism.
- (j) Share resources directed towards building the political strength of organizations that fight the common struggle against imperialism and to advance working class unity in the class offensive against capitalist forces and in the process of building socialism.
- (k) Extend our solidarity to the working class in Latin America, Asia and Europe, and to identify with the rising tempo of class struggles by the working people in Greece, Portugal, Cyprus and generally in Europe against capitalist austerity.
- (l) Denounce the fascist response of Turkish dictatorship against worker demonstrations and to demand the protection of all basic social, political and economic rights.
- (m) Continue to advance our revolutionary theory in understanding the socio-political context of the international capitalist crisis.
- (n) Welcome Cosatu visit to WFTU and subsequent discussions and position Cosatu in the international line-up of those class oriented forces fighting for socialism.
- (o) Engage with the South African foreign policy, including chapter 7 of the National Development Plan especially the notion of the country "*asserting itself globally*".
- (p) Support the outcomes of the Fifth (5th) BRICS summit held in South Africa in March 2013, especially the establishment of the BRICS New Development Bank.

1.1.2. **Lifting of the American blockade against Cuba and Freedom of the Cuban 5**

Noting that:

- (a) The US government maintains its aggressive policy against Cuba and has turned a blind eye on the unanimous will of the international community which has for over 20 years demanded the lifting of the unjust financial and embargo against Cuba.
- (b) The blockade has imposed direct economic losses on the Cuban economy estimated at close to a US\$1 trillion through prohibition of imports and exports to the US and the banning of American companies from trading with Cuba.
- (c) The inclusion of Cuba on the list of so-called state sponsors of terrorism is unjust, anachronistic, legally and politically irrational.
- (d) The decision to extend the invitation to the Cuban 5 by this 10th national congress of Nehawu.
- (e) The improvement of our trade union relations with our Cuban counterparts and people to people solidarity on the basis of our principled commitment to proletarian internationalism

Believing that:

- (a) In spite of the more than five (5) decades old embargo, widely denounced across the world as genocidal, Cuba has safeguarded the revolution and remains faithful to the promotion of the just socialist cause that inspires millions across the world with its impeccable political and social achievements in health and education.
- (b) The release from US prisons of Rene Gonzalez represents a victory for the international campaign to release the Cuban 5.
- (c) The official visit in South Africa by the US President Barack Obama from the 26 June 2013 is an opportunity to mount national demonstrations across the country to protest against American imperialism and its negative impact in global politics.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm all our 9th national congress resolutions on Cuba including campaigns against the criminal blockade, to further the campaign and build greater awareness on Cuba's contribution in the liberation of Southern Africa amongst ordinary South Africans.
- (b) Ensure that regional international relations committees (IRC's) convene Cuban cafes and seminars to speak to the contribution of the Cuban revolution and the continuing Cuban support extended to South Africa.
- (c) Reaffirm our international solidarity with Cuba in defence of the Cuban revolution, against US imperialism and to assert the country's sovereign right to pursue an independent path of social, political and economic development.
- (d) Condemn the arbitrary nature of the Obama administration decision to enlist Cuba as a state sponsoring terrorism.
- (e) Demand the immediate and unconditional release of Ramon, Fernando, Antonio and Gerardo and to continue our monthly demonstrations at the American embassy in South Africa.
- (f) Work with other progressive formations to mobilise demonstrations throughout the country against the visits by senior US administration officials to the country.
- (g) Denounce the granting of the Freedom of Cape Town to the US President Barack Obama and to support efforts to bring war charges against him.
- (h) Welcome and support efforts by the Cuban government and the people in updating the Cuban economic model with the aim of improving it and preserving the basic principles of socialism.
- (i) Give urgent priority to all Cuban solidarity programs and to strengthen our political exchanges and twinning program to enhance the nursing sector in the South Africa, emphasizing ideological and political education and sharing knowledge around the social sectors.
- (j) Call for the boycott of ADT Security Company for its role in undermining the struggle of the Cuban people.
- (k) Extend to provinces where there are US consulates our resolution to demonstrate monthly against the US government.
- (l) Call upon the BRICS countries to provide economic support to Cuba and to mitigate the effects of the economic blockade.
- (m) Call on the United States to end the illegal occupation of Guantanamo Bay as a sovereign Cuban territory, criminally occupied since 1898 by the USA.

1.1.3. **Middle East and Palestine**

Noting that:

- (a) The continuing aggression against Palestinians in both Gaza and the West Bank.
- (b) The ongoing construction of illegal settlements in Palestinian territories in furtherance of the objective to create an ethnic Jewish state that is in violation of international law and various peace accords between Israelis and Palestinians.
- (c) The commitment of the Palestinian people to a two-state solution and the need for a negotiated comprehensive settlement that would enable Israel and Palestine to live side by side in peace and security.
- (d) The upgrading of Palestine's status without prejudice to the rights, privileges and role of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the United Nations as the representative of the Palestinian people.

- (e) The encouraging transformation of the South African government foreign policy against Israel colonial occupation of Palestine.
- (f) Israel continues to wage outright colonial aggression on regional states that resist its neo-colonial domination of the Middle East region.
- (g) The convergence of foreign extremists backed by imperialism and reactionary regional clientele states in the proxy war directed at Syria is a consummate expression of imperialism geopolitical project to design the empire friendly "new Middle East region".

Believing that:

- (a) Zionist ideological forces in South Africa desire to accomplish a pro-Israeli public sentiment in the light of increasing popular support in the ANC and South African government.
- (b) The Boycott, Disinvest and Sanctions (BDS) campaign realised important political victories in the international isolation of apartheid Israel.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm all 9th national congress resolutions regarding Palestine and to consolidate the growing momentum directed at the international isolation of apartheid Israel.
- (b) Demand an end to the aggression against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.
- (c) Demand the removal of all settlements from the Palestinian lands which Israel seized after 1967.
- (d) Reiterate our longstanding demand for:
 - (i) The establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state within the borders of 1967 with East Jerusalem as its capital.
 - (ii) The abolition of the separation wall which divides Jerusalem and the West Bank.
 - (iii) The right of return of all the Palestinian refugees to their homes, based on the relevant UN decisions and resolution 194.
 - (iv) Lifting of the Israeli blockade in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
 - (v) The immediate release of all Palestinian and other political detainees from the Israeli prisons.
 - (vi) Withdrawal of the Israeli army from all the occupied territories in 1967, including the Golan Heights and the Shabaa region in South Lebanon.
- (e) Deepen the BDS campaign and to direct the NEHAWU International Relations Committee to develop a basic information pamphlet on the implementation of the BDS Campaign in all our provinces.
- (f) Ensure that we start preparations for the 10th Israeli apartheid week in 2014, six months ahead of time, as a union.
- (g) Support efforts to isolate and kick out the Apartheid Israel Zionists from the world medical conference taking place in 2014, based on their unethical conduct in relation to Palestinian prisoners and patients.
- (h) Call for local manufacturing of the circumcision prep-pack products and to stop imports from apartheid Israel in support of job creation.
- (i) Carry out political education and educate NEHAWU members about the origin and development of the criminal war against Syria.
- (j) Develop a more comprehensive understanding of the broader Middle East regional developments, including a class analysis of Bahrain, Iran and Syria situation.

- (k) Call for democracy in Bahrain and call for the release of political prisoners and the legalisation of trade union activity.
- (l) Establish a joint effort between Palestinians and South African movements that lead the coordination of a high level official delegation of the alliance to Palestine to meet with leadership, to discuss the situation of Palestinians and to serve as a basis for a national and international platform of solidarity.
- (m) Campaign for the investigation of the death of the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.
- (n) Call for the boycott of products supporting the Jewish National Fund targeting key Zionist companies and consumable products imported by companies operating in the occupied territories including placing emphasis on HP, G4S security, Ahavaa Beauty products, Sodastream, Huggies, Coca-Cola and MacDonalDs.
- (o) Boycott the "Always" sanitary towels to highlight the oppression of Palestinian women.
- (p) Call on Egypt to undermine the blockade on Gaza and ensure consistent support for Palestinians suffering under the genocidal blockade of Gaza.
- (q) Campaign for mitigation against retrenchments and ensure that BDS actions lead to the creation of more employment for South Africans.
- (r) Call for a national debate in order to review diplomatic relations with Israel and in such a discussion, Nehawu should advocate that South Africa servers its diplomatic ties with Israel, understanding the serious implications of that resolution.
- (s) Provide solidarity to our counterparts in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere.
- (t) Fight against the new Middle East design, which can only be a culmination of imperialist wars of death and destruction and to relentlessly pursue anti-aggression in the region.

1.1.4. **African Continent and the Anniversary of the AU**

Noting that:

- (a) The day of May 25, 2013 marked the 50th anniversary since the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) or the African Union (AU) which was formed in May 1963.
- (b) The AU Commissioner is leading a year-long celebration program that will culminate in the adoption of a comprehensive plan called "Agenda 2063".
- (c) The decision by the South African democratic government to host the seat of the Pan African Parliament remains relevant.
- (d) The African Parliament has a huge role to play in the economic development of the African continent and in promoting political stability where regional conflicts have emerged.
- (e) There are an increasing number of xenophobic attacks arising from local competition between business entities in our communities.
- (f) The Government of South Africa has not fully implemented its legislation regarding refugees and asylum seekers.
- (g) The non implementation of the Refugees Act by the Government increases chances for xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals.
- (h) The Swaziland regime maintains a brutal grip on political power and has increased its anti-trade union, anti-people repressive offensive and tight suppression of all basic freedoms against trade unions and political opposition.
- (i) The continuous incarceration of political prisoners including Comrade Amos Mbedzi by the Swaziland regime.
- (j) The shameful silence of the international community including African against the dictatorship of the Royal regime of King Mswati III.

- (k) The formation of the Communist Party of Swaziland as part of the forces fighting for democracy and the political program of the Communist Party of Swaziland.
- (l) The formation of TUCOSWA as a federation following the historic merger by two federations.
- (m) The recently held referendum which gave thumbs up for a new constitution and the subsequent signing of the new constitution by President Robert Mugabe to become the supreme law of the country paving way for general elections.
- (n) The continuous sanctions by the United States of America and the United Kingdom against Zimbabwe.
- (o) The imperialist military intervention in Mali.
- (p) The deteriorating human living conditions of the Malian people.
- (q) The complicity of the EU and NATO in the brutal intervention in Mali.
- (r) The recent WFTU Solidarity Mission in Mali.
- (s) The banishment of Ms. Aminata Traore from entering France.
- (t) The renewed paralysis in the peace process towards the Saharawi referendum for self-determination based on UN resolutions seeking to put an end to the colonial occupation of morocco.
- (u) Morocco is distorting the regional situation in the Sahel region and attempts to direct the developments following Libya's imperialist invasion in order to change the political power balance in its favour.
- (v) The lack of political will on the part of Morocco to hold the referendum for self-determination.

Believing that:

- (a) The freedom for South Africa will remain incomplete without the liberation of Africa and the world in totality.
- (b) We should support the efforts to transfer full legislative power unto the Pan African Parliament.
- (c) The referendum represents clearly that Zimbabweans have taken it upon themselves to build a new society based on constitutional democracy.
- (d) The current situation in Mali and the insecurity in the Sahel region is a direct result of the military aggression against Libya driven by the imperialist greed for the wealth-producing natural resources of the country.
- (e) Democratically elected government reflect the views of the majority of the citizens of that country.
- (f) African Union should form its own security structures that will deal or undermine and outwit these formations that undermine the rule of law.

Resolve that:

- (a) NEHAWU National International Relations Committee must contribute to the development of the Agenda 2063 of the AU and provide guidance to our members on how the working class in the continent should tilt the class balance of forces in its favour.
- (b) We should support the view that the Pan African Parliament should have full legislative powers.
- (c) African Union should establish its own peacekeeping force to maintain peace and stability in the continent.
- (d) We work with other organizations campaigning against human rights abuses as part of our fight against all forms of discrimination.

- (e) We call upon the South African state to develop a progressive migration policy framework.
- (f) We must condemn the autocratic monarch of King Mswati III which curtails political rights and that we demand the abolition of the Royal decree of 1973 that prohibits free political activity.
- (g) We support the "Break the Chains" campaign which is meant to consolidate solidarity support for the release of Swaziland political prisoners.
- (h) The AU should recognise Pudemo as the leading representative of the people of Swaziland and that we help to retain the ideological orientation of Pudemo as a movement of the people that is opposed to imperialism.
- (i) Campaign for pro-democratic reforms and to engage our government in ensuring that any financial assistance to Swaziland reinforces democratization and that urgent political dialogue is instituted to end the current political impasse.
- (j) Mswati releases all political prisoners, unban political parties and implement reforms which will lead to a national consensus in the country.
- (k) Nehawu should mobilise workers around five (5) days economic blockades of Swaziland borders with South Africa, targeting the regime's commercial interests and the bedrock of revenue streams into his financial empire.
- (l) We mobilise Eskom workers around a campaign to cut the supply of electricity to Swaziland.
- (m) Call on the South African government and the region to support Zimbabwe's general elections and to help strengthen our trade union counterparts in participating in the elections.
- (n) We demand the lifting of sanctions hindering progress of the country and to help provide Zimbabweans a fair opportunity to resolve their problems and develop their country based on a free and fair election.
- (o) We pledge our solidarity with the people of Mali and ensure the protection of heritage sites such as Timbuktu which were vandalised by Islamist forces who invaded Mali.
- (p) We call for the AU to make serious efforts of helping Mali resolve its problems and to denounce the imperialist role of France, EU and NATO.
- (q) We call for the withdrawal of all foreign occupation by armed forces from Malian territory and to allow a sovereign Malian army to deal with any security risks without the intervention of foreign states.
- (r) We put an end to the terrorisation and elimination of Malian patriots who oppose imperialist colonisation of Mali by political forces acting at the service of French imperialism.
- (s) Nehawu should develop a systematic international campaign of support for the Saharawis to gain their political rights against the Moroccan occupation.
- (t) We should challenge the lack of progress in negotiations regarding Western Sahara, recognizing that the UN has international obligation, to implement the referendum for self-determination.
- (u) We should analyse the changing regional balance of forces in the Sahel region, following the Arab spring and the rise of military regimes in Mali and Guinea including implications on the Saharawis struggle.
- (v) There is a need for political pressure on human rights observers to visit the occupied territories and report on the situation.
- (w) We should ensure that foreign multinationals exploiting oil, gas, phosphate and fisheries are held accountable under international law and of particular significance is the illegal fishery agreement between the EU and Morocco.
- (x) We will analyse prospects in the medium to long term for Nehawu to adopt a solidarity movement.

- (y) The central executive committee should further develop a clear position on the African agenda and as part of this initiative we should deepen regional integration and investigate the implementation of a common currency and the establishment of the AU Security Council.

1.1.5. **Basque Country, the Peace Process and Political Prisoners**

Noting that:

- (a) The International Conference for the Resolution of the Conflict in the Basque Country that took place in Donostia-San Sebastian in October 17th, 2011.
- (b) This is a conflict based on the denial of Spanish state to recognize the legitimate right to Self Determination of the Basque people.
- (c) The great majority of Basque socio-political agents took part in the conference, as well as a wide and relevant international representation headed by the former Secretary General of the UN, Mr. Kofi Annan.
- (d) As an outcome of the conference, the so-called Declaration of Aiete was presented named after the site in which the conference took place.
- (e) In the Declaration of Aiete, international agents proposed a process of dialogue and negotiation, prior to the declaration of a definitive cessation of armed activity on the part of ETA.
- (f) ETA's declaration came a few days later, creating a unique and historic opportunity to address the causes as well as the consequences of the conflict.
- (g) This new scenario, reinforced after over twelve months since ETA's definitive cessation of armed activity, requires new steps to proceed towards a political solution to the conflict.

Believing that:

- (a) It is time to put an end to the exceptional measures put in place in Basque country until now as these measures have not only become useless but also counterproductive and an affront to the peace process.
- (b) Spain continues to prosecute political activists including in the court case meant to start in October this year where more than 40 political cadres of abertzale left will be condemned.
- (c) The cessation of armed activity must be responded with political measures to create the conditions to develop peace talks to achieve a just and lasting peace.

Resolve to demand, promote and campaign for:

- (a) The consolidation of the peace process by demanding from the Spanish authorities an end to the policy of dispersion and the arbitrary measures applied against Basque prisoners, keeping them hundred kilometres far from their homes and to demand their transfer to prisons close to their families.
- (b) The immediate release of seriously ill prisoners who according to current legislation should be set free in order to receive adequate treatment for their illnesses.
- (c) The immediate release of Arnaldo Otegi , former secretary general of LAB trade union Rafa Díez as well as all the imprisoned for their mere opinion or political activity, developed in political parties, youth organizations and social movements or in the media.

- (d) The dismissal of the processes related to these issues, as well as, the removal of all the European arrest warrants that may have been issued for actions of the same type.
- (e) A process of dialogue and negotiation which should lead to release of prisoners and putting arms beyond use.
- (f) Political talks to lead a process where the right to self determination of the Basque people will be recognized.
- (g) The construction of a political space for dialogue without any resort to the use of police and justice usual repressive measures.
- (h) The construction of peace, a future based on human rights, justice, truth and reparations for all those who have suffered throughout the conflict.

Resolve further to:

- (a) Raise these issues within Cosatu and its alliance partners and to immediately build and strengthen solidarity actions within the framework of a mass based movement with the Basque cause.
- (b) Build consciousness of our members on the campaign of solidarity with the Basque people.

1.1.6. **World Economy**

Noting that:

- (a) The world economy going through the most prolonged global capitalist crisis continues to set off economic turmoil affecting more countries in Europe and beyond and that systemic disruptions are resulting in the social dissolution, confiscation by banks of citizens' savings and providing more biting austerity.
- (b) The bankers and speculators, financialists are inducing more housing markets crashes by applying measures that invariably fuels speculative bubbles in the real estate market.
- (c) The changing balance of forces because of the economic meltdown/crisis and the role being played by non-state actors.
- (d) The negative role played by the International institutions/organizations.
- (e) Suppression of human and labour rights in other countries.
- (f) The existence of the international relations committees in all levels of our union.
- (g) The 5th BRICS Summit was held in Durban in March 2013 and it was a resounding success as it adopted a resolution to establish the BRICS Development Bank.
- (h) The call on BRICS to increase trade with Cuba.
- (i) We should establish relations with the working class in BRICS countries under the leadership of the vanguard SACP to ensure that BRICS is not hijacked and its anti-imperialist content is enriched.
- (j) The Chinese Communist Party is building the biggest market economy in the world.
- (k) The China uplifted 150 million people out of poverty between 2000 and 2010.
- (l) We must build a progressive, anti-neo-liberal movement on the continent to promote solidarity by mobilizing all social forces that share our principled opposition to imperialism.
- (m) In this regard, the full and effective participation of workers and communities in the development of alternative policies is central.

Believing that:

- (a) The international working class struggles remain critical in pursuit for the defence of the working class against austerity attacks by capitalism globally.
- (b) The international institutions or organizations determine the world outlook in defence of capital.
- (c) Our union strategy to establish the international relations committees in all levels of our structures will help in building strong workplace organisation, class consciousness and internationalism.

Resolve to:

- (a) Collaborate with progressive, left international institutes in Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela and other progressive regions to develop a comprehensive ideological training program on the Marxism and the global capitalist crisis.
- (b) Recognize the profound leadership of the Bolivarian revolution led by the late President Hugo Chavez and its impact on transforming the lives of ordinary Venezuelans.
- (c) Congratulate the elected Venezuela President Nicolas Maduro to continue to advance the socialist agenda.
- (d) Pledge our solidarity support to the struggle of the people of Venezuela and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and in search for progressive alternatives to develop their societies.
- (e) Build strong workplace organisation that is class conscious with internationalism in character through establishment of branch international relations committees.
- (f) Develop a perspective around working class youth struggles and young workers in the world and influence political processes by advancing proletariat internationalism as part of its agenda.
- (g) Develop a discussion document through our Policy Development Unit and the International Relations Unit on the Chinese Question and empower shop-stewards in understanding the "socialist construction with the Chinese characteristics" concept.
- (h) Advance a strategic continental agenda out of the relationship with the Peoples Republic of China, with a focus on development, economic growth and the building of much needed public infrastructure, based on principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and the imperative of pursuing a new anti-colonial growth path.
- (i) Continue helping the federation to pursue its own decision of engaging the Chinese trade union movement.

Free State

KwaZulu/Natal

1.2. POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

1.2.1. National Democratic Revolution

Noting that:

- (a) The persisting global capitalist crisis in the developed imperialist economies and much of the global-south – characterised by job losses, massive unemployment, poverty, deepening inequality and a looming ecological catastrophe.
- (b) The perspective of the SACP's political program SARS 2012-2017 on the NDR and Socialism and the ANC 53rd National Conference Strategy and Tactics document on the NDR and NDS

- reiterate the shared perspective of a working class-led NDR and its objective to overcome the interconnected challenges of race, gender and class oppressions in our society.
- (c) The outcomes of the NEHAWU National Policy Conference on the NDS and NDR.
 - (d) The ANC 53rd Conference decisive defeat of the new tendency factional project which was hell-bent on stealing our movement through patronage, demagoguery and intimidation.
 - (e) That the strategic enemy of the working class remains white monopoly capital.
 - (f) Significant political, economic and social achievements in our national democratic revolution since 1994 despite the implementation of GEAR by the 1996 Class Project.
 - (g) Significant progressive policy shifts since the watershed ANC's Polokwane Conference in 2007, which have been further strengthened by Mangaung conference in 2012.
 - (h) Despite the defeat of the 1996 Class Project in Polokwane, elements associated with this project still occupy strategic positions within the state.
 - (i) Corruption and the DA-led anti-majoritarian offensive constitute the immediate threats to the advancement of our NDR and the struggle for socialism.
 - (j) The current attacks on COSATU affiliates, particularly NUM must be understood within the context of the all-round offensive against our revolution.

Believing that:

- (a) We have a fundamental ideological task of ongoing class analysis of the global crisis and its impact on the advancement of our NDR and the struggle for socialism.
- (b) The working class remains the dynamic link between the struggle for socialism and the deepening of the NDR.
- (c) This historical and shared perspective of the working-class led NDR remains correct, and must be defended and promoted by all of us and the working class in particular.
- (d) The envisaged radical second phase of our democratic transition must consolidate and advance our NDR in which the working class ideas and interests dominate throughout society.
- (e) It is the task of the working class to ensure that the ANC's commitment to a perspective of a working class-led NDR finds expression in its socio-economic policies.
- (f) Without strong organization and ideological independence, the working class would find itself tailing behind the capitalist class and losing sight of its own interests and momentum for a socialist struggle.
- (g) The outcomes of the Mangaung Conference potentially mark the beginning of the second radical phase of the transition towards a society built on the principles and goals of the Freedom Charter.
- (h) The theme of our 10th national congress, "*Build strong workplace organization, class consciousness and internationalism*", calls for a capable organisation from the basic unit in the workplace in order to advance the working class power for socialism.
- (i) The success of our NDR is dependent on black majority rule.

Resolve to:

- (a) Continue to deepen our class analysis and characterisation of the international situation and the balance of forces, and to strengthen our ideological clarity on the challenges and possibilities for the advancement of the NDR.
- (b) Ensure that we actively contribute to the development of a radical programme for the second phase of post-1994 transition. The key foundation of the programme will include:

- A radical developmental path characterised by a developmental macro-economic policy, the National Growth Path, Industrial Policy and Action Plan, the Infrastructure Development Plan and the Human Resource Development Strategy;
 - A strong and democratic public sector as the essential component of the democratic developmental state with a strong strategic planning capacity to intervene in the economy and society as a whole;
 - Maximum unity amongst the African people and black people as a whole - based on their needs and aspirations as a basis for uniting all South Africans; and
 - Popular and militant mobilisation, especially of the working class, around the programme for the second phase of transition.
- (c) Reaffirm that the working class is the revolutionary motive force that must lead the NDR not only as a minimum programme but a socialist-orientated process of struggle.
- (d) Engage the SACP to develop a concrete strategy through its campaigns of building relations with different progressive social forces in the country as part of building working class hegemony in all key sites of power, and our revolutionary task of defending, deepening and advancing NDR and the struggle for socialism.
- (e) Consolidate and intensify the work of our political commissions and Chris Hani Brigades political education programme to build the capacity of our union on the battle of ideas.
- (f) Build the organisational capacity and ability of the ANC-led Alliance to lead the overwhelming majority of our people, in particular the black majority, as a basis of an uninterrupted advancement of NDR.
- (g) Continuously defend our historic and shared perspective of the NDR inside and outside the ANC, including through extensive mass political education.
- (h) Work tirelessly in educating and training our members, shop-stewards and cadres of the union to deepen their understanding of our revolutionary theory so as to take responsibility for the NDR and the struggle for socialism.
- (i) Make our contribution as a union to ensure a disciplined and united Alliance that is committed to deepening the NDR and defeating the anti-majoritarian offensive.
- (j) Rework our Strategic Policy Framework and Ten Year Plan within the framework of the NDR and in particular the perspective of the radical second phase of the second transition.
- (k) Institutionalise the Chris Hani Brigades programme at provincial and regional levels.
- (l) Advocate that the basis of engagement on the NDP must be the Freedom Charter and the centrality of the land question to resolve the triple contradictions.

1.2.2. **Ideological Work**

Noting:

- (a) The ongoing capitalist crisis and the accompanying attacks by our class adversaries to weaken and fragment the working class.
- (b) The alliance consensus on the need to deepen and advance radical perspectives around the second phase of our transition.
- (c) The significant role of the public sector and public sector workers in the second phase and in building a developmental state.
- (d) The work carried out in the implementation of the Chris Hani Brigade at a national level.

Believing that:

- (a) COSATU was correct in adopting the resolution on the swelling-of-the-ranks of the ANC and the SACP and that the structures of our union must continue to audit the implementation of this resolution, which must include assessing the level of practical activism.
- (b) Action without proper ideological and philosophical grounding can be dangerous and misleading.
- (c) The attacks on the NUM represent an offensive on the trade union movement, rather than merely an issue of poor service to members.
- (d) The union will best serve the interests of its members by deepening its ideological orientation.

Resolve to:

- (a) Ensure that the constitutional structures of our union internalise and integrate political and ideological training at all levels of the union, including the PECs and NEC.
- (b) Hold targeted political classes as part of our recruitment programme and service to members.
- (c) Use the Yure Mdyogolo Memorial Centre as a leadership and development institute which must offer political, ideological and shop-steward capacity building in collaboration with the political schools of the SACP and ANC.
- (d) Actively support, including through mobilizing resources, the establishment of a dedicated Party School of the SACP in line with its resolution of the 13th National Congress.
- (e) Explore international collaboration with the WFTU and the CTC (Cuba) in the form of an exchange programme through the Lázaro Peña College and this must include coordination with the SACP and its Cuban counterparts and further collaboration with other international partners must be explored.
- (f) Undertake a targeted ideological development on the history and role of the public sector trade union movement, its strategic location and role in the context of the second phase of the transition.
- (g) Aggressively educate our members against the values, ethos and principles of the Neo-managerialism such as ppps, outsourcing, privatisation, agentisation, etc. – which run counter to building a developmental state.
- (h) Reaffirm Marxism-Leninism as our theoretical guide to revolutionary action.

1.2.3. **Popular Movement towards Socialism**

Noting that:

- (a) The impasse facing the bourgeois ideology of neoliberalism and the impact of the devastating crisis of capitalism on humanity has brought the imperative of socialist construction and the transition from capitalism to the fore.
- (b) These ideological and economic crises of capitalism are raising the political consciousness of the international working class to struggle for alternatives to the current socioeconomic order, including for socialism.
- (c) The propagation of Marxist-Leninism is critical in exposing the shortcomings of reformism and temporary solutions of the capitalist crisis and in the creation of new frontier of radical opposition to capitalism.
- (d) The revitalisation of the socialist movement, which is steadily building its offensive for the revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

- (e) The plurality of the political movement that stands opposed to capitalism.
- (f) The lack of a clear perspective within trade unions and the working class in general on their relation to the struggle for socialism.

Resolve to:

- (a) Support our working class vanguard, the SACP, in building a popular movement towards socialism.
- (b) Develop solidarity, cooperation and mobilise a wide section of anti-capitalist left building on socialist experiences of the 20th century.
- (c) Mobilise behind this *Popular Movement towards Socialism*, the entire membership of the trade union movement, and build alliances with the other popular forces in society around common social, economic and political demands, including national self-determination.
- (d) Initiate a broad discussion on the essential political tasks and struggles to overcome the system of capitalism.
- (e) Analyse the possibilities of connecting the contemporary struggles that are within the limits of capitalism to a direct struggle of the working class against the capitalist system itself.
- (f) Popularise and contribute in the implementation of SARS 2012-2017 as part of strengthening our counter-hegemonic ideological offensive against neoliberalism.
- (g) Work towards ensuring that there is a practical convergence of the SACP and COSATU programmes of action.
- (h) Undertake joint political education programmes with the Progressive Youth Alliance formations.
- (i) Wage a relentless ideological fight against the emergent personality cult, anarcho-syndicalism, and other workerist tendencies within our trade union movement.
- (j) Initiate a discussion with a view to formulate a clear perspective on trade unions and the broader working class's relation to socialism.

1.2.4. **South African National General Elections of 2014**

Noting that:

- (a) The ANC is tried-and-tested and remains the only hope for the masses of our people despite the vast challenges facing our revolution in the struggle to eradicate poverty, inequality and unemployment.
- (b) These challenges that are facing our society are part of the enduring legacy of centuries of colonial and capitalist oppression.
- (c) The mushrooming of political parties seeking to mobilise the emergent black middle stratum, which include former proponents of the black consciousness movement, to challenge the ANC in the upcoming general elections.
- (d) A common feature amongst these parties is that none of them represent the aspirations of the working class.
- (e) Since our 9th national congress there have been spates of service delivery protests, which in some instances have been driven by an agenda to undermine the ANC government.
- (f) The ambiguous pronouncements by some leaders within COSATU pose a threat to our goal of an overwhelming victory of the ANC in the coming national general elections in 2014.
- (g) The potential negative implications that may arise from ambiguous pronouncements within the COSATU leadership.

- (h) The high number of unregistered voters among young people, especially the first time voters within the 18-19 years old band.
- (i) The stated agenda of the main opposition to reverse the gains of the workers by amending labour legislations - thus taking away the hard won rights of workers especially teachers.
- (j) The subjective and biased reporting by the media against the ANC and in favour of the DA.
- (k) The recent launch of the ANC volunteers corps for the general elections.

Believing that:

- (a) The election campaign will be the most difficult for the ANC and the Alliance, given the prevailing socio-economic situation in our country.
- (b) The current electoral weight of the ANC in Parliament denies it an opportunity to implement its radical socio-economic programme as the opposition always oppose such.
- (c) The ANC and Alliance remain the only credible movement that carries the hopes and aspirations of workers in this country and capable of driving a thoroughgoing socio-economic transformation to eradicate the triple challenge of poverty, inequality and unemployment.
- (d) The ANC remains the leader of the Alliance and therefore a unifying organisation to the working class and other progressive strata in society.
- (e) It is only if the ANC attained an overwhelming victory that the radical phase of the second transition can be realized.
- (f) The majority of the youth from working class communities, especially the Africans, believe in the ANC as the only organisation that can realise the transformation of our country from the ravages of colonialism of the special type.
- (g) Most of the mushrooming political parties are driven by the narrow personal economic interests of their founders, including the interests of their foreign sponsors.
- (h) Effective communication with the young people would require an extensive utilisation of social media in the campaign for the 2014 elections.
- (i) An overwhelming victory of the ANC will enable it to implement a radical socio-economic programme for the second phase of the transition.
- (j) The prevailing socio-economic challenges arise from centuries of colonial and capitalist oppression, which have been compounded by the policy choices of the 1996 class project.
- (k) The ANC remains the automatic choice for workers to guarantee the protection of their rights.

Resolve to:

- (a) Approach the upcoming national general elections with the same vigour as in 2009 and make sure that the ANC achieves an overwhelming two-thirds majority victory in order to pursue the radical second phase of the transition as resolved by its 53rd national conference.
- (b) Establish a NEHAWU elections machinery at all levels of our union and an internal volunteer corps to support the ANC elections campaign as well as a comprehensive election strategy, which must include voter education and registration for young workers.
- (c) Commit both human and material resources that will make the elections machinery function effectively at all levels of the union and ensure that all executive committee structures of the union will focus on building the elections machinery (war rooms).
- (d) Develop materials that communicate the socioeconomic achievements of the ANC government and counter the negative messages and distortions of the facts by the DA-led anti-majoritarian offensive and the media.

- (e) Develop an election communication strategy that includes social media targeted at the young workers.
- (f) Work with the Progressive Youth Alliance and develop an elections strategy targeting youth within the scope of the union and this must include using social media.
- (g) Call on the IEC to utilise appropriate media outputs that are accessible and easily receptive to young people to ensure that they register as voters, vote on the elections day.
- (h) Ensure that the union's national leadership engages in public discourse, articulating positive messages on the achievements of the ANC government and the manifesto.
- (i) Engage the leadership of the federation and the central executive committee to communicate unifying messages during this period.
- (j) Develop media outputs that strongly counter the notion of the "born-frees" and encourage our alliance to do the same – exposing the fallacy of this notion in the context of the systemic persistence of class, race and gender oppressions.
- (k) Call on the IEC to take the voter education and registration programmes to education institutions.
- (l) Call on the Alliance leadership to develop an Alliance election campaign programme and to forge maximum unity around a common message – exercising restraint and avoiding unnecessary public spats. The ANC must make sure that all its substructures are instructed to work properly with other formations of the Alliance.
- (m) Ensure that the Alliance election campaign includes targeting provinces, in which the ANC is weak and vulnerable, especially the Western Cape which must be reclaimed.
- (n) Call on the ANC to intensify the fight against corruption across all spheres of government and to act decisively as directed by the Mangaung Conference.
- (o) Engage with the 20 year report of the government as soon as it is released and ensure that the positive gains and achievements are highlighted and not overshadowed by the shortcomings or by the opposition's propaganda.
- (p) Ensure that the Alliance election campaign and manifesto responds to the needs of the disabled people, including ensuring that they are able to exercise their vote.
- (q) Call on COSATU to ensure that the Alliance election programme utilises the large pool of members of the Creative Workers' Union of South Africa.
- (r) Convene shop stewards councils as platforms for mobilizing for the 2014 general elections.
- (s) Ensure that each NEHAWU member and staff begin the election campaign in their own household, family, neighbour and workplace – ensuring that everyone is registered, understand the ANC's manifesto and are going to vote for the ANC.

1.2.5. **African National Congress**

Noting:

- (a) The achievement of 100 years of existence as a movement still united in action and intact.
- (b) The successful 53rd national conference of the movement which proceeded well, despite negative speculations in the bourgeois media.
- (c) The commitment of the ANC to the radical economic transformation as articulated in the conference resolutions.
- (d) The swift response of the SAPS in thwarting the attempted terrorist attack of the conference by the rightwing grouping.
- (e) The achievement of the historical target of 1 000 000 members.
- (f) The creeping foreign culture of ill-discipline, including the use of violence and courts to settle internal political differences.

Believing that:

- (a) The centenary represents a major milestone in the revolutionary history of the ANC and it confirms its continued relevance as a people's movement and trusted leader of our society.
- (b) The ANC remains the only political party capable of driving a thorough going socio-economic transformation.
- (c) The erosion of the historical values of the liberation movement is partly related to the lack of political education and induction of the new members into the ANC culture and traditions.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm our 9th national congress resolution on the ANC.
- (b) Congratulate the ANC for a very successful 53rd national conference and for ensuring that its leadership election outcome reflects the movement's key constituencies particularly the working class.
- (c) Welcome the 53rd national conference commitment on the decade long cadreship building programme and the setting up of the Integrity Commission as a way of safeguarding the core values of the movement.
- (d) Call on the ANC to unapologetically restore the historical values and traditions of the movement and thus drastically act against acts of ill-discipline including expelling those who use violence and who take the movement to court.
- (e) Call on the ANC to prioritise its basic organisational unit – branch - in the political education programme with a key focus on induction of new members.
- (f) As part of the swelling-the-ranks, NEHAWU members in the ANC must participate in the ANC political schools geared at cadreship development in terms of the outcomes of the Mangaung conference.

1.2.6. **Congress of South African Trade Unions**

Noting:

- (a) The orchestrated violent offensive against the federation and its affiliates.
- (b) The steps taken by the leadership of the federation in implementing the 11th national congress resolutions on affiliation to WFTU.
- (c) The alien tendency of unauthorised communication of internal information to the media through media leaks.
- (d) The new tendency of disrespecting the collective decisions of the constitutional structures of the federation.
- (e) The intervention programme established by the COSATU central executive committee to resolve the current challenges in the federation.
- (f) The continued relevance of the 2015 Plan as a political programme.
- (g) The federation's anti-corruption campaign.

Believing that:

- (a) The entrenched colonial socio-political context, especially in the mining industry which was the backbone of colonialism of a special type, is the root cause of the current challenges in the mining industry.

- (b) The offensive unleashed against COSATU and its affiliates is supported by monopoly capital and it is intended to weaken the federation, Alliance and ANC in particular.
- (c) The unity of the federation and the Alliance is paramount towards achieving the radical socio-economic transformation on which there is consensus amongst the Alliance formations.
- (d) The current internal challenges have a potential to weaken the federation.
- (e) The erosion of revolutionary morality values of selflessness and conspicuous consumption fostered by the 1996 class project is the root cause of the current systemic challenges of corruption.
- (f) There is massive corruption taking place in the private sector as demonstrated by the recent price collusion in the construction industry on the 2010 stadiums.

Resolve to:

- (a) Call on the federation and its affiliates to heed the call of *going back to basics* in relation to organising and servicing.
- (b) Encourage our federation and all its affiliates to intensify the campaign on swelling of the ranks of the ANC and SACP.
- (c) Encourage our federation and all its affiliates to support its leaders and members to take up leadership positions in the ANC and the SACP.
- (d) Congratulate the leadership of the federation in the giant steps taken to implement the 11th national congress resolution on affiliating to WFTU.
- (e) Call on the federation to be consistently outspoken on violations to the federation's internal democracy and protocols, including in our engagement with Alliance partners.
- (f) Call on the federation and its affiliates to refrain from resorting to the media when engaging with the internal matters of the federation.
- (g) Support and respect the COSATU central executive committee's internal process of dealing with the current internal challenges facing the federation and therefore oppose calls for a special national congress.
- (h) Call on the federation to develop a mobilization programme for the forthcoming 2014 general elections, including its contribution to the election manifesto and deployment to the electoral lists.
- (i) Call for the revival of the socialist forums as effective mobilization platforms.
- (j) Support the federation's planned socio-economic campaigns including the section 77 notice filed at NEDLAC.
- (k) Reaffirm the swelling-of-the ranks as a programme committing the federation and affiliates to encourage members to join the ANC with a view to strengthen the voice of the working class.
- (l) Ensure that the leadership of COSATU and affiliates lead by example on swelling-of-the ranks including on standing for the leadership positions at all levels of the ANC.
- (m) Ensure that COSATU develops a programme to monitor the swelling-of-the-ranks across affiliates, including at the levels of leadership.
- (n) Ensure that COSATU's posture towards the ANC government as developed after the Polokwane conference and 2009 election remains relevant in the post-Mangaung conjuncture.
- (o) Develop a dedicated programme that must be implemented at the provincial level geared at ensuring that our shop-stewards participate in the COSATU locals and their community structures.

- (p) Call on the federation to develop and drive a programme geared at implementing the longstanding resolution on union mergers, which must have clear and realistic time-frames.
- (q) Ensure that COSATU proactively provide strategic leadership, unify affiliates and rein-in affiliates that encroach on its pivotal role as the centre.
- (r) Defend the collective leadership of our federation, however, if any of the federation's leadership disregard or undermine the decisions of the constitutional structures of the federation, they must be exposed and disciplined in terms of the Leadership Code of Conduct as adopted by the COSATU 10th national congress.
- (s) Be intolerant of deviations on the decisions of its own constitutional structures and therefore must defend its leadership as it pursues the union's programme of forging unity within the federation.
- (t) Call on COSATU to develop a clear policy on the non-governmental organisations guided by the resolution of the 11th COSATU national congress on the "Current State of NGOs".
- (u) The anti-corruption campaign must be geared at restoring the historical revolutionary morality and values within the movement's cadreship and society at large.
- (v) Ensure that COSATU's anti-corruption campaign is not being narrowly focused on the public sector because we must also fight against corruption in the private sector and non-governmental organisations as well.

1.2.7. **Building Class Consciousness**

Noting:

- (a) The launch of the NEHAWU Chris Hani Brigade programme in April 2010 as a joint political programme with the SACP and the subsequent launches of the provincial chapters.
- (b) The CHB programme was intended to help the union in implementing a systematic political education programme to build a layer of grounded socialist cadres for the union and SACP.
- (c) The participants in this programme are drawn from the ranks of NEHAWU, SACP and the YCLSA.
- (d) That NEHAWU has implemented a programme of establishing political commissions at national, provincial and regional levels.
- (e) The political commissions have assisted the union with the development of our analysis of political developments internationally and domestically at all levels.

Believing that:

- (a) The CHB programme has been a good attempt at producing a new layer of political commissars that will play an important role in deepening political education at the lowest levels of the union, the SACP and YCL.
- (b) The launch of provincial chapters of the CHB programme will expand the number of the trained political commissars and ensure that our ideology and political programme are understood at branch and ward levels.
- (c) Most of the members and shop stewards of the union do not possess a deep understanding of our ideology and the principles that informed our choice of the ANC as our liberation movement and the NDR as a vehicle towards the realization of socialism.
- (d) Simply persuading members to join the SACP and ANC does not do justice to our cause, without raising ideological consciousness through a systematic programme of political education.

- (e) The CHB programme has contributed towards mobilising more NEHAWU members to swell the ranks of the ANC and to do so with better ideological and political clarity.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm our 9th national congress resolution calling for support to the provincial chapters of the CH Brigade programme by office bearers and constitutional structures of our union.
- (b) Work with the SACP to develop a comprehensive political education programme that must be systematically carried out in terms of the CH Brigade programme and has an on-going monitoring and evaluation process to ensure maximum outcomes and impact.
- (c) Expand the ideological work in our union and contribute towards the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist workers' college for ideological and organisational training in conjunction with the SACP and COSATU.
- (d) Roll-out an expanded political education programme with the aim of increasing the political and class consciousness among shop-stewards, members and officials, in line with the theme of the 10th national congress and based on the challenges faced by the working class in the current period.
- (e) Revitalise political commissions in provinces and regions as an integral part of raising class consciousness and deepening our analysis of the current conjuncture.
- (f) Ensure that political education includes exchange study and research programmes with other countries where our cadres would share and learn from other revolutions' strengths and weaknesses.
- (g) Link our ideological and political education programme with raising class consciousness and consciousness around race and gender oppressions.
- (h) Link our trade union education to our ideological and political education.

1.2.8. **The Alliance**

Noting that:

- (a) Since the 2009 elections, the ANC insists on itself as the political centre rather than the Alliance as the strategic political centre - as agreed at the 2008 Alliance summit.
- (b) Tensions around the issue of the strategic political centre have led to public spats amongst leaders of the Alliance formations in the post-Polokwane period leading to Mangaung.
- (c) Apart from commemorations and anniversary celebrations as well as election campaigns, the resolutions of the Alliance summits calling for a joint programme of action have not been implemented.
- (d) Tensions have emerged in the recent period as a result of the differences among the Alliance partners around government policy issues such as e-tolling, labour brokers and the National Development Plan.
- (e) Recent accusations exist against COSATU that it is acting in oppositionist fashion to the ANC and its government.

Believing that:

- (a) Despite the on-going public spats, the relations among components of the Alliance have considerably improved in the post-Polokwane period.

- (b) The Alliance remains united around the commitment to the national democratic revolution as the strategy of resolving the interrelated national, class and gender contradictions that are the legacy of colonialism and apartheid.
- (c) The defeat of the new tendency at the 53rd national conference of the ANC represents an important advance for the working class as the tendency had plunged the Alliance into a state of paralysis and crisis.
- (d) As a leading component of the Alliance, the ANC has the primary duty to contribute in strengthening other Alliance components, rebuilding the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and cultivating an open and democratic space for rigorous debates rather than resorting to bureaucratic suppression and marginalisation of others.
- (e) Despite the leading role of the ANC in the NDR, the components of the Alliance are equal partners.
- (f) The broad acceptance of the dialectical analysis that both the Alliance and the ANC are the strategic political centres has helped to ease the tensions within the Alliance.

Resolve to:

- (a) Call on the ANC as the leader of the Alliance to work with other components of the Alliance in ensuring that the National Political Council and the Alliance Secretariat are properly functioning and that the decisions of previous Alliance summits, including the outcomes of the Alliance Summit of May 2008, are implemented in provinces and regions.
- (b) Call on the SACP and COSATU to assert their independence whilst defending and advancing the shared perspectives, policies and programme of action.
- (c) Commit ourselves to the renewal and strengthening of all Alliance components and the MDM.
- (d) Abide by the following principles as a guiding framework for the proper functioning of the Alliance:
 - (i) To fight for the respect of the independence and equal status of each component of the Alliance, recognising the particular and unique role each component plays in the NDR.
 - (ii) To strengthen each and every component of the Alliance, including making resources available for mutual benefit of Alliance formations.
 - (iii) To develop proper mechanism and channels of dealing with the tensions that from time to time arise amongst the Alliance components without resorting to public spats.
 - (iv) To promote debates in the Alliance and to resolve such debates through engagement rather than the vilification of each other.
- (e) Focus on the implementation of the Mangaung conference resolutions, particularly those that articulate the broadly shared perspectives on the need for a radical socio-economic policy shift.
- (f) Ensure that the coming Alliance Economic Summit emerges with a policy platform that reflects the shared consensus on the radical second phase of the transition and a programme for popular consultation and mobilisation.
- (g) Call for regular meetings of the Alliance that must be driven by political and socioeconomic programme that must be implemented across all levels.

1.2.9. **South African Communist Party**

Noting that:

- (a) The resolutions of the NEHAWU 8th and 9th national congresses and COSATU's 9th, 10th and 11th national congress resolutions on building and strengthening the SACP.
- (b) The programme of the SACP to launch VDBs throughout the country.
- (c) The fact that COSATU is still yet to establish the political fund to support the SACP.
- (d) The on-going joint political-education programmes between the SACP and NEHAWU highlighted by the recently launched Chris Hani Brigade programme.
- (e) The previous discussions between the SACP and COSATU on building a popular movement for socialism and on the need to synergise the 2015 Plan with the Medium Term Vision and discussions on the strategic options for the SACP's approach to state power.
- (f) The deteriorating relationship between the federation and the SACP in the recent period characterised by public spats and personalised attacks against the leading cadres of each formation.
- (g) The deployment of leading and most advanced cadres of the SACP to key strategic positions in government as part of fulfilling the aims of the MTV of the party.
- (h) The 13th national congress resolution of the party to expand its Secretariat at national and provincial levels to elect a full-time 2nd Deputy General Secretary and 2nd Deputy Provincial Secretaries.

Believing that:

- (a) The SACP remains the vanguard of the South African working class engaged in building working class hegemony in the terrain of the NDR and leading the struggle for socialism.
- (b) It is in the interest of the working class to build a strong and independent SACP that is capable of asserting its vanguard revolutionary role at all times.
- (c) The SACP and COSATU share a common platform for the realization of socialism in South Africa.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm all our previous congress resolutions on building the SACP.
- (b) Continue to support the SACP's anti-corruption campaign, particularly in the public sector as well as all the other campaigns of the party.
- (c) Work with the SACP to develop a programme of building SACP work-place units in all the branches of the union.
- (d) Call for a strong and independent SACP to lead popular struggles in working class communities, particularly in the light of the on-going service delivery protests.
- (e) Ensure that NEHAWU continues to provide financial and other material resources to support the SACP, in line with the previous resolutions of our union.
- (f) Support the SACP in developing its capacity to have leaders deployed to work full-time at its offices at national, provincial and district levels.
- (g) Encourage our members to be active in the SACP Voting District branches.

1.2.10. **Swelling the ranks of the ANC and SACP**

Noting that:

- (a) All the recent COSATU and NEHAWU congresses and conferences have resolved on the importance of the campaign by the organised layer of the working class to swell the ranks of the ANC and SACP.
- (b) NEHAWU's national policy conference in 2012 resolved that the socialist axis in the alliance has a responsibility to influence the outcomes of the elective conferences of the ANC and that we must intensify the program of swelling the ranks of the movement.
- (c) The conference further resolved that COSATU leaders at all levels must be willing and ready to be deployed to ANC leadership structures at all times, and individuals cannot have a choice to refuse.
- (d) The implementation of these resolutions has been uneven, while some leaders have flatly refused to adhere to them.

Believing that:

- (a) In the history of the tripartite alliance there has always been a healthy cross pollination of leadership and ideas and this has contributed to the overall development of the alliance partners individually and the alliance itself as a dynamic and living organism;
- (b) The character of each alliance partner has been forged in struggle and represents the collective experience of all the alliance partners. The workers organised under the umbrella of SACTU and COSATU embraced the Congress tradition and Marxist-Leninist influence precisely because of the federations' alliance with the ANC and SACP as well as the culture of leadership that held positions in all the formations;
- (c) The deployment of senior leaders of NEHAWU and COSATU to the leadership structures of the ANC and SACP is affirmation of age old alliance tradition, albeit under new conditions;
- (d) The contradictions that emerge as a result of the different mandates that the leaders have to carry by virtue of their various deployments are a historical feature of the alliance and the challenge of managing these contradictions is a matter of on-going struggles and learning;
- (e) The danger of diluting the revolutionary content of the national democratic revolution arises only when the working class surrenders the leadership of the NDR to other classes and strata;
- (f) The deployment of NEHAWU and COSATU leadership to ANC and SACP leadership positions is part of taking responsibility for the NDR and safeguarding the working class leadership thereof;
- (g) The resolution on swelling the ranks of the ANC and SACP will be implemented fully only if it becomes compulsory for office bearers at all the levels of the union to become members of the South African Communist Party and African National Congress.

Resolve to:

- (a) Intensify the campaign of swelling the ranks of the ANC and SACP by the leadership of our union and federation at all levels and even taking up leadership positions therein;
- (b) Extend the campaign beyond merely swelling the ranks of the ANC and SACP, to ensure active participation and taking up leadership positions at all levels.
- (c) Support the leadership of our union and federation who are deployed into the ANC and SACP leadership structures by intensifying the struggles for radical social and economic transformation on the ground.
- (d) Develop a NEHAWU perspective on the swelling-of-the-ranks to provide guidance on issues of strategic support, accountability and deployment for comrades deployed in various sites of power.

KwaZulu/Natal

North West

1.2.11. **The Battle of Ideas**

1.2.11.1. NEHAWU and Alliance Formations

Noting that:

- (a) Our union premise is that ours is a struggle for socialism executed as guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles.
- (b) Our union entry point is to communicate messages that seek to reinforce the agenda to advance working class power for socialism.
- (c) Currently there is a huge ideological offensive on our revolutionary alliance, its programmes and the values it represents.
- (d) Those without political power but with economic power have waged a sustained ideological attack on the ANC, SACP and COSATU in particular and on the unity of the alliance.
- (e) All that is elevated as correct and sane in the political and economic sphere is that which reinforces the neo-liberal ideas.

Resolve that:

- (a) We must develop our own internal media platforms to support the overall struggle for socialism and to build a strong workplace organisation that consistently challenges the liberal agenda in all its manifestations.
- (b) Our union should step up the utilisation of the website, Facebook, twitter account and various social media platforms to communicate revolutionary messages based on the material conditions of the working class.
- (c) The union leadership at all levels must join Facebook and twitter to communicate timeously with members and society within the dictates of our organisational process.
- (d) All secretariat reports presented in constitutional structures at all levels should have a section that accounts on the work done to implement the union's communications resolutions.
- (e) Our union should embark on a media awareness campaign to help our members and the community to understand the media landscape to ensure that we counter the misleading propaganda that is paraded as news inter using pamphlets and social media.
- (f) We should build a unified ICT capacity with NEHAWU content to engage with all our members and broader society around the clock using the latest technologies in our traditional and modern platforms.
- (g) All NEHAWU provinces should appoint communications interns to help with communications and media work to ensure that we reproduce a new skilled but ideologically progressive cadreship of young media workers.
- (h) We should conduct audits of how our members want to receive their communications, so that what we do is scientifically informed by the study rather than our whims.
- (i) Our union should be flexible and should adapt its communication methods and harness what the world of technology offers.
- (j) Our union should step up capacity building of our members, shop stewards and leaders inter alia through:

- Empowering our leaders and activists with media skills {e.g. writing, research, content development} so that we can write and participate in debates confidently.
- Developing skills on cartooning, poster designs, banner designs, graffiti capacity, graphic design and graphic art etc. to minimise reliance on capitalist enterprises for us to communicate beyond writing and speaking.
- Building capacity at all levels of the organization to intervene in the media, to act as a resource for alternative platforms that we are establishing and to play a leading role as presenters, producers, writers and analysts in the community media space.
- Ensuring that whilst our training initiatives must be inward looking, we must also not lose sight of the fact that our training opportunities must build capacity for intervention in the community media space.
- A well considered selection of candidates for training to ensure that they play a pivotal role in the actual journalism work of NEHAWU.
- Working with EDUSEC to teach and train our members and leadership on our communication policies and new communication technological advances to institutionalise good publicity and avoid lawsuits that come with unregulated and unauthorized communications.
- The use of the existing Chris Hani Brigade which must extend its recently started media skills training to target our media activists in provinces and regions who will act as a core of our aggressive communication strategy.

1.2.11.2. Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

Noting that:

- (a) The biggest challenge facing our country is that the media and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) still reflect the ownership, control and distribution patterns of the past.
- (b) There is an urgent need to focus on redressing and correcting the past discriminatory imbalances as well as providing the firm policy foundations for a communications sector that serves all South Africans.
- (c) We must reverse the dominant neo-liberal and anti-state thinking that seeks to reduce the role of the state to that of a regulator and which argues for the provision of services to be left to the market.
- (d) South Africa is lagging behind in a number of key global ICT indicators, especially on universal access to the internet, broadcasting and e-governance.

Resolve that:

- (a) NEHAWU should campaign and advance for the following positions in the public domain:
 - (i) There must be a review of ownership patterns in the ICT industry in the context of a mixed economy to ensure that public ownership is dominant and social ownership through amongst others co-operatives plays a decisive role.
 - (ii) Working with COSATU we should advocate for easy access to fast and affordable broadband for all citizens.
 - (iii) There must be a review of the role and mandate of both SENTECH and INFRANCO so that we eliminate overlapping and building a single agency to support our roll out of broadband to the majority of our people.

- (iv) Working with our allies we should take up the campaign to lower the cost of telecommunications and internet access.
- (v) The state must play an active role in the ICT not just as a regulator but use its capacity to drive development and to make ICT services accessible to our people and close the gap of access between the rich and the poor.
- (vi) The state at various levels must take the initiative to make internet access free and available to the public through public internet cafe' and public Wi-Fi zones.
- (vii) Broadband services must be treated as an essential service in our country and the state must own the scarce high speed lucrative spectrum and deploy it effectively to close the access gaps and for developmental purposes.
- (viii) We must reclaim TELKOM from the jaws of capitalist greed and commercialization as a strategic entity to provide vital services to our people. Once this has been achieved the public sector must procure from TELKOM (3G via 8.ta, cell phone contracts of public sector departments and agencies).
- (ix) Government must invest in our productive capacity so that we move away from being consumers of finished goods to building capacity to produce our own ICT gadgets (mobile phones, television sets, radios, landline receivers, decoders and many others). This would improve the contribution of the ICT sector as a job driver in the productive sector and not just in the growth of retail.
- (x) ICT related courses must be integrated into the public schools curriculum from early childhood development
- (xi) Our research and innovation output must be increased with the production of more graduates in historically disadvantaged institutions of higher learning and the opening up of FET colleges and their strengthening should provide a further opportunity for integration of strong academic programmes on ICT.
- (xii) Adult Education and Training, including workplace training and development, must include qualitative ICT programmes beyond end user courses.

1.2.11.3. Broadcasting

Noting that:

- (a) The ongoing and sustained crisis that exists at the public broadcaster SABC in particular in its governance and management and its programming and content production which must be reversed.
- (b) We must lead a campaign for a process towards a development of a national consensus on elements of public broadcasting.
- (c) Public service broadcasting must be protected against the interests of private corporate culture, the market domination and commercial interests.
- (d) The public broadcaster must clearly be defined to serve public interests.

Resolve that:

- (a) We must lead and support a campaign to rescue the public broadcaster from excessive influence by market forces and in this regard we should advocate for a funding model that ensures that the SABC is not dependent on advertising revenue in order to build a truly independent public broadcaster.

- (b) Public broadcasting must be funded through a sustainable public funding model as the long-term impact of the current institutional and funding model is detrimental to the future of public broadcasting services.
- (c) We must advocate for a stable corporate governance mechanism with public ownership of SABC for a long-term stability, existence and sustainability.
- (d) During the SABC's digital migration that will result in SABC having 18 television stations, we should propose for the establishment of a labour channel and in this regard, we should work with our allies to mobilize resources in order to ensure that we invest in the content production of the channel to give the workers of the world a voice.
- (e) We must insist on ensuring that the public broadcaster remains key in providing information to the people and should not replicate the commercial media.
- (f) Working with COSATU, we should put together a team that will look at the draft SABC editorial policy and the ICT review policy documents that will be released soon in order to make submissions.
- (g) SABC's accountability to parliament, its shareholder (government) and the public must be strengthened.
- (h) The public broadcaster must be confronted about its biased coverage of the trade union movement and with the intention to increase programmes that are targeting working class issues.
- (i) Our structures must be positioned to play a central role in the community radio stations and community televisions conscious of the fact that, with the advent of neo-liberalism one of the victims has been health and education reporting.
- (j) Health reporting is mainly reduced to coverage of scandal and perpetuating a message in society that the public health system is a failure.
- (k) As we struggle for a National Health Insurance we must aggressively communicate and elevate values of a health system not for profit as community radio and television stations are an important platform for communicating achievements and challenges of our public system differently.
- (l) Much should be done to ensure that the community-broadcasting sector is reflective of the communities they serve in terms of directorship, management and programming.
- (m) There is a need for concerted action to ensure a fair representation in directorship of women, the workers, and people with disabilities, children and the aged.
- (n) We must campaign against the hostile takeover of community radio and television stations by production companies like Urban Brew who force them to operate along the logic of commercial broadcasting.

1.2.11.4. Print Media

Noting that:

- (a) There is a need for a radical transformation programme in so far as print media ownership is concerned.
- (b) Media monopoly is the biggest threat to the media freedom, our democracy and an informed society.
- (c) Current patterns of concentrated ownership and control of the media promote commercial interests and the logic of the private capitalist market.
- (d) The print sector is still dominated by four big players, namely Naspers, Avusa, Caxton and the Independent Group that has been sold to a local consortium Sekunjalo.

- (e) Other mainstream media players include the M&G Media and TNA Media and these companies also dominate the entire value chain of the market especially printing, distribution and advertising.
- (f) The integration of the media value chain and the very market structure is the biggest barrier to market entry and they potentially engage in anti-competitive behaviour.
- (g) There exist a number of small commercial print and community print media, who all face the challenge of extinction if not consciously sustained by progressive forces.
- (h) Diversity in the print media must move beyond ownership but must as well address the issue of class content, diversity and address the availability of newspapers in other languages other than English and Afrikaans.

Resolve that:

- (a) The left must give practical effect to the implementation of the progressive resolution of establishing a working class newspaper and the mechanics of whether it is a daily or weekly must be determined by the feasibility study.
- (b) All resources must be pooled together for the achievement of this objective as a fragmented approach to communication (NEHAWU bulletin, Umsebenzi, Shop steward and various affiliates newspapers and journals) undermines working class unity and intervention in the sphere of ideological contest of society.
- (c) The newspaper can in the initial launching phase be run as a simple and accessible on-line newspaper that is mobile phone friendly.
- (d) We must explore the alternative establishment of a developmental and working class news agency, working possibly, with organizations like Workers World Media productions.

1.2.11.5. Regulatory Framework

Noting that:

- (a) Currently the SABC does not comply with the dictates of the White Paper on communications in so far as local content is concerned.
- (b) Given the weak regulatory environment we are unable to enforce the policies on local content of SABC.

Resolve that:

- (a) We should call for the strengthening of ICASA to be able to enforce legislation and policy on communications.
- (b) The role of state institutions like Sentech, ICASA, USAASA, MDDA, MICT Seta, NEMISA, e-Skills Institute, PF&MSeta, etc. should be reviewed to ensure that they create an enabling environment for communication as a human right and the creation of an informed society.

1.2.11.6. Postal Infrastructure and the Post Bank

Noting that:

- (a) After 1994 the postal services were attacked and outsourced to the private sector whilst through its massive and extensive network the post offices act as pay points for many government services including municipality bills and traffic fines.
- (b) The Post Bank must be seen as a strategic tool that allows the public sector a footprint in the financial sector and therefore allow for the possibility in practice to redefine the rules to make banking accessible and affordable.
- (c) For the Post Bank to succeed it must be a bank of first choice for all public departments and agencies.

Resolve that:

- (a) The state must be supported to strengthen the Post Bank as an important institution of development.
- (b) We support the granting of a license to the Post Bank and the license however must not mean that the Post Bank will be left to compete with the big four along the logic and dictates of the market.
- (c) We support the rolling out of a national address system which must target the poor, rural areas and informal settlements.
- (d) All needy rural and urban communities should have mobile post offices and all government departments and agencies should be encouraged to move their accounts to the post bank once the processes are complete.
- (e) We must work with Cosatu to ensure that the resolutions adopted on Postal Infrastructure and Post bank are implemented in order to realise their associated social benefits.

North West

Northern Cape

1.2.12. **Special Resolution in defence of the National Union of Mineworkers {NUM}**

Noting that:

- (a) Mining, in particular the platinum and gold sectors, is currently severely plunged into a spiral of crises emanating from the end of the 2003-2008 commodity boom – from which the bosses extracted super-profits at the expense of the workers.
- (b) Mining is increasingly reliant on contract labour facilitated by labour-brokers that operate across the region - between one-third and a half of the work force on the platinum mines is sub-contracted labour.
- (c) Over 70 000 people have needlessly died in South African mining industry since its inception, including from silicosis and tuberculosis as a result of occupational hazards, and South Africa still has one of the highest mining death rates.
- (d) The Chamber of Mines has conceded that there are serious “problems of organisational culture” in South African mines.
- (e) The Peace and Stability Framework that has been signed in the mining industry.
- (f) The NUM has historically co-existed with other trade unions in the industry such as Solidariteit and UASA, despite the rivalry.
- (g) Last month the NUM submitted its wage demands to the Chamber of Mines for the 2013 wage negotiations pertaining to the gold and coal sectors.

- (h) Massive retrenchments in the industry over the past few years, which are continuing as highlighted by the looming retrenchments in Anglo Platinum which may affect about 6000 workers.
- (i) The sustained attacks on NUM by the mining conglomerates, especially Impala where the NUM offices have been shutdown and the company refuses to engage with the union, and Lonmin which has given the union an ultimatum with regard to its membership records despite the fact that the company is aware that the union cannot recruit freely and workers are being targeted for joining NUM.

Believing that:

- (a) The massive retrenchments, increasing labour broking and the establishment of AMCU on the back of the super-profits during the recent commodity-boom are engineered to prepare a new round of accumulation in a context where NUM would have been weakened in order to extract more super-profits from workers.
- (b) AMCU is a vigilante union that thrives under conditions of violence and therefore it uses warlordism and intimidation to recruit workers from the NUM, to establish its presence and to maintain its unelected leadership. This vigilantism has been tragically shown in the murder of a member of the NUM earlier this month at Lonmin's Western Platinum mine, near Marikana.
- (c) The NUM is correct in taking Lonmin to court over the fraudulent recognition of AMCU as a majority union on the basis of falsified records.
- (d) Labour brokers and loan sharks are equally responsible for the current plight and desperation amongst the mine workers, especially those on contract labour who are effectively debt-bondaged to the loan sharks.
- (e) The NUM's demands of a minimum of R7 000 for surface workers, R8 000 for underground and opencast workers, 15% increase for all other categories and the scaling-up of the Rock drill Operators job categories are legitimate demands that can and must be met by the bosses.

We therefore resolve to:

- (a) Call on the NUM to remain steadfast in pressing for the workers' demands placed before the Chamber of Mines and to pledge solidarity through action in the event of a strike across the NUM's regions that would be affected.
- (b) Call on the Farlam Commission to expand its scope to cover investigation into the ongoing violence in the platinum belt this year.
- (c) Call on the Farlam Commission to strengthen measures to protect witnesses.
- (d) Condemn the Lonmin's ultimatum on NUM and call on the company to withdraw it until the situation in the area has normalised and all unions are allowed to exist side by side in peace.
- (e) Pledge solidarity and support to the NUM in its quest for redress as it takes the company to court over the fraudulent recognition of AMCU as a majority union.
- (f) Join COSATU in demanding the restoration of peace, in particular in the Marikana area where Lonmin is operating in keeping with the Peace and Stability Framework.
- (g) Participate in the COSATU action against Impala on the 5th July to demand an end to union-bashing and that Impala must allow the NUM to operate without being intimidated and call for the NUM offices to be opened.
- (h) Support the joint COSATU/SACP rally of young workers in communities around Marikina that is scheduled next month.

- (i) Urgently call on COSATU to set up a high level national task team to coordinate our solidarity and support to the NUM. We must act decisively against and defeat vigilante unionism.

Limpopo

North West

1.3. SOCIO-ECOMIC WORK

1.3.1. Health Transformation

Noting that:

- (a) Although progress has been made, the full implementation of the 9th national congress resolutions on health transformation remains relevant.
- (b) Union leadership plays an important role in influencing Alliance and government policies and structures through the ANC Education and Health Committee and the establishment of the COSATU Health Committee.
- (c) The establishment of national, provincial and regional health subcommittees in our union has guided our campaigns and interventions in the health sector.
- (d) The establishment of national, provincial and regional Nurses' Forums has strengthened the work of our union amongst nurses.
- (e) There is a lack of adequate responses by our union at branch and regional levels on the pace of transformation agenda driven by the Department of Health (DOH).
- (f) Four task teams of the national health subcommittee have been established.
- (g) The national Department of Health (DOH) is accelerating the agenda of health transformation in respect of the management and leadership of hospitals, infrastructure development and access to health care for all.
- (h) Although ANC and our government are succeeding in providing radical and fundamental changes in policies to effect the transformation of the health care system of the country to benefit our people, implementation is behind as a result of constraints in infrastructure resources and capacity.
- (i) There is resistance from the private sector to the implementation of the turnaround strategy by the DOH Ten Point Plan.
- (j) The government's efforts in curbing the spread of HIV have resulted in:
 - The stabilisation of the prevalence of the disease as seen in the increase of 1.3% in the total population.
 - Reduction in the prevalence of the disease in youth between 15 and 24 from 13.6% to 8.5%.
- (k) The high pregnancy rate among young women reflects an increase in the risk of exposure to contracting HIV as seen in the increase in the prevalence rate of the disease for women between 15 and 49 from 15.9% to 17.4%.
- (l) Female condoms are not easily available thus denying women the right to decide on protection.
- (m) The rollout of the ARV single dose drug {fixed dose combination (FDC)} does not cover all people living with HIV and is not available at all institutions.
- (n) Nyaope, which is a mixture of different drugs such as heroin, dagga and ARV tablets, is now in common usage amongst drug users to the extent that patients are being robbed of their ARV tablets.

- (o) The Green Paper on NHI was published in August 2010 and included a statement that a multi-payer system for the NHI Fund will be investigated.
- (p) The White Paper on NHI has not yet been published.
- (q) Treasury has announced that the NHI Fund will be established by 2014 with funds drawn from the fiscus.
- (r) Interest has been shown by the private sector in the administration of the NHI Fund.
- (s) Ten (10) districts have been chosen to pilot the implementation of the NHI, the roll out of the 3 streams of the Re-engineering of Primary Health Care (PHC) and the facility improvement project.
- (t) Progress in the 10 pilot districts has been slow and uneven in that:
 - (i) There remain unfilled posts in the pilot sites.
 - Only 45% of specialist posts have been filled in the District Clinic Specialist Teams.
 - Community Health Workers (CHWs) have not been absorbed into the public sector and conditions of service remain unequal.
 - (ii) Only 4 provinces have appointed NHI project managers.
 - (iii) Facility improvement teams are not fully operational.
- (u) There is general lack of clarity on the role and mandate of health facility boards, especially in ensuring the strategic task of maintaining good governance and infrastructure improvement.
- (v) The difficulties of implementation in the pilot sites are derived from the dynamics of the provinces.
- (w) There is no clarity in determining the end date of the pilot site project.
- (x) The ANC Mangaung conference resolution indicates that *"cleaning services, security services, food services and laundry services as well as linen supply must be provided in house and no longer be outsourced"*.
- (y) Outsourced companies are predominantly responsible for delivery in those focus areas which rated low compliance scores in the National Healthcare Facilities Baseline Audit.
- (z) The union is engaging in a campaign against outsourced services in the public sector.
- (aa) The government is encouraging communities to form cooperatives as a means of ensuring that our people can benefit through contributing to the economy.
- (bb) Cooperatives are participating in the current system of awarding tenders although few are awarded tenders by government departments.
- (cc) The Human Resources for Health Strategy and the Nursing Strategy have been released by the DOH.
- (dd) The current use of a standard organogram at PHC level in urban and rural settings has a negative impact on the staffing of facilities in rural areas.
- (ee) A new university in Northern Cape will be established.
- (ff) There is wide use of Remuneration Outside the Public Service (RWOPS), particularly by nurses and doctors who have benefitted from increases in remuneration through the granting of Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD).
- (gg) There is a shortage of nurses in the public sector and this shortage shall be exacerbated by the number of nurses in the public sector who are due to retire within the next 5-8 years.
- (hh) The 3-year nursing diploma has been rescinded by the South African Nursing Council (SANC).

- (ii) Despite the general level of progress in the sector, there is still a growing number of incidents of negligence by health personnel in state hospitals that often lead to litigation against the state by patients.
- (jj) Compliance with the Skills Development and Occupational Health and Safety Acts is lacking in provincial departments.
- (kk) The government launched a state-owned pharmaceutical enterprise to produce Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients (APIs) as a joint project between the Departments of Science and Technology, Health and Trade and Industry in February 2012.
- (ll) The structure of the entity allowed for a Swiss company, Lonzo to have a 49% share, local BEE companies to have a 20% share with the South African Government holding a 31% share. In May 2013, Lonzo withdrew from the agreement.
- (mm) The state relies on private pharmaceutical companies for manufacturing of drugs.

Believing that:

- (a) Some resolutions of the 9th national congress should continue to be pursued after the 10th national congress.
- (b) The national health subcommittee was established by the national executive committee to deal with various challenges in the health sector.
- (c) The national health subcommittee task teams will strengthen national, provincial and regional structures in the union.
- (d) The provincial health subcommittees have an important role to play in:
 - Jealously guarding and defending a progressive NHI based on the principles adopted by NEHAWU and the federation.
 - Keeping a watching brief on the encroachment of the PPPs into the public sector.
 - Taking responsibility for the strengthening of health cadres at branch, regional and provincial levels.
- (e) Health is a critical apex for South Africa which is still confronted by triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.
- (f) The major sources of ill-health are the socio-economic conditions under which the poor live including the lack of adequate nourishment, clean and available water, proper sanitation, decent and affordable housing, clean environments, basic education and decent work under safe conditions.
- (g) The full rollout of the Ten Point Plan is crucial to achieving an efficient, accessible and affordable health care service for all.
- (h) NEHAWU is strategically located to work jointly with the DOH on the transformation of the health sector.
- (i) The pregnancy levels of young people indicate that there is widespread ignorance of the campaign message of "ABC".
- (j) The prevalence statistics indicate that young women are most vulnerable in terms of the spread of the disease.
- (k) Government has taken the right decision to provide the fixed dose combination (FDC) drugs to all those who are infected.
- (l) NEHAWU is well placed to take a lead in raising awareness on the abuse of ARV drugs.
- (m) The NHI is a transformative project in both scope and scale and will meaningfully deliver improved quality of life and restore dignity to the poor.
- (n) The NHI, as a system of universal coverage must be based on the following principles:

- Right to health care.
 - Social solidarity.
 - Equity of access.
 - Health care as a public good.
- (o) In order to build a genuine system of universal health care, the public sector must be built to become the main and ultimately sole provider of health services, with the role of the private sector diminishing progressively during the 14 year implementation period.
- (p) The NHI Fund must be built through the pooling of funds from general revenue, taxes on high-earning individual taxpayers, payroll linked progressive contribution tax and contribution by employers.
- (q) The NHI Fund should be a public body with management autonomy and strong mechanisms for appropriate governance, and be accountable to the Minister of Health.
- (r) The implementation of the NHI in the pilot sites will be a vital phase in ensuring that public sector capacity to deliver services will transform the provision of health care to the unemployed and the poor.
- (s) The success of the pilot sites cannot be sacrificed through inefficiencies of provinces.
- (t) Community participation is an integral aspect of the Primary Health Care Approach (PHCA).
- (u) Health facility boards must ensure that hospital management is accountable to the needs of the community which they serve.
- (v) Outsourcing compromises the delivery of accessible quality health care to the predominantly poor section of society as well as the safety of patients and workers.
- (w) Outsourcing will hamper the successful implementation of the NHI.
- (x) Attempts to introduce cooperatives to provide public services do not change the nature of outsourced services.
- (y) The campaign against outsourcing seeks to create decent jobs and to provide affordable services to our people as opposed to expensive services provided by the private sector.
- (z) Cooperatives are formed to create economic opportunities for communities, to alleviate poverty and to contribute to economic development.
- (aa) Human resource development in the health sector should be a key priority of government.
- (bb) Cognisance must be taken of the differing conditions and requirements of the services in urban and rural settings.
- (cc) Current higher education institutions do not produce sufficient professionals for the public sector.
- (dd) That RWOPS has a negative impact on the delivery of services in hospitals.
- (ee) One of the major causes of the incidents of negligence is the high level of vacant posts and the underfunding for these posts leading to shifts where staff shortages are a common occurrence.
- (ff) Non compliance to the Skills Development and the Occupational Health and Safety Acts occurs in all provinces.
- (gg) The decision to establish a state-owned pharmaceutical enterprise remains correct and to protect the security of supply of drugs, the state must have a majority shareholding in Ketlaphela.
- (hh) The withdrawal of Lonza allows the government to change the ownership structure of the enterprise.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm and extend the resolutions taken by our 9th national congress on the transformation of health, National Health Insurance, Human Resources, Primary Health Care, HIV and AIDS and Pharmaceutical Sector with particular regard to:
 - Expanding the numbers and roles of community health workers and community care workers and integrate them into the national health system; and
 - Mid-level workers including in dental care.
- (b) Direct the task teams of the national health subcommittee to focus on nursing, human resources, NHI pilot sites and cadre development.
- (c) Determine that provincial health subcommittees must:
 - (i) Drive the implementation of NEHAWU resolutions and campaigns on health.
 - (ii) Engage Alliance components to provide leadership in the implementation of the NHI.
 - (iii) Drive the launching of regional health subcommittees who will focus on:
 - Intensifying the education campaign about the NHI as a terrain of struggle.
 - Engaging with the NHI office in the district regarding monitoring the business plan.
 - Monitoring the implementation of the re-engineering of PHC.
 - Mounting a campaign on improvements based on the 6 priority focus areas alongside the campaign to in source outsourced services.
 - (iv) Instruct all regions and health branches of the union to institutionalise the transformation of the sector in their respective branch programmes and mandates including ensuring that hospital management transforms the operations of the hospitals.
 - (v) Call for an end of all projects in the province which involve PPPs.
- (d) Ensure that provincial nurse coordinators are fulltime shop stewards in order to develop active nursing forums at branch level.
- (e) Roll out in all provinces as a matter of urgency, cadre development training developed by the national health subcommittee task team.
- (f) Campaign for a single public health system and an end to the current two-tier health system.
- (g) Collaborate with SANCO and other progressive health structures such as Peoples' Health Movement and communities in our campaigns.
- (h) Call for focussed attention on inter-sectoral coordination with particular emphasis on key social determinants of health e.g. food, sanitation, transport, housing, water, safe and decent work. This must involve advocacy towards government sectors e.g. Human Settlements (housing), Agriculture, Trade and Industry (food).
- (i) Ensure that union branches and regions in particular, work jointly with management of hospitals to assist the DOH in operationalising the transformation agenda directly in hospitals.
- (j) Defend the Ten Point Plan and support the government in the full implementation of the plan including NHI and call for the centralisation of Hospital Revitalisation Fund.
- (k) Run in partnership with government and progressive NGOs on:
 - Education programmes to educate our members on the impact of HIV and AIDS.

- Awareness programmes aimed at combating the stigma associated with HIV and AIDS amongst our members.
 - HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) and wellness programmes throughout our union.
- (l) Ensure that all NEHAWU programmes take particular account of the vulnerable status of young women.
- (m) Call for the adequate supply of condoms, especially female condoms, in public places.
- (n) Support the Department of Basic Education programme on sex education in schools.
- (o) Call for the supply and distribution of male and female condoms in Higher Education Institutions and FETCs.
- (p) Campaign for the immediate rollout of the FDC to all people living with HIV at all health facilities.
- (q) Call on members to join the campaign which the ANC government launched on Youth Day under the theme "*Working Together for Youth Development and a Drug Free South Africa*".
- (r) Affirm the resolution of the 53rd ANC Conference that the ANC must continue to guide and oversee the government completion in 2013 of the White Paper and legislation on the NHI.
- (s) Call for the NHI fund to be established as a single public body with its main responsibilities being to pool funds and purchase health services with no outsourcing of administration.
- (t) Call on government to:
- Indicate when the pooling of funds into the NHI Fund will be in place.
 - Ensure that the NHI Fund will be ring-fenced so that it can never be used for PPPs in the implementation of the pilot sites.
- (u) Call on the DOH to release details of the plan for the proposed 14 year implementation period.
- (v) Campaign for the progressive reduction in the role of the private sector in the delivery of services during the 14 year implementation period.
- (w) Launch regional health subcommittees in the NHI pilot site districts which must be fully functional by September 2013 so that they can participate in the roll-out of the NHI.
- (x) Draw COSATU and the federation affiliates, especially health sector affiliates, into the roll-out process of the NHI pilot sites.
- (y) Campaign for the inclusion of labour representatives in the composition of health facility boards.
- (z) Ensure that labour and community representatives are capacitated so that they can serve effectively on these boards.
- (aa) Call for the administration of the pilot districts to be directly controlled by the DOH.
- (bb) Call for clarity from the DOH as to the date for the full roll out to the remaining 42 districts.
- (cc) Support the ANC 53rd national conference resolution on the in-sourcing of critical public health services.
- (dd) Call for a moratorium on future outsourcing of all public health services and to call for in-sourcing back to the state of all services that are currently outsourced.
- (ee) Step up our campaign against outsourcing in all provinces.
- (ff) Ensure that cooperatives only manufacture and serve as suppliers of goods to government, not to provide services on behalf of government.
- (gg) Call on government to identify goods for which cooperatives could be given priority in the awarding of tenders for the provision of goods and supplies.
- (hh) Call for an in-depth interaction with the DOH to resolve the concerns of our union based on decisions of our 9th and 10th national congresses which include:

- (i) The transformation of the Health Professional Councils (i.e. SANC, HPCSA & SAPC), with particular regard to ensuring that their role in accrediting training curricula is in line with and supportive of the transformation of the health system.
 - (ii) The re-orientation of the training in the health science faculties to be more focused on the primary health care approach (PHCA).
 - (iii) The re-orientation of the health professionals currently employed in the public service to ensure a deep understanding of the PHCA.
 - (iv) The transformation of the Medical Research Council (MRC) and National Health Laboratory Services (NHLS) and the integration of a transformed NHLS into the Department of Health.
 - (v) The banning of remuneration work outside public service (RWOPS).
 - (vi) Training of nurses to become a national competency.
 - (vii) Timeline of the opening of refurbished nursing colleges.
 - (viii) Reinstatement of the 3 year registered nurse training and the upgrading of enrolled nurses and nursing assistants.
 - (ix) Development of an investment plan to resource accelerated production of health personnel.
- (ii) Ensure that standardised health facility organograms are not used for both urban and rural PHC settings.
 - (jj) Ensure that in addition to the new medical school in Limpopo, the new Universities of the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga must include a health sciences faculty.
 - (kk) Engage provincial Departments of Health on the causes of unending litigations as a result of negligence by health personnel.
 - (ll) Develop a national programme of mass action aimed at mobilising members on the Skills Development and the Health and Safety Acts.
 - (mm) Call for the government to speed up the programme of establishing a 100% state-owned pharmaceutical company.

1.3.2. **Education Transformation**

1.3.2.1. Union Work on Education Transformation

Noting that:

- (a) Progress has been made in the implementation of resolutions of the 9th national congress regarding basic education, further education and higher education including skills development.
- (b) The national executive committee established a subcommittee on education which guided our education interventions and campaigns.
- (c) NEHAWU has influenced the ANC Education and Health Subcommittee and the establishment of a COSATU Education Committee.
- (d) Union leaders played a strategic role in the broader skills revolution project providing leadership.
- (e) The Department of Education was divided into the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) after the 2009 elections.

Believing that:

- (a) Education is not ideologically neutral and in the South African context remains biased to the historical apartheid situation as well as the capitalist mode of production.
- (b) Education is central to the true liberation of the South African society and should not be the responsibility of government alone.
- (c) NEHAWU has a critical role to play in transforming education in our country.
- (d) Our overarching vision of Peoples' Education for Peoples' Power remains a yardstick to measure the extent of education transformation in our country.

Resolve to:

- (a) Use our subcommittee on education to elaborate on the features of Peoples Education and the progress made on the transformation of education in the country.
- (b) Work with other progressive forces in the education sector, and advocate for a national debate of the meaning of People's Education for People's Power.
- (c) Strive to understand the unfolding education transformation within the broader overarching vision of society as reflected in Peoples' Education for Peoples' Power.
- (d) Ensure that there is free education until university degree level.
- (e) Reaffirm all resolutions taken by the 9th national congress on Basic Education, Further Education and Training Colleges, Higher Education and Skills Development.

1.3.2.2. Basic Education

Noting that:

- (a) While there is an increasing percentage in the matric results, the number of pupils lost in the system between Grade 1 and Grade 12 is alarming.
- (b) The former Model C schools still dominate, in terms of performance, when it comes to academic and sporting excellence.
- (c) There is policy confusion on where the responsibility of determining admission to schools resides as reflected in the recent court action between the different education departments and School Government Bodies (SGBs), notably in former Model C schools.
- (d) Government has emphasised the strengthening of early childhood education as part of the country's foundation for our education system.
- (e) There are great disparities with regard to the state of early childhood education in rural areas as compared to urban areas.
- (f) These disparities are clearly manifested in the form of infrastructure, human and material resources.
- (g) There is partial outsourcing of infrastructure maintenance and services resulting in disparities across the schooling system.
- (h) Social celebrities have a strong influence in the lives of school going children and teenagers.
- (i) There are challenges with regard to the supply of learner support material to schools.

Believing that:

- (a) It not only takes good policy interventions to make schooling successful but it also takes strong leadership and value systems to make success of a schooling system.

- (b) The SGBs and school principals play a pivotal role in the leadership of schools.
- (c) Former Model C schools' SGBs still want to maintain white supremacy and keep these schools as a bastion of white domination.
- (d) These challenges compromise the education of children especially African students.
- (e) The energy and concentration of social celebrities must be harnessed to have positive influence in school going children/teenagers.
- (f) The challenge of learner support material has been used to score cheap political points.

Resole to:

- (a) Call for the improvement of schools' infrastructure and equipment and campaign for the increasing participation of communities in the upkeep and conditions of schools.
- (b) Engage SADTU, COSAS, SANCO and street committees to encourage a positive approach to schooling in previously disadvantaged areas.
- (c) Work together with SADTU to accelerate the schools' sports programmes in township schools.
- (d) Campaign for the participation of parents/guardians in the education of their children and mobilise progressive activist parents to transform the respective SGBs particularly in former Model C schools.
- (e) Campaign for human resources, including educators and support staff, to be permanently employed by the department of basic education.
- (f) Encourage workers to form part of the school governing bodies in order to facilitate progressive change in schools.
- (g) Call for government to in-source the supply of learner support materials.
- (h) Engage social celebrities, through Creative Workers Union, to adopt poor performing schools with a view to positively influencing scholars.
- (i) Call for early childhood education to be structured, formalized, and fully integrated into the department of basic education.
- (j) Condemn the usage of learner support material as a political point scoring activity.

1.3.2.3. Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges

Noting that:

- (a) The funding of FET colleges has been increased by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).
- (b) Although there is a shortage of artisan skills in our labour market a lower percentage of students opt for these career choices.
- (c) The FET Turnaround Strategy Document is being implemented and includes the migration of FET staff to the DHET.
- (d) Workplace skills development plans often caters for managers and ignore the junior categories of employment.
- (e) Irregular lecture hours (some till as late as 20:00) exposes students to all manner of criminal activities with students having to travel very long distances after late night classes, exacerbated by the shortage of residences within the campuses.
- (f) There is a dire need of technical skills in science and mathematics.
- (g) Teachers and nursing training colleges have been closed.
- (h) Teachers and nurses leave our country to provide services in better paying economies.

Believing that:

- (a) FET colleges present an opportunity to close the skills gap which the country is facing.
- (b) The widespread location of these colleges allows for easy access by working class communities.
- (c) It is through massive skills development that we will start to address the critical shortage of artisans in our country.
- (d) The re-opening of the teacher and nurse training colleges will play an important role in addressing shortage of skills experienced currently in our country.
- (e) Attractive and/or competitive salaries will ensure that qualified teachers and nurses remain in the country.
- (f) The employment of young people into technical skills jobs will ensure service to our communities.
- (g) The FET Turnaround Strategy will bring about transformation of the sector.

Resole to:

- (a) Strengthen labour representation in all processes of formulating and finalising WSP and ATR and ensure equitable implementation of the workplace skills plan.
- (b) Build the capacity of shop stewards in training committees to ensure that all workers benefit from the workplace skills development plan.
- (c) Campaign for FET colleges to be used as training centres for workplace skills development of employees.
- (d) Campaign for the re-opening of the teachers and nurses colleges and for all colleges including agricultural colleges to be integrated into the DHET.
- (e) Campaign for total transformation of FET college curriculum and the strengthening of quality assurance system in the sector.
- (f) Engage government to pay attractive and competitive salaries to retain skilled individuals within the system.
- (g) Engage with the DHET in ensuring that the FET Turnaround Strategy responds to our call for the transformation in the FET sector.
- (h) Call for the government to resuscitate partnerships between state-owned enterprises and FET colleges for the provision of work integrated learning.

1.3.2.4. Higher Education

Noting that:

- (a) The Higher Education Ministry has made a number of policy changes since the inception of the DHET.
- (b) Many historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) have been put under administration by the ministry for one reason or the other.
- (c) There seem to be growing perception that the ministry finds it easy to intervene in HDIs as compared to Historically Privileged Institutions (HPIs) such as the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Stellenbosch and the Free State.
- (d) The Central University of Technology (CUT) successfully challenged the decision of the Ministry to place the institution under administration.

- (e) There is a lot of emphasis on councils, institutional forums and senates pursuing and advancing the “interest” of the institution rather than of the constituencies.
- (f) The establishment of the new universities in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape is on track.

Believing that:

- (a) Policy changes put in place since the establishment of the DHET seek to ensure progressive transformation of universities and not cosmetic transformation as demonstrated in many universities.
- (b) The Ministry has proven to be susceptible to accepting recommendations of Independent Assessors (IAs) without applying due diligence on their (IAs) work and recommendations with the CUT case as a point of reference.
- (c) The composition of university councils cannot and must not be determined only on the basis of skills and knowledge, representation and participatory democracy must also play a pivotal role in this respect.
- (d) The drivers of so-called institutional autonomy are not themselves class neutral, and their interest has often been proven to be the pursuit of a neo-liberal agenda under the guise of institutional autonomy.
- (e) All stakeholders should be involved at all levels in the university to ensure community ownership of the universities.

Resole to:

- (a) Support the Ministry on key and progressive policy proposals to transform the higher education sector.
- (b) Engage the Ministry to take action against universities, within the legal framework, that are proven to be perpetuating racism.
- (c) Fully support the efforts of the Minister of HET in ensuring the implementation of the legislation which challenges the autonomy of universities.
- (d) Call for an amendment of Higher Education Act to address the fundamental challenge of the skewed composition of university councils as stipulated in different institutions’ statutes and ensure that labour unions are directly represented in all governance structures of universities.
- (e) Call for the DHET to involve all stakeholders in the process of establishment of the new universities in the three provinces including in the compositions of interim councils.
- (f) Call on the Minister to engage progressive organizations in the process towards people to university councils.
- (g) Call for partnership between government and private sector to promote work integrated learning for university students.

1.3.2.5. Skills Development

Noting that:

- (a) Workers are subjected to some education and training conducted by the employer which are not adequately monitored as to their quality and compliance with the legislation.
- (b) Employers often conduct minimal and low quality training, misrepresenting this training in their report so as to enable them to receive incentives to which they should not be entitled.
- (c) Youth unemployment in South Africa is high.

- (d) Unemployment contributes to the increase of substance abuse and criminal activities by our youth.
- (e) There is lack of economic participation by our youth in the country.
- (f) On 13 July 2011, the National Skills Accord was signed by Government, Labour, Community and Business.

Believing that:

- (a) Members may end up being certificated and not receiving the necessary capacity building.
- (b) It is crucial that staff and office bearers are regularly capacitated to stay abreast of educational demands in their workplaces and for political and economic development.
- (c) A culture of learning and skills development must be created in line with the National Human Resource Development Strategy.
- (d) The implementation of signed agreements in the National Skills Accord is not compulsory.
- (e) The National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) was established to address youth development.
- (f) More jobs and entrepreneurship opportunities will contribute positively to address unemployment and substance abuse.

Resole to:

- (a) Campaign for the decentralisation of all SETA's bursaries accordingly to provinces as per their skills development needs/plan.
- (b) Campaign for the establishment of a monitoring process of the implementation of the agreements of the National Skills Accord.
- (c) Ensure that the NYDA budget must augment the skills of our youth in the fields of maths and science.
- (d) Ensure that the management of the NYDA fund is monitored and measured against performance.
- (e) Ensure that in NEHAWU:
 - (i) Each province identifies its training needs per office bearers and staff and develops its own Workplace Skills Plan.
 - (ii) Educators are regularly capacitated, especially in political and policy development.
 - (iii) The union must embark on training the skills and education sub-structure committees about their role and responsibilities, so as to empower them to exercise their role and responsibilities efficiently and effectively on behalf of the union.
 - (iv) The education offered by the union must be accredited in terms of SAQA National Qualification Framework (NQF) standards.

1.3.3. **Economic Transformation**

1.3.3.1. Economics of the Second Phase of Transition

Noting:

- (a) The resolutions of our 9th national congress on economic transformation, industrial and trade policy and the worker's bank.

- (b) That young people constitute 63% of the working population, yet they make 72% of the unemployed.
- (c) That there has been vehement rejection of the National Development Plan (NDP) by some affiliates of COSATU while the Federation has not formalised its position on the NDP.

Believing that:

- (a) The resolutions of the Mangaung ANC Conference on the economic transformation are a stepping stone towards the total liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from the economic bondage.
- (b) The approach to youth employment which recognises that aggregate employment needs to be increased in order to avoid displacement and competition between youth and older workers for the same jobs.
- (c) The position of the federation will clarify the rest of its affiliates on how to relate to the National Development Plan and Vision 2030.
- (d) The government's newly adopted NDP undermines the progressive interventions suggested in the NGP and IPAP2.
- (e) While we acknowledge the diagnosis of the social ills as outlined in the NDP, we must wage a strategic battle to defend the NGP and IPAP2 going forward engaging on the NDP.
- (f) South Africa's trade patterns are largely with countries of the north.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm our 9th national congress resolutions on economic transformation within the context of current Second Phase of our Transition, known as the Lula moment.
- (b) Support and take part in the implementation of the 53rd ANC National Conference resolutions particularly on the economic transformation.
- (c) Continue to engage government on the need to fill all vacant posts and re-skill existing unemployed graduates as part of building state capacity.
- (d) Contribute to the overhaul of the NDP.
- (e) Call on government to diversify its trade patterns across Africa, especially with SADC and BRICS countries.

1.3.3.2. Green Economy

Noting that:

- (a) There is a recognised potential in the Green Economy to create large sustainable jobs.
- (b) The government has budgeted R800 million over a 3 year cycle on the green jobs initiatives.
- (c) Organised labour made a commitment to help form co-operatives for retrenched employees with a view to training them install the 200 000 solar water geysers however; this agenda has been hijacked by tenderpreneurs, especially in local municipalities.
- (d) There is a lack of commitment from multi-national companies to make a clear commitment to create large sustainable green jobs.

Believe that:

- (a) The lack of political will from authorities undermine the implementation of some key and progressive decisions that address the issue of job creation through popular means such as co-operatives.

- (b) The agenda of creating jobs in the green economy cannot be the sole responsibility of the government.

Resolve to:

- (a) Encourage COSATU and affiliates to develop a campaign on the environment and the economy to the effect of climate change on the economy.
- (b) Engage, through COSATU, with different spheres of government to identify potential areas of job creation in the green economy especially for retrenched workers, women and youth.

1.3.3.3. Progressive Developmental State

Noting that:

- (a) The essence of the political and ideological meaning of the developmental state remains greatly contested by different class forces in the Mass Democratic Movement.
- (b) The National Development Plan has brought about new discourse of discussion about the correct definition of the Developmental State.
- (c) The agenda of moving towards a progressive developmental state has been non-existence if not very slow.
- (d) The mandate of the SARB must be drawn from and be driven by the objectives of the developmental state on behalf of the demands of the people.
- (e) The South African Reserve Bank (SARB) remains one of the few reserve banks that is not wholly state owned.
- (f) Only a wholly state owned reserve bank can ensure that the mandate of the bank complements the commitment of the state in ensuring creation of jobs, reducing poverty and inequality.
- (g) The SARB continues to pursue the discredited macro-economic policy of inflation targeting.

Believing that:

- (a) The developmental state's definition must go beyond merely an interventionist state but must encompass the notion of a state that defines the macro-economic fundamentals of the economy and work comprehensively to hegemonise them in the interests of an economy removed from the classical ideas of a neo-liberal state.
- (b) It is important to recognise that the state will continue to be a contested terrain.
- (c) The task to build and consolidate the developmental state is the central task of the revolutionary movement in relation to the transformation of the state.
- (d) The progressive trade union movement has to lead the way for all organised workers in shaping the character of the developmental state.
- (e) Nehawu as a union that organises the largest constituency in the public sector bears the greater responsibility in the creation of the developmental state.
- (f) The Alliance needs to defend the character of the developmental state from the consistent assault from the neoliberal clique in the state as well as outside the state.
- (g) Driving the agenda of a developmental state is not and cannot be class neutral.
- (h) The lack of technical capacity and establishment of uniform entry requirements in the public service and municipalities and the over reliance on consultants and tenders undermine the developmental agenda of the state.
- (i) The Developmental state:

- (i) Must be a strong state that decisively intervenes in the economy to redistribute resources in order to address and overcome:
 - the historical divisions resulting from our Apartheid legacy;
 - deal with poverty and inequalities in our society resulting from class oppression; and
 - rural under-development
- (ii) Must strive to achieve universal access to
 - quality public services;
 - decent jobs;
 - food security; and
 - Decent housing.
- (iii) The outlook must essentially be:
 - working class centred;
 - based on participatory democracy; and
 - Anti-imperialist.

Resolve to:

- (a) Ensure that the union, in all spheres, aggressively adopts a clear programme of action around ensuring that all spheres of government are seen to be implementing the agenda of a developmental state.
- (b) Intensify our struggles to halt the corporatisation of the state.
- (c) Collectively participate in the public debate to defend the notion of the developmental state while challenging the NDP's conception of an ideologically mute suggestion of a merely capable state.
- (d) Campaign for a fiscal policy consistent with the aims of the developmental state.
- (e) Campaign for the total ownership of the SARB by the state on behalf of the people.
- (f) Ensure that the mandate of the bank is about targeting economic growth, employment targets, reducing the crisis of inequality of income, inequality of access to basic goods and inequality of economic power and poverty.

1.3.3.4. Energy and Electricity Tariffs

Noting that:

- (a) The electricity price increase is a major blow for the majority of the poor people in South Africa.
- (b) The electricity price increase will severely affect the poor while Eskom will continue to make huge profits and pay exuberant bonuses to their bosses.
- (c) The electricity price increase is being passed on to the poor and it is going to impact on the rollout of electricity program to the poor.
- (d) The fuel is the most sought after commodity in a modern industrial economy such as that of South Africa.
- (e) South Africa produces about 40% of our fuel through SASOL, but we are charged oil and petrol at international price.
- (f) SASOL is allowed to practice import parity pricing.
- (g) The development of nuclear power and tracking is under discussion.

Believing that:

- (a) The interests of the poor are not taken into consideration when reaching a decision on the fuel price increases.
- (b) The discussion regarding nuclear power development and tracking should be discussed thoroughly because of the different perspectives in the labour movement.

Resolve to:

- (a) Ensure that organized labour and the broader civil society take stronger responsibility to be actively involved in energy policy matter.
- (b) Campaign for a more representative NERSA that will consider the interests of the workers and the poor during price decisions.
- (c) Campaign for government to lead a drive to convert to renewable sources of energy, such as solar panels.
- (d) Lobby government to outlaw import parity pricing in South Africa generally and make SASOL's oil in particular, available to South Africa at a reasonable price.
- (e) Convene a broader consultative forum on the integrated resource plan (IRP) with a specific emphasis on nuclear power.
- (f) Have our own internal discussion with all stake holders involved in order to present the work they have done, in particular on energy (research).
- (g) Call for COSATU to convene a workshop and resolve the differences regarding nuclear energy and tracking in a central executive committee meeting.
- (h) Call for the government to convene the national energy summit and in preparation for the summit call for the alliance energy summit.

1.3.3.5. Campaign against Road Tolling

Noting that:

- (a) The tolling system is impacting negatively on the poor communities and the working class in general.
- (b) The toll system is ideological in that it has privatised public roads and their maintenance to the detriment of the working class and the poor.
- (c) The short distance between increasing prices of tolls impact negatively on workers and the poor.
- (d) The dilapidated public transport system that continues to expose workers and the poor to fatal accidents and deaths.
- (e) Not all workers are using public transport to and from work due to its current dilapidated state.
- (f) The campaign led by COSATU against e-tolling has not made an impact, and has been uniting the opposition against the ANC and its led government.

Believing that:

- (a) Government can raise money for maintenance of the roads and also recover the money used when building roads for 2010.
- (b) The e-tolling system will severely affect the socio economic status of workers and emerging small entrepreneurs.

- (c) Government should first upgrade the public transport infrastructure in order to provide alternative transport for the people.
- (d) Economic situation and low salary of workers cannot enable any one to maintain payment of e-tolls.
- (e) While the COSATU led campaign against e-tolling remains correct, the approach has unintentionally divided the progressive forces, and united the opposition against the ANC led Alliance and ANC led government.

Resolve to:

- (a) Intensify our campaigns against the E-tolling system across the country with a different approach that will unite the progressive forces.
- (b) Ensure that, back-to-back with this campaign, should be the campaign for improved public transport and infrastructure that will be affordable, and ensure the safety of our people.
- (c) Campaign for the government to use other sources of money to maintain roads in the country including all high ways and freeways.

1.3.3.6. Cooperatives and the Campaign against Outsourcing

Noting that:

- (a) The government is encouraging people to form cooperatives as a means of ensuring distributive approach economic benefits, and contributing to the economy.
- (b) Cooperatives are currently operating under the competitive system of the tendering system.
- (c) There is a campaign waged by the union against outsourced services.
- (d) So far only few cooperatives get tenders in government and very few in the private sector.

Believing that:

- (a) Cooperatives are formed to create more jobs and to alleviate poverty in society.
- (b) They further contribute to the economic development.
- (c) Their formation is to increase production within the economic wheel of our country.
- (d) The attempt to introduce cooperatives in government to provide public services is still outsourcing of services.
- (e) The campaign against outsourcing is ideological as it seeks to strengthen public service to provide affordable services to our people as opposed to expensive services provided by the private sector.

Resolve that:

- (a) Cooperatives must only manufacture and produce but not render services as service providers like companies.
- (b) Alternative cooperatives must serve as suppliers of goods to government, not to provide services on behalf of government.
- (c) For purposes of ensuring sustainability of cooperatives government should identify goods that must be procured from cooperatives without tendering, or to give cooperative priority in awarding of tenders for the provision goods.
- (d) NEHAWU must continue to campaign against outsourcing in all provinces.

Mpumalanga

Northern Cape

1.4. Organisational Work

1.4.1. Seamless Machinery

Noting that:

- (a) There has been substantial progress in turning the state of the Head Office around, in coordinating of the union programs from the centre by the Secretariat, and improving the way the union services members at all levels.
- (b) Challenges persist in some Head Office service centres; between the Head Office, Provinces, Regions and Branches; and in institutionalising the reorientation at all levels to improve service to members.
- (c) Service centres at all levels must continue to support the union's core work of organising and servicing members (horizontal integration).
- (d) The link between the Head Office, Provinces, Regions and Branches must be seamless to implement the organisational priorities of the national program of action (vertical integration).
- (e) The union's reporting and accounting processes and systems must be applied to every level of the union to make sure that operational priorities are implemented.
- (f) The Union Machinery Review Task Team (UMRTT) has been established to work on restructuring the Head Office service centres to improve effectiveness and efficiency.
- (g) The National Organising Sub-committee has been established to take forward the broad organisational strategy in the union.

Believing that:

- (a) The Secretariat and Head Office service centres must continue to coordinate and drive strategies to implement the organisational priorities in the union from the centre.
- (b) The Provincial Planning Meetings, and the Provincial Organisers Forums, assist the provinces to develop and operationalise their provincial programs in provinces and regions.
- (c) These Provincial meetings are not held monthly, but they rely on Head Office, leading to the uneven implementation of the national programs across Provinces and Regions.
- (d) There is no evidence of convening Regional meetings, led by the Regional Secretaries and attended by all Regional staff, to implement the organisational priorities.
- (e) There is a need to strengthen the co-ordination of operational meetings between the service centres at Head Office and in Provinces, and these operational meetings must become institutionalised.
- (f) The system of accounting from all levels to OSEC is working with National Organisers, PHOSECs and Regional Organisers complying with submitting monthly reports.
- (g) Provincial Secretaries have a big role to play in the implementation of the reporting and accounting system at both the level of Provinces and Regions.
- (h) The union has not yet forced the regions to account on implementing the national programs.
- (i) Education and Paralegal officers must comply with the reporting and accounting system.
- (j) The UMRTT led restructuring in Head Office must be extended to provinces and regions.
- (k) The National Organising Sub-committee must be replicated in Provinces to support the PEC on organisational tasks and make decisions.
- (l) The Education and Legal strategy must flow into the work of the National Organising Sub-committee.

Resolve that:

- (a) The Secretariat must strengthen the co-ordination of the operational meetings between the service centres at Head Office.
- (b) Post Congress the CEC will develop and adopt a National Program of action and as a permanent feature all Provinces will hold Provincial Planning Meeting to operationalise the National Program of Action.
- (c) The Provincial Secretaries must co-ordinate the convening of monthly meetings in the Provinces to plan and operationalise the organisational priorities of the union, as these meetings are not negotiable and must be institutionalised.
- (d) Regional Secretaries must convene monthly meetings as a minimum with all staff to implement the organisational priorities of the union, and Regional Secretaries must be held accountable.
- (e) As the first line of intervention, the Regional Secretaries and PHOSECs must enforce compliance by getting Regional Organisers to submit reports on implementing the organisational priorities of the union.
- (f) All provincial reports regarding organisational matters, including PHOSEC consolidations, must be signed off by the Provincial Secretary, and all regional reports must be signed off by the Regional Secretary.
- (g) The union must develop a monitoring tool, and set up administrative systems in provinces and regions to strengthen accounting and reporting.
- (h) Provincial Organising Sub-committees must be set up in all provinces to take forward the national organising strategy in the provinces and regions, and to support the PEC on organisational tasks.
- (i) We must ensure the integration of our constitutional structures to take forward the agreed common national program starting with provincial and regional executive committees.
- (j) The first NEC of the 10th National Congress must get a UMRTT report on the state of Head Office before undertaking a thorough going Organisational Development process.

1.4.2. **Building Strong Branches that are Class Consciousness**

Noting that:

- (a) The 9th National Congress Resolution to build strong and vibrant branches that are politically conscious, and the 10th National Congress theme of building strong workplace organisation, is informed by the need to greatly improve service to members.
- (b) The union struggled to gather detailed information on the state of branches using a Branch questionnaire demonstrating that building organisation is not a simple task.
- (c) The branch questionnaire results indicate that the union must deal with many challenges if we are to have strong workplace organisation.
- (d) The results show that many branches are not in term of office and don't have a properly constituted BEC, but the CEC took the decision to put on hold all branch congresses pending the discussion on the realignment of term of office of all constitutional structures.
- (e) The results also indicate that many regions are failing to implement Constitutional decisions such as setting up key sub-structures in branches.
- (f) The political and ideological orientation and lack of organisational capacity of shop stewards, makes it difficult to realise the establishment of strong workplace organisation that is politically class conscious.

- (g) Not all members are political active in their respective communities, and because most members are only interested in bread and butter issues, branches don't link up their workplace struggles to the broader community struggles.
- (h) Branches don't report to regions on a monthly basis so it is harder to detect the challenges that require appropriate interventions
- (i) In many instances the weak state of branches is a reflection of the weak capacity of regions to deliver effective service to members by supporting branches.

Believing that:

- (a) The 10th National Congress theme to build strong workplace organisation requires properly constituted branches as the most basic unit to organise and service members.
- (b) What we do with the results are most important, as they show how pronounced the question of workplace organisation is cutting across the entire organisation – what might be termed “a crisis”.
- (c) There is little evidence of regions attending to areas of weakness, such as making sure there is a full complement of BOBs, a properly constituted BEC, regular meetings of the BOBs and BEC, running monthly general meetings, meeting management and establishing key strategic substructures, as revealed by the branch questionnaires despite postponing branch congresses.
- (d) The setting of minimum standards must take into account the nature of the branch, including the size of the branch, and the nature of the sector, but sub-structures remain the same throughout.
- (e) The following key sub-structures must be established throughout all branches: Paralegal substructures, Education and training, Bargaining Forums, and Professional Forums.
- (f) To identify branch challenges and weaknesses the union has decided to update branch data on a quarterly basis, as this will address social distance and provide for appropriate and timely interventions.
- (g) A reporting format for branches to complete must be developed to provide regular updates on the state of branches.
- (h) Linking the workplace issues with that of the broader community struggles can contribute to building strong workplace organisation that is politically conscious.
- (i) The concern of regions, in particular Regional Organisers, is to capacitate shop stewards and to service workplace organisation and Regional Secretaries must account on this task.
- (j) The political and ideological education and training of shop stewards is key to building strong workplace organisation and political class consciousness
- (k) The Nurses' and Academic Forums are unlike any other branch structures and must be treated as a priority in the union with all regions and provinces accounting on setting them up.
- (l) The Nurses' Forums are key, and central, to building branches in the both the Public and Private Health sectors, and similarly the Academic Forums must help in building our Higher Education and FETC sectors.

Resolve that:

- (a) Post the 10th national congress a national program of action must be developed using the results of the branch questionnaires to attend to all branches that are weak, dysfunctional and that needs intervention.

- (b) The union must set up a system to manage, monitor and update branch data on quarterly basis across all provinces and regions.
- (c) The NEC through the National Organising Sub-Committee must develop the minimum standards for branches.
- (d) The agenda of the Provincial Organisers' Forums must prioritise discussions on organising and servicing of branches in regions.
- (e) Provinces and Regions must finalise the setting up of key sub-structures, with the Nurses Forums as a national priority, and make sure that there is representation on the BEC for those coordinating such substructures.
- (f) Provincial Education Officers must drive the education and training program in branches, working together with the PHOSECs and Regional Organisers.
- (g) To build regions as engines of service delivery the union must run a capacity building program for Regional Office Bearers to deliver quality, effective service and support to branches beginning with Rob's induction to ground them on their roles and responsibilities and running effective REC meetings.
- (h) The National Organisers for the Higher Education and FETCs sectors must drive the setting up Academic Forums as a priority to build strong branches and sectors.
- (i) A reporting format for branches to complete monthly must be aligned to the reporting format of Regional Organisers to provide updates on the state of branches.

1.4.3. **Recruitment and Registration**

Noting that:

- (a) The 9th National Congress resolution for a coherent national recruitment and registration campaign to increase membership by 10% annually by setting targets of 50%+1 for all branches in the State Admin, Public Health and Public Social Development Sectors.
- (b) The campaign was launched in Tshwane as strategic region where the National departments are concentrated.
- (c) The total membership grew by 26 219 new members over a period of 2 years and seven months from September 2010 to April 2013.
- (d) While registering significant membership growth we also experienced a significant number of fall-offs due to cancellations.
- (e) The State Admin sector landscape shows that the union remains under-represented in most national departments at less than 33%, hence the continuous domination of independent unions in the GPSSBC regarding thresholds.
- (f) A Membership Task Team was established to address issues of membership data clean up and categorisation, membership capturing, incorrect membership allocation to provinces and regions, cancellations, and an integrated finance/membership billing system.
- (g) The membership system can now provide membership totals as a percentage of the total workforce in all Provincial and National departments and these have been used by National Organisers to develop sector landscapes, and breakdowns of gender and age for members in the public service on Persal, SARS, SASSA and the DOD.
- (h) Some members continue to choose dual membership because of the benefits that other unions offer.
- (i) As at April 2013 there are 32 701 existing members not yet registered.
- (j) The capturing of new members has not been decentralised to regions.

Believing that:

- (a) The total membership growth of 26 219 over 2 years and 7 months indicates that we are on track to meeting 30 000 new members over the three year period.
- (b) Given the union's membership size in the State Admin sector (112 710) the growth in the sector (2 479) over this period was disappointing.
- (c) The recruitment campaign has not made any significant impact on reducing the number of fall-offs.
- (d) The exercise to verify membership in National and Provincial departments proves that the bulk of the National department membership remains in the Gauteng province, so Gauteng cannot be treated as normal given the high density of State Admin workers and we must decide how best to service them.
- (e) The membership totals as a percentage of the total workforce in all Provincial and National departments, enables us to set specific targets in the National departments in Tshwane and all Provincial departments in provinces.
- (f) The Public Health sector is also a strategic sector to grow, in particular KwaZulu-Natal province, given the high density of Public Health workers.
- (g) The 50%+1 strategy helps the union to be a majority union in the sectors where it mobilizes members in order to determine the direction to be taken by collective bargaining structures.
- (h) Numbers facilitate politics and strengthens the ability to bargaining including changing the balance of forces in the broader transformation project.
- (i) The setting of targets for Organisers and Regions will help scale up the recruitment campaign.
- (j) We must now get the data on membership right to do a detailed analysis on the profile of our membership.
- (k) The new gender and age breakdowns are useful for strategic planning including understanding young workers in the union.
- (l) The membership unit must provide the branch details for those members not yet registered.
- (m) The union must review the benefits offered to members.

Resolve that:

- (a) The union must accelerate recruitment, analyse the trends on an ongoing basis, and use the results to inform targeted recruitment. Our recruitment target of 50+1 must be implemented in all branches and sectors.
- (b) To continue to target the public service with a particular focus on State Admin sector, but be more strategic using the sector landscapes and membership percentages for all National and Provincial departments.
- (c) We need to develop a strategic approach in Gauteng Province and Tshwane region in particular as the centre of recruitment in the State Admin sector.
- (d) We must establish a unit at head office under the organising service centre to focus on co-ordination of the national recruitment campaign.
- (e) The National Organisers for state administration sector must operate from Tshwane and work closely with Regional Organisers deployed in the sector
- (f) Targets in other sectors must be set according to thresholds needed to strengthen collective bargaining arrangements so we can achieve the strategic objectives of centralised bargaining.
- (g) The public health sector in KZN must be targeted for recruitment as the biggest potential area of growth in the province.
- (h) Coordination of war rooms must be strengthened to drive the campaign at all levels.

- (i) All national organisers must take responsibility to co-ordinate recruitment in their sectors.
- (j) Provincial interns must be utilised in implementing the organisational priorities in the union, including recruitment.
- (k) We must consider setting recruitment targets for Regional Organisers.
- (l) Regional Secretaries must be responsible for recruitment in regions as they are the ones that must monitor Regional Organisers and teams, and should be held accountable.
- (m) We must effectively use the Nurse's Forum co-ordinators in provinces to step up the recruitment of nurses and other workers in the health sector.
- (n) The union must develop a sustainable recruitment strategy that must target young workers, including the use of electronic media such as SMS's.
- (o) The union must deal with the challenge of fall-offs and regions must account on interventions in branches were members resigned.
- (p) The union must engage with Tshedza Trust and its investment companies, the NEHAWU SACCO and the NEHAWU National Provident Fund to create innovative and member driven benefits and use these initiatives to promote, recruit and retain members to the union.
- (q) The membership task team must deal with all the identified challenges post 10th national congress which are:
 - (i) Data clean up and categorisation
 - (ii) Membership capturing
 - (iii) Incorrect membership allocation to provinces and regions
 - (iv) Cancellations
 - (v) Integrated finance/membership billing system
 - (vi) Correct payment of subscriptions and Agency fees in all private institutions, Parastatals and Higher Education sectors.
- (r) All regions must develop programs to target the branches were registration of members is not complete and complete this task by the first quarter of 2014.

1.4.4. **Education and Training**

Noting that:

- (a) The 9th Congress resolutions regarding the five organizational priorities has to a reasonable extent been implemented, but the education and training service centre has virtually collapsed and has failed to generate the relevant materials or implement an education and training program at all levels.
- (b) This collapse has occurred at a time when there was a high turnover of experienced shop stewards and trade union officials.
- (c) The quality and effectiveness of our education work is not meeting the challenges union leadership are confronted with at all levels, especially the branch.
- (d) The political and ideological development in branch based education and training is lacking.
- (e) There are no systems to manage the data on trained cadres within the union

Believing that:

- (a) Without a fully functional Education Service Centre the union cannot implement the decision to educate and train shop stewards.
- (b) Education and training is central to the growth of the union and the development of cadres in the organization.

- (c) Strong workplace organisation that is politically and class conscious has not been attained as shop stewards don't have the skills or capacity, and paralegal teams are not fully functional.
- (d) Further progress must be made in educating and training shop stewards if we are to build strong workplace organisation and improve service to members.
- (e) A developed database is central to identifying who has been trained on what and for assessing the impact of the training.
- (f) Para legal education and training must target shop stewards.
- (g) Para legal education and training must target Para Legal Coordinators to assist branches in regions and provinces.

Resolve to:

- (a) At the centre of our organisational work build strong workplace organisation we must refocus the Education service centre at all levels to drive the capacity building of shop stewards and officials of our union.
- (b) Through our Education service centre conduct an audit on who has been trained at what level, and develop and sustain a data base on an ongoing basis.
- (c) Capacitate shop stewards with quality and advanced training to operationalise organizational responsibilities, to represent members in disciplinary cases, grievances and negotiations to improve their conditions of service
- (d) Develop better standardized educational material into smaller workable booklets for shop stewards that can be used as easy reference after trainings.
- (e) Ensure that programmes of training are comprehensive on leadership development and clear on the targeted level of training whether it is regions or branches.
- (f) Ensure that paralegal officers and coordinators receive advanced paralegal training to assist branches
- (g) To educate and train our shop stewards on political and ideological orientation to build strong workplace organisation linked to community service delivery issues.

1.4.5. **Legal Matters**

Noting that:

- (a) The exorbitant cost in legal bills.
- (b) Legal services are outsourced.
- (c) Given the commitment of the union to build strong workplace organisation, and develop the internal capacity to handle cases we should be training shop stewards on case handling to reduce the legal bills of the union.
- (d) No capacitating of Para Legal Officers and teams on a continuous basis to assist branches in regions and provinces.

Believing:

- (a) The ballooning legal bill of the union is unsustainable.
- (b) The legal bill is mainly as a result of the weak internal capacity of the union to handle cases.
- (c) Developing the internal capacity of Para Legal Officers and teams on a continuous basis will reduce the legal bills of the union.

Resolve that:

- (a) The NEC has to investigate the reasons for the ballooning legal bill of the union and put in place measures to reduce the legal bill and the CEC must receive a report.
- (b) We must undertake a comprehensive review of the current paralegal strategy as a matter of priority to build paralegal structures from the ground up. The first CEC post the national congress must receive a report.

1.4.6. **COSATU Public Service Cartel**

Noting that:

- (a) The resolution of the 8th National Congress of COSATU on mergers and cartels, as well as the 2015 vision which envisaged the revival of the merger between NEHAWU, SAMWU and SASAWU in Phase 1 of the programme.
- (b) The COSATU Joint Mandating Committee (JMC) only sits when there is a crisis or a wage dispute within the Public Service.

Believing that:

- (a) The challenges brought about by public service transformation require a different strategy on the part of the union and the Federation.
- (b) The core of the strategy must be the building of a powerful and militant public sector union capable of defending the interests of its members and the working class as a whole.
- (c) The objectives as outlined by COSATU's 2015 vision should be vigorously pursued.
- (d) Joint campaigns and programmes must be developed to unite workers and Unions, more specifically COSATU Public Sector Unions.
- (e) To campaign for the transformation of the public service is an important vehicle for realizing the Public Service Cartel.
- (f) NEHAWU should lead the merger process.
- (g) The JMC should anchor and drive the joint campaigns and programmes of the COSATU Public Sector Unions.

Resolve to:

- (a) Reaffirm the COSATU 2015 vision and mandate the CEC and the NEC to urgently set a process in motion that will ensure the merger with SAMWU and SASAWU is realized within the timeframe as set out in the 2015 vision.
- (b) Develop a joint programme with SAMWU and SASAWU that should constitute the basis for acting together on issues that affect the respective membership in the transfers and bargaining arrangements in the interim.
- (c) Ensure an establishment of a coordinating committee consisting of General Secretaries to review demarcation work and take forward the process towards the formation of a COSATU Public Service Cartel.
- (d) Engage COSATU to establish a dedicated unit to coordinate a more consistent and strategic engagement around the transformation of the state. The unit should ensure that COSATU public service workers are united around clearly demarcated sectors within the public service.

- (e) Argue and lobby that a Joint Management Committee be institutionalised in COSATU to consolidate the unity and cohesion amongst the Public Sector Unions.
- (f) Ensure that Public Service Delivery Campaign is extended to all COSATU Public Sector Unions.
- (g) NEHAWU should lead this process in COSATU.

1.4.7. **Violence at the Workplace**

Noting that:

- (a) Our union is made up of membership that directly services the community.
- (b) Most of our members are women and work shifts and they become victims of criminal as well as service user violence.
- (c) Violence in the workplace happens in most of our public institutions and mostly laws do not protect our members.
- (d) The World Health Organization and PSI have come up with a handbook and guidelines on violence in the workplace.

Believing that:

- (a) Occupational Safety and Health Act is to assure safe and healthful working conditions for every working person and to preserve our human resources.
- (b) Our members, like other members in the public services need to be protected against violence in the workplace and between workplace and their residential places.

Resolve that:

- (a) We reaffirm the resolution of the 9th Congress.
- (b) We must push for regulations, in terms of relevant legislation, covering our members in all sectors against violence. Adequate security must be provided at the workplace.
- (c) Our members should be provided with transport especially when they have to work early or late shifts like it is happening in the safety and security.
- (d) The issue of violence in the workplace to be put on the bargaining agenda as a matter of urgency.

1.4.8. **Collective Bargaining**

Noting that:

On the establishment of bargaining forums:

- (a) The 9th National Congress Resolution and the 3-year program of action of the first CEC of the 9th Congress that inter alia provides for the campaign aimed at establishing bargaining forums across all sectors, measures to assess and review all bargaining structures and bargaining teams, including their respective capacities.
- (b) The 10th National Congress assessments and conclusions on the progress achieved since the 9th National Congress.
- (c) We successfully concluded the campaign and all democratic processes thereto to establish bargaining forums at all levels within the Public Service.

- (d) The establishment of the public service bargaining forums brought back the principles of worker control and worker democracy in the centralised bargaining arrangements within the public service.
- (e) The bargaining forums have helped the national union to close the social gap by involving members in the work of the union.
- (f) The public service bargaining forums enabled the union to have a platform to empower public service workers to deal with other critical and complex public service issues and it also serve as campaign structures to pick up the public service delivery issues.
- (g) We have completed the establishment of bargaining forums at all levels within the Further Education and Training Sector.
- (h) Despite the good work been done in implementing the 9th Congress resolutions we have not adequately addressed and completed the process of establishing bargaining forums across all other sectors of the union.

On the Review and Training of negotiators:

- (a) At the national level we reviewed and elected new national negotiating teams for the PSCBC, GPSSBC, and PHSDBC and convened the basic induction training and rolled-out the intermediate and advance training for the public service negotiating teams.
- (b) We place the elected regional and provincial public service bargaining forum coordinators in the GPSSBC negotiators training.
- (c) In the PHSDSBC we negotiated the training of public health shop stewards and provincial chamber negotiators on labour relations.
- (d) Despite the work been done in implementing the 9th Congress resolutions we were not able to comprehensively complete the review of the national negotiating teams in all national departments and other sectors other than the public service.
- (e) We were not able to complete the process to get all provinces to review and establish new negotiating teams at the level of the chambers in provinces.
- (f) We were not able to do the in-house training of negotiating teams in all sectors as and when we complete the process of the establishment of bargaining forums.

On the Establishment of Centralised Bargaining in other Sectors:

- (a) The union remains committed to establishing centralised collective bargaining in all sectors, including the Private Health and Social Development Sectors.
- (b) We were able to complete the process of centralised bargaining at the sector level for the Further Education and Training Sector.
- (c) Despite the work done we were not able to comprehensively finalise centralised bargaining arrangements for the Higher Education and Legislature Sectors.
- (d) We were not able to complete the sectoral determination process for the private social development sector to set minimum wages for the sector.
- (e) The private health, private social development and the parastatals sector require substantial growth in membership as part of the strategy towards centralised bargaining arrangements.

On the Collective Bargaining Management System:

- (a) We have finalised the local, provincial and national bargaining landscape. That we have determined the number of members involved and covered by collective bargaining at all levels within the Union.

- (b) We have begun the process of collecting all collective agreements such as wage and recognition agreements.
- (c) Despite the work done we were not able to comprehensively complete the process of collecting, monitoring and enforcement of all the necessary collective agreements.
- (d) We were not able to set up the electronic collective bargaining management system that would enable/position the union to manage collective bargaining at all levels to ensure preparations, research, analytical thinking, interpretations of collective agreements, cohesion, uniformity, mandating, coordination, information, communication and capacity/training for negotiators and organisers within the levels of Collective Bargaining.

On the role of organisers in collective bargaining:

- (a) The orientation processes of organisers away from case handling to servicing branches and the allocation of organisers towards sectors and branches.
- (b) There is an uneven allocation of the number of local institutions per organizer per region that bargains at the local level.
- (c) The uneven role and support of organizers prior, during and after collective bargaining in workplaces that bargains at the local level.
- (d) There is a lack of preparations, assistance, research needs and coordination by the local organizers to the allocated institutions that bargains at the local level.
- (e) The employers are introducing complex remuneration systems that require capacity and training for organisers to deal with such complex remuneration systems.

Believing that:

- (a) Collective Bargaining is a tangible means to measure and evaluate the overall performance of the union.
- (b) Collective Bargaining is an important tool in the effective servicing of members at all levels. The establishment of collective bargaining forums in the Public Service has proved to be a critical tool for effective representation and service to members.
- (c) The involvement of members through the bargaining forums remains an important step in the collective bargaining process.
- (d) The establishment of the public service bargaining forums gave rise to general members meetings in public service branches, member participation, improved communication and union visibility.
- (e) Coordination and cohesive bargaining forums at all levels brings confidence and stability in the union.
- (f) The idea of establishing collective bargaining forums foster mandate taking and reporting back to members. In essence, the approach of forums ensures participation of members in decision – making of the union.
- (g) The social, economic and political weight of the union is first and foremost a product of our organisational weight, our ability to organise in the workplace,
- (h) It is a certain level of organisation which gets the employer to the table to negotiate. It is organisation which enables the union to articulate the interests of its members and it is organisation which provides the union with the social and political weight to represent the interests of the working class more broadly.
- (i) Collective bargaining is a recurring event which tests the organisation of the union. The union is either well organised in the workplace or it is not.

- (j) Collective bargaining either deepens the weaknesses of the union or it amplifies the strengths of the union.
- (k) The review and training of negotiating teams are central in improving our collective bargaining capacity.
- (l) Centralised bargaining remains the strategic objective to strengthen, unite and advance the collective interest workers in all sectors.
- (m) One of the key performance areas of organisers is to anchor collective bargaining at all levels.

Resolve that:

We reaffirm the 9th National Congress resolution that provides for the campaign aimed at establishing bargaining forums across all sectors, measures to assess and review all bargaining structures and bargaining teams, including their respective capacities.

On the establishment of bargaining forums:

- (a) We complete the campaign to establish bargaining forums in all sectors other than the Public Service during the first year post the 10th National Congress.
- (b) The established public service bargaining forums should be convened every quarter to be preoccupied with the program to finalise the implementation of outstanding resolutions in the public service and implementation of a progressive uniformed campaign in addressing the ongoing transformation of the Public Service and public service delivery issues.
- (c) The national office should provided ongoing support, coordination, content and capacity to ensure the sustainability and functionality of the public service bargaining forums.
- (d) The convening of the public service bargaining forums post the 10th National Congress should commence the preparations, research, mandating and demands for the 2015 Public Service wage negotiations.
- (e) The provincial public service bargaining forums should be convened prior to the provincial chambers of the PSCBC to ensure alignment and coordination between the provincial chambers of the PSCBC and the provincial public service bargaining forums.

On the review and Training of negotiators:

- (a) We complete the review of the national negotiating teams in all national departments and other sectors other than the public service.
- (b) We complete the process to get all provinces to review and establish new negotiating teams at the level of the chambers in provinces during the first year post the 10th National Congress.
- (c) In collaboration with the Education department we implement a comprehensive training program that is sector specific to built capacity for negotiators involved in bargaining more specifically on information and research, analytical thinking, numerical and financial literacy and political consciousness. This training program to be rolled-out in sectors as and when we complete the process of the establishment of bargaining forums.

On the Establishment of Centralised Bargaining in other Sectors:

- (a) We must focus on the Higher Education and Legislature Sectors and finalise the centralised bargaining arrangements for the legislature sector before the end of 2013.

- (b) In the legislature sector, the immediate step during the 3rd quarter of 2013, to finalise centralised bargaining is to call on the CCMA to conclude the facilitation process towards the signing of the constitution for centralised bargaining. Failure, the second step during the last quarter of 2013 is to launch a campaign in the sector aimed at conscientising, mobilising and using our majority status and labour power to force the employer to sign the constitution for centralised bargaining.
- (c) In the higher education sector we use 2013 to formally apply to the CCMA to facilitate processes between Unions and employers for centralised bargaining in the sector. Failure, the second step during 2014 is to make submissions to the President of the Republic in terms of the LRA to designate the sector for the purposes of centralised bargaining.
- (d) In the private social development sector we revisit the sectoral determination processes to set minimum wages for the sector.
- (e) In the private health, private social development and the parastatals sector we map-out and link our recruitment campaign to these sectors to reach at least a 30% level of membership within all workplaces, thereafter 50% as part of the strategy towards establishing centralised bargaining arrangement.

On the Collective Bargaining Management System:

- (a) Post the 10th National Congress towards the first sitting of the 2013 CEC, we use the period to finalise the process of collecting all collective agreements such as wage and recognition agreements.
- (b) The focus of 2014 will be on setting up the electronic collective bargaining management system that would enable/position the union to manage collective bargaining at all levels to ensure preparations, research, analytical thinking, interpretations of collective agreements, cohesion, uniformity, mandating, coordination, information, communication and capacity/training for negotiators and organisers within the levels of Collective Bargaining.
- (c) All collective bargaining agreements to be monitored and correctly implemented.

On the role of organisers in collective bargaining:

- (a) The key performance areas of organisers should be reviewed to inter alia anchor and account on collective bargaining at all levels.
- (b) We implement a system that ensures that organisers prepare, assist, research and coordinate collective bargaining adequately at all local levels.
- (c) We implement an objective criterion to ensure even allocation of the number of local institutions per organizer per region that bargains at the local level.
- (d) In collaboration with the education department we develop and implement a training program for organisers to understand complex remuneration systems.

1.4.9. **Building Financial Self Sufficiency and Sustainability**

1.4.9.1. Building internal capacity in financial management and administration

Noting that:

- (a) There has been significant progress made by ensuring that a substantial part of the resolution of the 9th national congress has been implemented.

- (b) FINSEC is continues to operate in conditions where there is high staff turnover, employment to temporary workers and vacancies in strategic positions which disturbs the smooth and efficient running of the service centre.
- (c) Operational challenges as a result of non-implementation of finance policies and procedures continue especially in provinces and Regions.
- (d) The establishment of the internal audit unit under the direction of the Treasury has started to have an impact on challenges experienced with external audits.
- (e) Non-implementation of some of previous national congress resolutions and/or continuous re-affirmation thereof.
- (f) The union has started deriving financial benefit out of sale of regalia and products branded with the union logo.
- (g) The union has an outdated inequitable methodology of calculating its membership subscriptions.
- (h) Some Higher Education sector branches at Universities are receiving Agency fees directly and are not paying the correct subscriptions.
- (i) Less than 5% of Nehawu membership to date has joined NEHAWU SACCO.
- (j) Previous resolutions aimed to ensure NEHAWU Investment vehicles accountable.

Believing that:

- (a) FINSEC should have qualified, technically competent, experienced and well orientated staff that is effectively supervised and performance managed at all levels to maintain stability in the service centre.
- (b) Proper management of finances remains the core of the organisation.
- (c) Properly constituted responsive management is essential to any self sufficient and sustainable organisation.
- (d) Effective implementation of finance policies will address the recurring challenges.
- (e) Internal auditing will assist the union with compliance to policies and adherence to procedures.
- (f) The union should cost its decisions and policies.
- (g) Expenses/expenditure should always be kept below income and revenues generated.
- (h) Failure to implement resolutions has a negative impact on the operations and activities of the union.
- (i) Budgeting and financial reporting are key to members and must therefore be reliable and easily understood.
- (j) The union is possibly losing revenues despite having intellectual property rights to its logo due to third party usage.
- (k) The outdated method of calculating subscriptions prejudices the union from earning and equitable and constant revenue in line with inflation.
- (l) Members in the University branches must pay subscriptions aligned to the current subscription rate, and Agency fees are paid directly to the National Union.
- (m) The union must continue to support and promote the development of a NEHAWU Cooperative Bank for its members and staff, which will include:
 - assisting in the mobilisation of all members to join the NEHAWU Cooperative Bank;
 - providing NEHAWU Cooperative Bank membership to union 'associates' as defined by the mandate of the NEHAWU SACCO; and
 - To encourage the union-related institutions such as the Tshedza Trust and its investment companies including but not limited to NEHAWU.

- (n) Investment Holdings (NIH) to support the establishment of a NEHAWU Cooperative Bank.

Resolve that:

- (a) The union shall employ qualified, technically competent, well orientated experienced persons who have knowledge of the organisation and pay market related salaries to attract and retain the requisite skills.
- (b) The union must:
- (i) Continue to monitor and evaluate effective implementation of the updated finance manual.
 - (ii) Strictly adhere to finance policies and statutory regulations so that our union achieves our objective of unqualified audit.
 - (iii) Build internal capacity in financial management and administration as a priority.
 - (iv) Re-affirm the established Audit Committee to remain in place.
 - (v) Ensure that the accounting system is uniform throughout the provinces including exploring the automation of basic accounting and recording processes.
 - (vi) Explore and investigate cost effective solutions to acquire property required by the union at level of regions and provinces.
- (c) Mandate the CEC to strengthen the current FINCOM in order to build the capacity for the self-sustainability and efficiency of the union.
- (d) An internal audit unit to implement the rolling audit plan that focuses on risked based intervention as well as to review compliance and statutory procedures that complement external audit
- (e) Budgets must be aligned to policies, decisions and/or resolutions.
- (f) All resolutions that have not been implemented are re-affirmed and the congress should task the first FINCOM and CEC to revisit these resolutions for prioritization and implementation.
- (g) Budgeting and financial reporting must be simplified without compromising the integrity of information for easy understanding by members.
- (h) Safeguard the union's registered logo/trademark with CIPC to ensure that the union logo/brand is not abused by third parties and that sales of union branded regalia remain for the benefit of the union and its membership.
- (i) Reconfigure the membership subscription formula to reflect the minimum deduction equal to the greater of 1% of salary or an amount not less than R15 with the maximum deduction being determined by the CEC and having an annual increase not exceeding the CPI.
- (j) Mainstream and align various Nehawu Investment and Member Benefit Initiatives (Tshedza Trust and its investment companies including but not limited to NEHAWU Investment Holdings (NIH) and NEHAWU SACCO and the NEHAWU National Provident Fund) and maximize their collaboration and dynamic partnership towards common objectives towards worker owned and controlled businesses, as part of our quest to transform the South African economy.
- (k) Mandate the CEC to develop processes and systems of ensuring that all members of the union belong and participate in the NEHAWU SACCO as a basis of creating a workers cooperative bank.
- (l) Authorize the CEC to research, propose and direct Worker Welfare Creation projects, process and methods as part of an inclusive model to build broad based workers and community empowerment objectives aimed at economic empowerment of collectives and institutions.

- (m) Develop worker ownership and empowerment models to target creative and innovative means of maximizing the collective capital strength of NEHAWU members including partnerships and collaboration with other Public Sector Unions and COSATU affiliates in the areas of worker owned cooperatives and businesses in such areas as Insurance, Housing, Retail and Banking.
- (n) Mandate the NEC and CEC to initiate a process that will ensure that COSATU convene and establish the Investment Council that will co-ordinate, oversee and integrate various affiliates' investments activities.
- (o) The membership project task team must undertake processes to bring all University subscriptions in line with the current subscription rate, and take steps to make sure that Agency fees are paid directly to the National Union.

KwaZulu/Natal

Free State

1.4.10. **Policy on Union Leadership Orientation, Conduct and Elections**

Background

The 9th national congress in 2010 mandated the central executive committee to develop guidelines for the election of union leadership at all levels and structures. The purpose of the guidelines would among others, assist the organisation to reposition itself, consistent with the agreed congress theme and its evolving strategy. The first rough draft was presented to the special central executive committee in April 2011. The special central executive committee further mandated the national office bearers to coordinate and manage the finalisation of the guidelines for presentation to the next central executive committee.

The national office bearers further recommended that the document should be a product of a broader discussion on our organisational renewal. In response to this perspective, the scope of this document goes beyond "guidelines for election" developed as our union's catechism. It has rather been developed as part of an effort of grounding leaders and cadres of NEHAWU at all levels in the ideological orientation, character, constitutional provisions and traditions of our union.

It must be understood that this is not an attempt to introduce something new in the union. It is rather an attempt to introduce coherence with previous policies whilst effectively dealing with new challenges. This document should therefore be seen as a consolidation of the decisions and positions that the union has taken before as well as an attempt to give relevance to these decisions and positions under new conditions.

At the December Special CEC in 1995 the union developed criteria for electing office bearers and introduced the constituting of panels made up of office bearers from higher structures and office bearers not standing for election at a particular level to interview candidates. In 1996 we began to apply these criteria. The panel would assist the relevant constitutional structure and share their insight and recommendations, even though the constitutional structure did not have to adhere to the recommendations in electing their office bearers. This system had its strengths and weaknesses and it was eventually jettisoned.

The union has since devised new means of identifying and electing leadership. As in other organisations in recent years, we have witnessed bitter factional battles characterised by fierce lobbying, mudslinging, opportunism and chaotic removal or installation of leadership. All of these

are undesirable and unsustainable practices that have to be combated. In attempting to combat these, it is important for our cadres and leaders to know who we are and defend jealously the character of our organisation that has evolved and developed in the struggle as well as lessons learnt by different generations from the years of exile, underground, illegality and apartheid to democracy, neo-liberalism, class projects, congresses and conferences of our alliance and the broad mass democratic movement.

Brief History of NEHAWU (Who are we?)

History, especially its materialist conception, is not just a collection of isolated events. Our history is a firm foundation upon which we stand proudly to face the future beaming with confidence. Features of our history always emerge in our present; and while the union is looking to the future, it owes its institutional wisdom, memory and resilience to the collective experiences and engagements with a whole range of actors, both internal and external over the years of its existence.

The National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) was born out of a merger between three main unions: the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), Health and Allied Workers' Union (HAWU) and the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU). Two years after the launch of NEHAWU on 27 June 1987, the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) dissolved and joined NEHAWU. The objective of the dissolution of TGWU and the merger of SAAWU, HAWU and GAWU was to establish one formidable union that would organize in the state sector.

Our character was forged in the struggle

The character of our union has evolved over time and will continue to evolve. However, there are some enduring features that have survived different epochs from apartheid to democracy. In order to better understand some of the features of the character of NEHAWU, it is important to reflect briefly on the history of its parent organisations.

SAAWU was established in March 1979 in Durban after a split from the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). The split was as the result of principle of black consciousness versus non-racialism. SAAWU was in favour of the ANC's non-racial politics, and rejected the black consciousness philosophy. SAAWU refused to register with the apartheid government as this was seen as an attempt by the state to co-opt and control the union. SAAWU was able to organise successfully, and became so strong that bosses had to recognise the union even though it had not registered. SAAWU always tried to link workplace struggles with broader political struggles. SAAWU is famous for the Wilson-Rowntree strike in East London. When workers went on strike, SAAWU organised township residents and students to boycott the sweets produced by Wilson-Rowntree. The boycott spread through the country, with support committees springing up everywhere.

HAWU was launched in 1983 in Durban after the National Federation of Workers' Union (NFWU) which was a general union, decided to develop itself into industrial unions, each focused on a sector of the economy. Health and education sector workers formed HAWU. HAWU mainly served Durban and surrounding areas. HAWU soon went on strike in King Edward hospital for wage increases. The strike was a big success: many workers were organised, and workers from surrounding hospitals were drawn into the struggle. In 1986 HAWU won a recognition agreement at Entabeni Hospital. HAWU also refused to register with the government. The sentiment was: "you cannot register with the enemy."

GAWU was established early in 1980 also after split from the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). GAWU believed in the principle of non-racialism. GAWU was open to all workers and everywhere including the metal industry, railways, schools, universities and hospitals, amongst others. Many of the first members came from workers in old age homes and the Natal Provincial Administration. This 'multi-industry union' approach made it difficult for GAWU to conduct collective bargaining as the bosses would say that there are already other unions organising in their workplace. GAWU was also interested in drawing links between workplace, community and political struggles.

TGWU organized mainly drivers, general workers and cleaners. The majority of its members worked in the educational institutions. All the parent organizations of NEHAWU (SAAWU, HAWU, GAWU and TGWU) believed and advanced the principles of non-racialism, non-sexism, equality for all and were against discrimination on the basis of race, colour, religious belief and political affiliation. The Human Rights that are enshrined in the South African Constitution and the Workers' Rights in the different Labour statutes including the Labour Relations Act have been the product of the protracted struggles of these workers' organizations under the umbrella of South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) before 1985 and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) after 1985.

Formed on 5 and 6 March 1955, SACTU was the first non-racial trade union coordinating centre in the country. It not only called for non-racial trade unionism, but also openly committed itself and its affiliates to struggle on both the economic and political fronts against all forms of oppression and exploitation. Internationally it affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), rejected the advances of the cold war ICFTU, and pledged support to the ANC. In the year of its formation it was deeply involved in getting workers' demands and representatives to go to the Congress of the People, where the demands of workers were woven into the Freedom Charter. The role of women was central in SACTU, and many played a major role in leadership positions holding office bearer's positions at different levels within the Federation. At international level SACTU played a leading role in the WFTU and in the formation of the first trade union coordinating structure in Africa. During its exile years, it helped to form the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity.

Strikes became commonplace in the economic struggle being waged by SACTU. At the same time its membership was encouraged to be part of the mass mobilisation and at the height of mass defiance campaigns. It challenged the apartheid discriminatory laws. This had a major impact on the ANC and its leadership. For the first time, African workers showed that when united in action, they could stop the functioning of the main sectors of the economy. They demonstrated the force of disciplined organisation and mass mobilisation. SACTU had laid a firm foundation for a tradition of progressive trade unionism. It emphasised the need to build strong shop floor structures. It is also emphasised the dialectical connection between the racial oppression as a result of apartheid and economic exploitation resulting from the capitalist socio-economic system. It was strong on putting theory into practice. Much of its theory informs the analysis and our actions in NEHAWU today.

It is a matter of historical record that SACP underground structures played a major role in the ideological thrust of SACTU. Whilst strongly advocating the alliance with the ANC and positions of the alliance, it also emphasised the need for trade unions to remain independent organisations of the working class, taking their own decisions as workers but sharing a common vision of defeating the apartheid regime and building a democratic state. SACTU from the 1970's and for the next 20

years established underground units inside trade unions operating in the country. It produced layers of leadership in trade unions in the 1970's and with the launch of COSATU in 1985; these units were developed to a new height. It played a considerable role from the underground in the unity talks of the 1980's (81-85), which led to the launch of COSATU.

SACTU's (and subsequently COSATU's) position remained that only the working class in alliance with other progressive sections of the community and their organisations can build a better life for all South Africans.

Shop floor militancy and mass mobilisation

Black consciousness trade unionism was dominant in the 1970's. However, towards the end of the 1970's the non-racial tradition began to come back strongly. This thrust within the trade union movement had strong political ties with the congress movement and played an active role in community struggles. These unions affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF) after its formation in 1983. The UDF-aligned unions were at the cutting edge of consumer, bus, rent and school boycotts. They worked with women, youth, students and civic organisations to rally the masses behind the programme of the national liberation movement to practically render apartheid unworkable. They articulated the SACTU perspective on the relationship between the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

These unions were very effective at linking the plight of Black workers in factories with that of Black people in general in their communities. Certain of these unions were weak on the shop floor. They mainly preferred to organise as general unions rather than industrial unions and that on its own made it difficult to build a strong workplace organisation. They inherited some of the organisational weaknesses of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) founded in the 1920s, while they perfected and excelled in articulating SACTU's political and ideological orientation. The differences in traditions between the two centres were destined to have a residual effect on the newly formed COSATU for many years to come.

COSATU is born – blending together various strengths and traditions

In the early 1980s there were many unity talks aimed at uniting the new trade union movement. There were already two main federations. The biggest was the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) formed in 1979. The dominant tendencies within FOSATU were those that were hostile to the Congress tradition. The syndicalist orientation and its workerist variant tended to drive FOSATU unions to believe that workers could defeat apartheid and the capitalist bosses only through workplace struggles, rather than through all-out offensives that mobilise the working class and all other strata in a popular democratic revolution, at the head of which was a national liberation movement.

FOSATU and most of the independent unions, came together to form COSATU. SAAWU, GAWU and HAWU all joined COSATU to form what became the biggest union federation in South African history. It is important to say that SACTU underground structures played a key role in ensuring that differences in political orientation did not scuttle the process towards achieving worker unity. The talks in reality for one centre had taken place between 1977 and 1985.

In forming COSATU, workers had set themselves the objective of building one union in each industry and one national trade union federation. From the onset, COSATU set out to ensure that the federation adhered to grassroots democracy and worker participation in decision-making,

accountability and mandating. It adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideological outlook and declared its commitment to socialism as the future. At its first congress in 1989, it adopted the Freedom Charter as its minimum programme and vision of a democratic SA during the transition to socialism. COSATU formerly became an Alliance partner in 1990, after the unbanning of organisations and dissolution of SACTU. The Alliance fought the 1994 election on a single programmatic platform, the RDP, which was itself a brainchild of COSATU. The RDP became the ANC's and government's transformation programme, and many trade union leaders were deployed as ANC candidates to parliament and into government to go and lead the process of its implementation and to deepen social transformation.

Launch of NEHAWU

The COSATU launch congress resolved that all COSATU affiliates should merge into national industrial unions. It took a year and a half to create NEHAWU as there was a lot of work to be done, especially for unions like SAAWU and GAWU, which spanned many industries. The launch congress of NEHAWU was held on 26-27 June 1987. The congress adopted a new constitution, resolved political issues and elected a new leadership. From the start, NEHAWU identified with the ANC and adopted the Freedom Charter as its vision. NEHAWU committed itself from the start to involvement in political struggles and the struggle against the apartheid government. We were born in the midst of very intense semi-insurrectionary struggles against the apartheid state. Our union was born in the furnace of the administrative apparatus of the repressive apartheid state and baptised in the revolutionary fires of COSATU's militant mass action on the shop floor and in the community.

It rose to become one of the most effective opponents of the regime, fighting for recognition and the rights of the public servants to organise and bargain. Its resilience and death-defying culture made it possible for it to withstand the entire onslaught unleashed on it by the repressive white minority regime. Three qualities have been central to NEHAWU's ability to survive as a public sector union - shop floor militancy, rank and file community activism and a rich tradition of taking revolutionary theory seriously. These three qualities have helped NEHAWU to withstand different types of political and organisational crises throughout its history.

The role of the state in development and the provision of social services such as health, education, housing, social welfare and transport has to be defended and extended, not reduced. The union's focus on the gender struggle has placed it as a pioneer in the development and representation of women in the trade union movement. This gender struggle is inspired by the progressive traditions of the SACTU unions in the 1950's. We are developing and deploying many competent women leaders who can be deployed to organisations without fear. This leadership is respected and revered not only within COSATU, but also across the entire democratic movement.

Our ideological orientation

The experiences of trade unions since the beginning of the 1900's point to revolutionary and progressive traditions. The following stand out as key lessons and traditions of revolutionary trade unionism:

- (a) First and foremost, trade unions as organisations of the exploited class must be controlled and driven by the interests and aspirations of their members at the shop floor and in society generally. If workers become alienated from the day-to-day affairs of the union, they may

end up resigning or relate to the union in a clientele fashion - demanding "service" like clients without any sense of belonging and loyalty:

- (b) Trade unions cannot claim to be apolitical organisations. Unions and their members are directly affected by the kind of laws and policies pursued by particular governments. Even the most reactionary unions have a direct interest in having a worker-friendly labour relations regime and access to the social wage such as affordable transport, affordable health care, education and training, social security, etc.
- (c) It is important that progressive trade unions should remain independent working class organisations that must express the deepest-felt demands and interests of their members without the constraints and limits imposed by party-politics.
- (d) As the most organised sections of the working class, progressive unions must take seriously the importance of revolutionary theory and ideological struggle in the fight for socialism;
- (e) The differences on political orientation and the consequent strategic and tactical disagreements are themselves a terrain of struggle. While the political orientation of a trade union is important, it cannot be allowed to stand in the way of worker unity. Revolutionary trade unionists know that political disagreements cannot be an obstacle to mergers and worker unity. The political and ideological struggle - the contestation of ideas on the political orientation of the organisation - will and must continue long after achieving worker unity. They are a permanent feature of big industrial trade unions and federations.

Noting the lessons outlined above, it is important to articulate what informs NEHAWU's political and ideological orientation. Chiefly as a result of the influence of its parent organisations, the affirmation through rich debates and resolutions at consecutive congresses; as well as its identity embodied by generations of its leaders, the National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union is of the Congress Movement. NEHAWU has always accepted that the working class is in alliance with other popular classes such as the rural poor, black middle strata and sections of the black bourgeoisie. It is a union that accepts the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) led by the ANC as our strategy and the Freedom Charter as the minimum programme that unites the tripartite alliance organisations and the broad mass democratic movement. The ANC emerged as the leader of the forces who pursue a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. It seeks to unite all these forces and their organisations into a movement for fundamental change. The working class is proclaimed as the leading motive force in the NDR.

The role of the working class as the leader of the NDR is not God-given. It is earned in the struggle for the thoroughgoing transformation of the political, social, economic and ideological structures and legacy of colonialism, apartheid, and capitalism. Organised workers constitute the most advanced layer of the working class. Their location at the point of production gives them the greatest potential to become the most effective detachment in the fight against the capitalist class. The leadership of the working class in the NDR can only be guaranteed if the leadership of the most advanced detachment has absolute clarity on the tasks that the movement of the working class has to perform at any given moment in the unfolding revolution.

NEHAWU's strategic perspectives are based on the premise that it is necessary for trade unions to adopt a working class ideological perspective. This is the main reason that NEHAWU has always

sought to emphasise political and class consciousness as the tools that are essential in moulding a leadership cadre that is capable of taking the most correct strategic and tactical decisions in the struggle to achieve the strategic objective that the union has adopted, namely: building and defending socialism. The leadership of our union, therefore, ought to be (or at least strive to become) grounded in the Marxist–Leninist tools of analysis.

Marxism-Leninism has developed into a powerful revolutionary theory over many years of perfecting the ideological distortions of earlier theories of social change. Through a painstaking study of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels developed one of the most powerful social theories of change. Their critique of the idealism of German philosophy led them to the development of the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Lenin studied Marxism and throughout his life sought to build the organisation and supporting structures that would be the practical expression of Marx's theory.

Classical Marxist theory has always argued that trade unions, though essential, are limited. They are needed to defend the working class against the assaults of capital but by themselves they are not able to overthrow capitalism. The working class also needs its own revolutionary vanguard party, which in the South African context is indisputably the South African Communist Party. While trade unions accept the revolutionary theory, they need to be, as far as possible, all-encompassing organisations of the working class. Socialists, therefore, work as far as possible to maintain trade union unity and oppose breakaway unions which tend to isolate the militants from the more passive majority and make it easier for the reformist union leaders to retain control.

While we accept that we owe our survival over the trying years of apartheid and the contradictions of the post-apartheid era to the fact that we take revolutionary theory seriously, it is important to note that Our Marxism¹ is not detached from our South African and African context.

When we write or speak about our practical experience we are proud of referring to our own indigenous experience. But when we speak about theory, our reference points tend to be the "classics" of socialism – Marx, Engels and Lenin. There is no doubt about the outstanding contribution each of these have made to socialism – but is communist theory something only associated with outstanding (usually male) revolutionaries from Europe whose "Collected Works" fill a library shelf? In celebrating, in reading and debating Marx, Engels and Lenin, have we contributed, unwittingly, to a particular image of what being a communist means? [SACP, 1998]

We need, also, to acknowledge our indebtedness to a wide range of Third World revolutionary theorists among them Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Mao Tse Tung, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Fidel Castro, and many more. We need to understand and popularise the contribution made by outstanding African revolutionaries – like Amilcar Cabral and Agostino Neto – and theorists like Samir Amin. Moreover, we need to understand the contribution made to our own Party's theory and practice by many African revolutionaries, who were not necessarily from within the traditions of Marxism-Leninism – Julius Nyerere, Frantz Fanon, and many others.

¹ Title of SACP 10th National Congress discussion document, 1998

Our liberation movement and our vanguard Party have also been influenced by generations of revolutionary and progressive Afro-Americans. Above all, we need to broaden our understanding of revolutionary theory so that we have a much better grasp of the contribution made to the our ideological positions by thousands of South Africans – from the early revolutionary pioneers, David Ivon Jones, SP Bunting, Albert Nzula, Eddie Roux, through Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Jack and Ray Simons, Govan Mbeki, Yusuf Dadoo, Bram Fischer, Alex La Guma, MP Naicker, Mick Harmel to Duma Nokwe, Ruth First and Joe Slovo, Comrade Mzala, Matthew Goniwe and Chris Hani. While we identify ourselves proudly as Marxist-Leninists, we are also Slovo-ites, Kotane-ists and Tamane-ists.

Advance union organisation, advance working class power

The working class needs a militant and democratic trade union. But above all, it needs a leadership that will measure up to the tasks posed by the times we are living in. Drawing from the 9th congress theme “advance union organisation- advance working class power for socialism”, NEHAWU has accepted that it should prioritise building itself as a solid organisation with capacity to organise and service workers, while at the same time waging social and economic struggles locally and internationally against colonialism and capitalist exploitation.

The workplace is a contested terrain between workers and the bosses and between progressive unions and reactionary ones. The space where NEHAWU operates is not devoid of contestation. In order to advance strong workplace union organisation with a visible political and socio-economic footprint, the union adopted a set of pillars which included the following:

- Political and ideological work
- Socio-economic programme and campaigns
- Building strong organisation
- International working class solidarity

Building strong and vibrant workplace organization involves innovation and campaigns as well as building tactical alliances with other unions and civil society organizations; determining the kind of training necessary to meet current challenges; effective communication to its members and society. The leadership of the union should be aware of these challenges and be able to respond accordingly. Special attention should be paid to workers who find themselves in a disguised form of precarious employment as a result of outsourcing, sub-contracting or other dubious arrangements by employers.

The leadership question

History has taught us that there are no complete and static criteria for guiding the election of leadership. The material conditions at all times determine which leaders have the capabilities to lead the trade union movement and to advance the interests of the working class. This policy document therefore outlines broad principles that in the context of the South African revolution in general and NEHAWU’s experience in particular, have been the hallmark of tried and tested leadership.

Collective Leadership

Individual leaders are elected into collectives that should work as units, fulfilling their mandate as dictated to by the constitution. No single person is a leader unto himself or herself, but a member

of a collective that should give considered, canvassed guidance to the lower structures and membership. In building collective structures that are resilient, leaders must strive to work in a cohesive manner, even when differences emerge.

NEHAWU leadership collectives are expected to meet regularly, plan ahead, be accountable, uphold the constitution and policies of the union; implement their decisions, consult and seek mandates, defend collective decisions; encourage criticism and self-criticism, be open and raise issues in meetings; uphold democratic practices and always encourage and build unity among workers. Focus on the political and organisational programs is essential.

Internal Democracy and Democratic Centralism

The leadership of NEHAWU is elected in congresses at branch, regional, provincial and national levels. In all these instances, it is the individual members of the union, directly at branch level, or through their delegates, at other levels, who decide on the composition of the leadership structures. The branch is the basic unit of the union. This is the level where members bring programmes to life and where they consider and make proposals on policies of the union. Regular meetings of branches, regions and provinces, as well as national congresses and conferences provide the membership with the platform to assume collective ownership of the union's fate. They set out the mandate that guides the leadership, and are important fora for report-backs and consultations across the union.

NEHAWU is a democratic organisation and this means that individual members and leaders will have differing opinions on how particular issues should be addressed. The strength of revolutionary organisation lies, among other things, in the ability to synthesise these views and emerge with the wisest possible approach. Once a decision has been taken on the basis of the majority's views, it binds everyone, including those who held a contrary view. Lower structures have the right to influence decisions of higher structures. And, within their mandate the higher structures have a responsibility to take decisions. Once these decisions have been taken, they bind all the relevant lower structures. They have to be supported and implemented.

Conduct befitting a leader of a revolutionary trade union

The debate on the guidelines for the leadership must be clear in identifying acceptable conduct and must strive to present solutions instead of having to deal with misconduct of cadres who hold office in the union. This means the guidelines must serve as preventative measures that empower the leaders to advance the tasks at hand. The conduct of the leadership of our union should be based on political and organisational discipline. It must bear and affirm a standard that must be adhered to by lower structures and members. The leaders elected at all levels of NEHAWU must be clear about their roles and responsibilities.

It is to be expected that in leading any social activity, leaders and members will from time to time make mistakes. The most important thing is that these individuals and collectives should have the capacity and humility to honestly review their work critically, and correct the weaknesses.

Leaders of the calibre that NEHAWU needs do not encourage the development of cliques or build personal power bases. They do not canvass support outside collectives, neither do they engage in gossip and mudslinging. They do not tell lies and they do not plot against fellow leaders of any structure.

A revolutionary leader is accountable to the leadership structures and membership. S/he guides membership while ensuring that ultimately they take decisions and s/he articulates their aspirations faithfully and to the best of his/her abilities.

A leader who grasps the essence of transformative trade unionism understands the power of a united force and the purpose of unity. S/he encourages the recruitment of membership based on the understanding that the strength of a trade union lies primarily in its numerical dominance. S/he discourages any form of prejudice towards others, based on race, creed, gender, sexual orientation and age.

The leader we need respects the principles and character of our union. S/he respects the members of the organisation, respects leaders of other affiliates, the federation and the alliance; as well as leaders of other unions, political parties and organs of civil society. The leader respects the institutions of the state and government, while maintaining a critical and militant posture towards them. S/he respects union officials who are dedicated to the service of workers.

A progressive leader is sympathetic towards others, assists where necessary and gives advice accordingly. S/he avails him/herself for a full term and sacrifices his/her personal development to some extent and is ready to serve without any expectation of material gain. S/he is able to communicate clearly and be understood, is a good listener and is able to give leadership at all times. S/he is able to bring people with opposing views towards a common way forward and strives to remain objective. S/he is able to articulate a principled position and avoid taking sides. S/he is a problem solver and is able to trust and be trusted. S/he does not need constant supervision and does not wilfully mislead or misguide others.

A revolutionary leader keeps leadership and organisational matters in strict confidence, is able to take others into confidence and instil respect in the organisation. Our leader is moulded through experience of having served the organisation and the broad democratic movement for a period of time, but is neither arrogant nor conceited about this. S/he is a student of the constitution, labour laws, collective bargaining resolutions, policies and acts of law that affect the membership of the union, the working class and broader society. S/he is a principled negotiator who is able to maintain a position, persuade and convince others on the basis of facts and superior argument, rather than noise and fake militancy which is the hallmark of leaders with tendencies to bullying. Most of all, s/he is humble and willing to concede to a better argument.

A grounded leader facilitates and encourages the free flow of ideas; as well as robust, but comradely engagement. S/he guides discussions towards conclusion without seeking to impose his/her views undemocratically or demagogically. The leader is committed to defend and build socialism and advance socialist morality and principles. S/he fearlessly eschews immoral conduct, bad mouthing, divisions, favouritism, nepotism, theft, corruption, negligence, factionalism, intolerance, disrespect and opportunism.

Leaders never cease to capacitate themselves and learn. Learning for leaders must be understood as combination of organic and academic development.

A NEHAWU leader ought to be able to organise workers in order for them to engage in social and economic struggles. S/he needs to also be able to analyse the balance of forces objectively in a

given situation in order to assess risks effectively and not lead the workers based on a whim of misguided militancy which often leads to adventurism. These call for the enrichment of union education in order to arm shop stewards and organisers with tools of analysis so that they can better engage in union work.

As a revolutionary organisation, NEHAWU needs revolutionary cadres and leaders. The union should put in place leadership collectives that are an expression of the character of the union defined above: a revolutionary trade union affiliated to COSATU and rooted in the Congress tradition. NEHAWU is a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist national union. A NEHAWU leader should understand union policy and be able to apply it under all conditions in which s/he finds him/herself. This includes an appreciation, from the NDR stand-point, of the country and the world we live in, of the balance of forces and of how to continually change this balance in favour of the motive forces for transformation.

A leader should constantly seek to improve his/her capacity to serve the workers. S/he should strive to be in touch with workers all the times, listen to their views and learn from them. S/he should be accessible and flexible; and not arrogate to him/herself the status of being the source of all wisdom.

A leader should win the confidence of the workers and the people in his/her day-to-day work. Where the situation demands, s/he should be firm and have the courage to explain and seek to convince others of the correctness of decisions taken by constitutional structures even if such decisions are unpopular. S/he should not seek to gain cheap popularity by avoiding difficult issues, making false promises or merely pandering to popular sentiment.

A leader should lead by example. S/he should be above reproach in his/her political and social conduct - as defined by our revolutionary morality. Through force of example, s/he should act as a role model to NEHAWU members and non-members alike.

There are no ready-made leaders. Leaders evolve out of battles for social and economic transformation. In these battles, cadres will stumble and some will fall. But the abiding quality of leadership is to learn from mistakes, to appreciate one's weaknesses and correct them.

A leader should seek to influence and be influenced by others in the collective. S/he should have the conviction to state his/her views boldly and openly within constitutional structures of the organisation, and – without being disrespectful – not to cower before those in more senior positions in pursuit of patronage, nor to rely on cliques to maintain one's position.

An individual with qualities of leadership does not seek to gain popularity by undermining those in positions of responsibility. Where such a member has a view on how to improve things or correct mistakes, s/he should state those views in constitutional structures and seek to win others to his/her own thinking. S/he should assist the union and our democratic movement as a whole to improve its work, and not stand aside to claim perfection out of inactivity.

The struggle for social and economic transformation is a complex undertaking in which at times, personal interests will conflict with the organisational interest. From time to time, conflict will manifest itself between and among members and leaders. The ultimate test of leadership includes: striving for subjection of personal interests to the collective interest; handling conflict in the course of union work by understanding its true origins and seeking to resolve it in the context of struggle and in the interest of the union.

A leader ought to have the ability to inspire people in good times and bad; to reinforce members' and society's confidence in the union, our alliance and transformation project. A leader wins genuine acceptance by the membership, not through suppression, threats or patronage, but by being principled, firm, humble and considerate.

Leadership Election

In order to ensure that leaders are elected for their track record in serving the workers, qualifications apply in relation to leadership positions. The constitution of NEHAWU sets minimum criteria for members and officials to be eligible to stand for election to office at various levels. At branch level, the constitution stipulates that any member in good standing may be elected as a shop steward and needs to be a member in good standing for at least one year to become a branch office bearer.

At regional level every candidate for a regional office bearer position needs to have been a member in good standing for at least two years; while at provincial level one ought to have been a member for three years. For one to be elected as a national office bearer, one need to have at least four years as shop steward in the union; and in the case of the General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary, any member in good standing would qualify to stand for election to these two positions. All of these provisions do not apply to a person who is a member of another union or staff association. The organisational review commission recommends that the minimum number of years of experience for one to be eligible to be elected as a national office bearer ought to be increased to six years for both shop stewards and officials.

In the congresses where leaders are elected, elections happen after discussion on the political and organisational environment and challenges facing the union. Out of these discussions emerges the political programme for the next term of office. Broadly, it is on the basis of these discussions (which start before the relevant congresses) that a suitable leadership collective is decided upon.

Voting at congresses is by secret ballot, and each delegate has one vote of equal value. In other words, delegates are not voting fodder, mechanically and unthinkingly bound to lists and subject to the whip. While delegates are expected to faithfully represent the mandate of their branches, regions or provinces, each individual delegate is expected to exercise his or her judgement on the basis of his or her assessment of the union's interests.

Election Processes

The procedure for electing leaders in the union is fairly simple and understood by most of the structures. The process starts at congress where a candidate who meets the minimum criteria as stipulated by the constitution is nominated and seconded for election as an office bearer. If only one person is duly nominated for a particular office bearer post, that person is declared elected; and if more than one person is duly nominated for a particular office bearer post, a vote must be taken for that office by ballot. The candidate with the highest number of votes must be declared to that office.

The electoral commission is the office bearer collective at the level higher than that where the congress is held; except at the national congress where an external body presides over the

election of national office bearers. The central executive committee has to develop standard documents such as forms, ballot papers etc. that must be used in all the congresses of the union.

Constructive and destructive lobbying

Owing to the fact that leadership in structures of NEHAWU affords opportunities for comrades to assume positions of authority with some (though limited) material benefits, some individuals then compete for union leadership positions in order to get into office. Thus resources, prestige and authority of union positions become the driving force in competition for leadership positions in the union. Influenced by a culture alien to the progressive trade union movement, a tendency has also developed to assess individuals totally outside of the context which is the core mandate of the union. Artificial criteria such as eloquence specifically in English, and warped notions of "sophistication" are then imposed on the union's approach. This is usually whispered outside formal structures, and bandied about opportunistically in the build-up to the union's congresses.

In order to counter these new tendencies, the selection and election of leaders should reside firmly in the hands of the membership. This can only happen if there is open and frank discussion on these issues in formal structures of the union. Quiet and secret lobbying opens the union to opportunism and even infiltration by forces hostile to our objectives. Such discussion should be informed by the critical policy and programmatic issues that face us in each phase of struggle. In debating the composition of leadership collectives, we should take into account such factors as the various historical experiences of union cadres. We also have to ensure that sufficient skills are harnessed for the task of leadership and management of our union's affairs. The contribution of experienced shop stewards and officials at various levels is also a critical element to ensure continuity and the wisdom of experience.

Members are not discouraged from canvassing for those they support. And, technically, an individual is not prohibited from canvassing for him/herself. But it is a matter of profound cultural practice within our broad movement that individuals do not promote or canvass for themselves. Historically, this has justifiably been frowned upon as being in bad revolutionary taste. One of the main reasons for this is that when cadres of the movement do their work, this is not meant to be with an eye on leadership positions or some other personal reward; but to serve the people. When cadres are not in formal leadership positions, they should not will others to fail, but assist everyone in the interest of the union. Selecting candidates and ultimately electing leaders is not like the "natural selection" of evolution where things develop by chance. It must be a conscious and well-considered act on the part of each NEHAWU member.

Nomination and canvassing must be done openly, and within constitutional structures of the organisation. If a member wishes to nominate a candidate or to stand for a particular position, s/he must indicate this in formal meetings of structures. Outside these structures, it becomes dangerous and unacceptable lobbying. In open engagement within constitutional structures, the member(s) would then motivate why they believe that a particular person would make a significant contribution to the work of NEHAWU at the various levels. They would also be able to indicate the new and creative things that nominees would bring to leadership collectives. If the nominees have been members of these or other collectives, it should also be shown that they have striven to improve the work of these collectives, raised issues openly and had the courage of their convictions. It does not help for individuals to keep quiet in formal structures and emerge as surprise leaders with the promise to perform better in future.

If they believe that there are weaknesses to correct, those who nominate or accept nomination should be able to show that those weaknesses are real and not the imagination of the media or forces which want to weaken the union. They should also show that the weaknesses are those of individuals they seek to replace, and not a result of the objective situation in which the organisation finds itself. This would help contain a litany of false promises. It is also critical that individuals whose names are advanced reflect consistency in their work to pursue the union's interests. Individuals who target positions of influence and leave when they lose; and then seek to come back only as leaders would have to show how this serves the interests of the union, and whether they can be relied upon during difficult times.

Inasmuch as we should avoid pretenders and opportunists, we should also ensure that leadership structures do not carry ineffective leaders. If they are already serving in these structures, or have served in the past, leaders should be assessed on how their presence helped the union in its work. Further, it should be clear how their presence in these structures would help ensure the balances that are required for the union to fulfil its mission.

Individuals who operate in the dead of the night, convening secret meetings and speaking poorly of other members should be exposed and isolated. There is nothing inherently wrong with structures developing lists of candidates and canvassing for them. However, such lists should not be used to stifle discussion in constitutional forums, and prevent the nomination of other candidates. In discussions around nominees, names on the lists should not take precedence over any other nominations from members.

The traditions of the union of having constitutional structures discussing their preferred candidates should be maintained. This allows the structures the space to assess comprehensively the capabilities of the candidates and consolidate the mandates that the delegates carry to the congresses openly and without any fear of being victimized. This should eliminate the element of animosity, dishonesty and character assassination and smear campaigns that have been witnessed in the recent past.

Conclusion

These guidelines indicate the broad parameters within which every member of NEHAWU should exercise his/her right to shape the leadership collectives of the union and ensure that it meets its historical mandate. In one sense they make it difficult for individuals to ascend to positions of leadership in the organisation. In applying these broad principles, members of the union need to be firm. But we should also exercise creative flexibility, knowing that no single individual is perfect. Indeed there are many who may have potential but would not meet all the requirements set out here. But it is critical that they are honest about their capacity, and show a willingness to learn.

There are many members of NEHAWU who enjoy great respect within the structures of the union, but still have to grasp the complex matters of policy. Such individuals should be encouraged to avail themselves for leadership positions. They should however be prepared to develop themselves and to take part in relevant education and training sessions.

It is a matter of principle, revolutionary democratic practice, and a constitutional requirement that, once duly elected, the leaders should be accepted by all members as leaders of the union at the

relevant level. They should be assisted by all of us in their work. The leaders themselves are obliged to serve and to listen to all members, including those who may not have voted for them. Leadership in a transformative organisation such as NEHAWU cannot be limited to a narrow definition based on the hierarchical structures of the union. However, discussions necessitated by the decision of the 9th national congress to develop guidelines should be focused on both how to elect leaders across the different layers of leadership collectives and what ought to be a combination of minimum attributes or qualities of a NEHAWU leader that may occupy a position in a particular structure of the union.

Leadership is produced and exercised in a specific historical moment or time and within specific socioeconomic and political context, just as the organisation's character and orientation evolve over time and are subject to different historical contexts. Members make organisations just as leaders shape the organisations. The need for the guidelines has arisen in the union out of our experience of what appears to be a slide or degeneration in the process of electing or changing the union's leaders even though the constitution may be invariably complied with. It is also informed in some instances by the growing concerns related to the quality of the leadership elected and considerations that tend to be made or not made when leadership change occurs.

Obviously the guidelines would not in themselves address or solve concerns related to the quality of the leadership as this is a function of a number of factors both within the union itself and the broader socioeconomic and political context. Even though the question of leadership has been discussed in the union before, it is true that the union is now facing new challenges which require a much more comprehensive approach so that in the end the guidelines emanating from the discussions address the prevailing reality both in the union and external environment.

Western Cape

Gauteng

1.4.11. **Worker Control Principle**

The national congress deferred the discussion document on the principle of worker control in building a strong workplace organisation, class consciousness and internationalism, to the central executive committee for further discussions and adoption. The national office bearers were mandated to oversee the process of enriching the document for presentation to the central executive committee.

1.4.12. **Towards a NEHAWU Gender Policy**

The national congress deferred the discussion document towards a NEHAWU gender policy to the central executive committee for further discussion and adoption. The national office bearers were mandated to oversee the process of enriching the document for presentation to the central executive committee.

End