



NATIONAL CONGRESS

26 - 29 JUNE 2026

BOOK 1

PROGRAMME, CREDENTIALS, RULES AND MINUTES



**ADVANCE WORKPLACE ORGANISATION TO DEFEND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING,
HEIGHTEN CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND ADVANCE INTERNATIONALISM!**

Nkosi sikelel'iAfrika
Maluphakamisw'uphondo lwayo
JYizwa imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela
Thina lusapho lwayo

Morena boloka Sechaba sa heso O fedise dintwa le
matshwenyeho
Morena boloka Sechaba sa heso O fedise dintwa le
matshwenyeho
O se boloko, O se boloke, O se boloko
Setjaba sa heso
Setjaba sa Afrika

THE INTERNATIONALE

Arise, ye prisoners from starvation
Arise ye toilers of the earth
For reason thunders new creation
'Tis a better world in birth

Never more traditions' chains shall bind us
Arise ye toilers no more in thrall
The earth shall rise on new foundations
We are but naught we shall be all

Chorus

*Then comrades come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale
Unites the human race*

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

Chorus

*Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong.*

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall
run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of
one
But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his
might?
Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight? For
the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

It is we who ploughed the prairies; built the cities where they
trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of
railroad laid.
Now we stand outcast and starving, 'midst the wonders we
have made;
But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by
stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own, While
the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we
learn That the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old.

For the Union makes us strong.

Chorus

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	13 TH NATIONAL CONGRESS PROGRAMME:	4
2.	13 TH NATIONAL CONGRESS CREDENTIALS:	6
3.	DRAFT CONGRESS RULES:	6
4.	MINUTES OF THE 11 TH NATIONAL CONGRESS {03-06 November 2021}	7
4.1	OPENING:	7
4.1.1	WELCOME TO GAUTENG:	7
4.1.2	PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF CONGRESS CREDENTIALS:	9
4.2	ADOPTION OF THE CONGRESS PROGRAMME:	9
5.	INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME OF GUESTS:	9
6.	OPENING ADDRESS:	9
7.	RATIFICATION OF THE 11 TH NATIONAL CONGRESS MINUTES:	10
8.	ADDRESS BY THE SACP GENERAL SECRETARY:	10
9.	MESSAGES OF SUPPORT:	15
10.	PRESENTATION OF THE SECRETARIAT REPORT:	15
11.	ADDRESS BY COSATU PRESIDENT, COMRADE ZINGISWA LOSI:	16
12.	NOMINATION AND ELECTION PROCEDURES FOR NATIONAL OFFICE BEARERS:	25
13.	FINANCIAL REPORT:	25
14.	ADDRESS BY WFTU DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY:	25
15.	ADDRESS BY TUI-PS&A PRESIDENT:	27
16.	CONFIRMATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE BEARERS CANDIDATES AND ELECTION:	30
17.	COMMISSIONS OUTLINE AND BREAKING INTO COMMISSIONS:	30
18.	PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS:	31
18.1	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:	31
18.1.1	On The Global Crisis of the Capitalist System:	31
18.1.2	International Working Class Solidarity:	32
18.1.3	World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU):	33
18.1.4	Advancing Our Internationalism Solidarity:	33
18.1.4.1	Swaziland:	35
18.1.4.2	Palestine:	37
18.1.4.3	PAME in Greece:	38
18.1.4.4	Western Sahara:	38
18.1.4.5	Cyprus:	39
18.1.4.6	Democratic Republic of Congo:	39
18.1.4.7	Kurdistan:	39
18.1.4.8	Basque:	40
18.1.4.9	Mozambique:	40
18.1.4.10	Zimbabwe:	41
18.2	POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK:	41
18.2.1	National Democratic Revolution:	41
18.2.2	South African State:	42
18.2.3	Building and Strengthening the Alliance:	44
18.2.4	African National Congress:	46
18.2.5	South African National Civic Organisation:	47
18.2.6	South African Communist Party:	47
18.2.7	Congress of South African Trade Unions:	49
18.2.8	Popular Left Front Towards Socialism:	51

18.3	SOCIO-ECONOMIC WORK:	51
18.3.1	Developmental State:	51
18.3.2	Health Transformation Programme:	53
18.3.3	Education and Skills Development Programme:	54
18.4	ORGANISATIONAL PRIORITIES:	55
18.4.1	Seamless Machinery:	55
18.4.2	Strengthening Workplace Organisation:	56
18.4.3	Substructures:	58
18.4.4	Education and Training:	59
18.4.5	Gender:	59
18.4.6	Membership, Recruitment and Retention:	60
18.4.7	Collective Bargaining:	61
18.4.8	Case Handling and Management:	62
18.4.9	Building Financial Self Sufficiency and Sustainability:	63
19.	CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS:	64
20.	ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NOBs ELECTION RESULTS:	66
21.	DECLARATION:	66
22.	MESSAGE FROM THE INCOMING PRESIDENT:	71
23.	CLOSURE AND DEPARTURES:	75

1. 13TH NATIONAL CONGRESS PROGRAMME

DAY ONE-26 JUNE 2026		
Chairperson: 1st Deputy President		
1.	10H00-10H30	Opening
1.1		Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and Internationale: Choir
1.2		Welcome to Gauteng – Gauteng Premier Panyaza Lesufi
1.3		Presentation and Adoption of Credentials: General Secretary – Cde Zola Saphetha
1.4		Adoption of the Congress Programme: General Secretary – Cde Zola Saphetha
2.	10H30-11H00	Introduction and Welcoming of Guests: Deputy General Secretary – Cde December Mavuso
3.	11H00-11H30	Opening Address: President - Cde Michael Madala Shingange
4.	11H30-12H00	Messages of Support: Deputy General Secretary – Cde December Mavuso
5.	12H00-12H30	Ratification of the 10 th National Congress Minutes: Deputy General Secretary – Cde December Mavuso
6.	12H30-13H00	Presentation of the Central Executive Committee Special Resolution on Constitutional Amendments
7.	13H00-13H30	Nomination and Election Procedures for the National Office Bearers – The Elections Agency
	13H30-14H30	Lunch Time
Chairperson: President		
8.	14H30-15H00	Adoption of Congress Rules: Deputy General Secretary – Cde December Mavuso
9.	15H00-15H30	Address by ANC
10.	15H30-16H10	Keynote Address by SACP General Secretary, Cde. Solly Mapaile
11.	16H10-17H30	Presentation of the Secretariat Report: General Secretary – Cde Zola Saphetha
12.	17H30-18H30	Discussion of the Secretariat Report: General Secretary – Cde Zola Saphetha
DAY TWO- 27 JUNE 2026		
Chairperson: President		
13.	09H00-09H30	Address by COSATU
14.	09H30-11H00	Finances: National Treasurer – Cde Kgomo Makhupola
		Treasurer's Report: National Treasurer – Cde Kgomo Makhupola

		Audited Financial Statements 2021/2022/2023/2024/2025: National Treasurer – Cde Kgomotso Makhupola
		Discussion on Finances
15.	11H00-11H30	Address by TUI PS&A President
16.	11H30-12H10	Address by WFTU General Secretary
17.	12H10-12H30	Confirmation of NOBs Candidates and Election - The Elexions Agency
18.	12H30-13H00	Happy 39 th Birthday to NEHAWU - Cake Cutting Ceremony – National Office Bearers
	13H00-14H00	Lunch Time
19.	14H00-14H30	Recognition of NEHAWU Comrades who passed-on in the period under review – Video
	14H30-18H00	Outline of the Commissions and Breaking into Commissions
20.	19H00-21H00	International Seminar
DAY THREE – 28 JUNE 2026 Chairperson: 2nd Deputy President		
21.	09H00-13H00	Congress Commissions Continues
	13H00-14H00	Lunch Time
22.	14H00-18H00	Presentation and Adoption of Resolutions
23.	19H00-22H00	Social Event { Awards Ceremony}
DAY FOUR- 29 JUNE 2026 Chairperson: 1st Deputy President		
24.	09H00-13H00	Presentation and Adoption of Resolutions Continues
	13H00-14H00	Lunch Time
25.	14H00-14H30	Announcement of the NOBs Election Results
26.	14H30-14H45	Declaration - Newly Elected General Secretary
27.	14H45-15H20	Closing Remarks – Newly Elected President
15H20	Closure and Departures	

1. 13TH NATIONAL CONGRESS CREDENTIALS

Prov.	Delegates	Voting Delegates	Non-Voting	Females	Males
NEC	33	21	12	6	27
LP	46	46	0	22	24
NC	17	17	0	9	08
WC	51	51	0	22	29
GP	168	165	3	68	100
MP	58	58	0	32	26
NW	38	38	0	14	22
EC	81	80	1	39	42
KZN	86	83	3	41	45
FS	32	32	0	15	17
TOTAL	610	591	19	268	340

2. DRAFT NATIONAL CONGRESS RULES

Congress rules are meant to or established for behavioral expectations and procedures that defines how the congress will proceed or be conducted to ensure efficiency, productivity and mutual respect. They are set standards for communication, time management and decorum, often covering preparation, participation and decision-making to minimize wasted time and maximum results.

In essence, rules seek to manage time and stick to the agenda, to deal with behavioral expectations to ensure no side conversation, turn off cell phones and be respectful of others ideas, addresses communication protocols such as listen with an open mind, think before you speaking and avoid personal attacks, ensures participation and focus by ensuring everyone contributes, encourages focus on the point of discussion and staying on point as well as structuring the proceedings as required by the agenda or programme, defining roles of the Chairperson of the session and participants of the congress.

The rules must be read together with the policy on union leadership orientation, conduct and elections particularly the part regarding the conduct befitting a leader of a revolutionary trade union like ours. Indeed, the overarching guide of these rules is NEHAWU Constitution as a supreme document to supersedes everything action and conduct of the proceedings of the congress.

Behavioral Expectations

1. The congress shall be guided by Chapter 21: Meeting Procedures, Section 67(1) and (2) of NEHAWU Constitution as signed by the President and General Secretary on the 12th of October 2022. In addition, the congress adopts these rules as bidding to every delegate and participant of this congress as follows:
2. A maximum discipline is expected during the proceedings of the congress from all delegates regardless of their status.
3. All delegates have the right to speak in the congress through their provinces using the board indicating the respective province and only when recognised by the Chairperson of the session.

4. A delegate wishing to speak shall indicate such intention by raising his/her a board indicating a respective province and must wait to be recognised by the chairperson of the session.
5. Only the chairperson of the session who will decide on the order of speakers and shall ensure that all speakers are given an opportunity to speak.
6. In order to manage time of the meeting in line with the programme, delegates will be allowed to speak for the period allocated by the chairperson in plenary session and commissions.
7. Each delegate will stand up when addressing plenary with an exception of those who will not be able stand up due to disabilities or health conditions.
8. If the chairperson calls a speaker to order, the speaker being called to order will immediately stop speaking and will not continue debating until the chairperson authorizes him/her to continue.
9. Once a point of order has been raised and granted, discussion shall be suspended to allow the intervention and thereafter the chairperson shall give his/her ruling which is final.
10. No delegate shall initiate and/or join in, the singing of any song, chanting of any slogan other than those songs and slogans known to be familiar and or that which is acceptable to the union.
11. No delegate will be allowed to initiate or participate in any way, passing derogatory remarks against anyone, derogating or insulting anyone and in unacceptable demonstration of any kind during the meeting of the congress.
12. The meeting shall be conducted with integrity and respect and no disruptive exercise shall be allowed.
13. There shall be no sexual harassment incidents and if there are any, they must be reported to the committee of the congress which is the National Executive Committee.
14. All delegates must be seated where their provinces are allocated to sit.
15. All invited speakers will strictly be restricted within the time limits communicated in their respective invitation letters and no single speaker shall be allowed to go beyond when addressing congress plenary.

The Ruling

1. The ruling of the chairperson is final except that this ruling may be rescinded by a motion supported by a majority of members present;
2. If a meeting requires any delegate(s) to withdraw from the meeting, such delegate(s) must withdraw from the meeting for such a period as the meeting decides; and
3. If a delegate refuses to obey the Chairperson's ruling then the Constitution of NEHAWU shall be invoked.

3. MINUTES OF THE 12TH NATIONAL CONGRESS {03-06 November 2021} HELD AT OR TAMBO CONFERENCE CENTRE, BIRCHWOOD HOTEL, BOKSBURG IN THE PROVINCE OF GAUTENG

a. OPENING

The 12th national Congress was opened by the 1st Deputy President, Comrade Mike Shingange who asked that those who have been assigned to lead the proceedings with the rendition of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, The Internationale and Solidarity Forever.

i. Welcome to Gauteng – Gauteng Premier, Cde. David Makhura

It is a great honour to be here at this 12th National Congress representing several generations of worker leaders and organisers, many of whom are no longer with us, who built this union - National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU).

I am happy to see that many former Union leaders are also in attendance today. I have been asked to welcome you to this 12th National Congress in my capacity as the Premier of Gauteng and the Provincial Chairperson of the ANC in Gauteng.

We are very proud of the work that you continue to do to raise the banner of NEHAWU high. The banner remains high. You continue to work hard to ensure that this Union remains a strong Union that is a voice of workers, that builds on the strength of the hard work of many who are no longer with us.

I was sent by this Union to the African National Congress (ANC) in May 2000 and several discussions were held with the ANC national officials on the matter until in November 2001, the NEHAWU NEC finally agreed to release me permanently from the union as the Deputy General Secretary.

Many of us regard NEHAWU as our Union, up to this day.

I am a product of NEHAWU and I remain deeply grateful to the union for its contribution to shaping my personal, political and ideological development. This Union shaped my class consciousness, my attitude to life, working people, politics, society, and to issues of injustice and inequalities locally and internationally.

To this day, my theory and practise on matters of the alliance and governance have been shaped by many debates we had in union meetings and political schools.

Here in Gauteng, the alliance has been working very hard to confront and tackle difficult political, social, economic and governance issues together in a united way.

In the last 18 months, we have gone through very difficult times as a country with COVID-19. In Gauteng, we have lost a lot of healthcare workers and without the Unions coming to the party, the public healthcare workers in our province in particular, we would have had great difficulty with managing this pandemic.

I wish to take this opportunity to officially thank NEHAWU and other public sector unions for their positive role in helping us to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic.

The leadership of NEHAWU has enabled us to face various challenges including dealing firmly with PPE corruption and other acts of malfeasance. We will rely on your support in fixing the current problems and dysfunctionality of the Gauteng Department of Health.

We remain committed to the fight against corruption and ensuring that all those who are involved in any unlawful practices face the full might of the law.

We continue to make progress in our vaccination programme. To date, 3 million people in Gauteng have been fully vaccinated, the largest number in the country. Yesterday, we reached 4 million single doses. In total, Gauteng has administered 6 million vaccines - this would have not been achieved without healthcare workers.

Local Government Elections

The Alliance and workers in our province participated fully in the election campaign and we are all disappointed with the low voter turnout, especially in working class communities. We must interpret this low voter turnout politically.

The voters who stayed away from the polls (who are the majority of all registered voters), chose not to vote in order to send a message to all parties. To us in the ANC, we must appreciate that the majority of these registered voters chose not to vote for any alternatives to the ANC. However, they are also not convinced that as the ANC we have done enough to address what they see as problems of corruption, service delivery failures, and socio-economic problems such as unemployment and deepening levels of poverty.

Renewal needs to be fast-tracked to tackle both organisational divisions, ethical degeneration and socio-economic problems facing millions of people in our communities.

We must insist that there is no turning back on renewal. We must act with urgency to win back the confidence of those who chose to stay away from the polls instead of choosing to vote for opposition parties or independent candidates.

We can win back the trust of the people if we act with consistency and urgency on the renewal of both the ANC and Government.

We remain confident that we will still have the majority in most municipalities even though in some we need to work with other like-minded parties or individuals to set up government.

Yesterday, 02 November 2021, we met as the Alliance and ANC Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) in which we agreed to discuss the principles that will guide us regarding who to work with.

We are not desperate to be in government at all cost. We do not want to be in government for its own sake, but to pursue a socio-economic transformation agenda that will improve the lives of the working class and the poor communities.

We will not go into coalition with anybody who just wants to be in power, but we want to work with those who share our vision and commitment to transform our society and our economy so that millions of people can earn decent incomes and enjoy sustainable livelihoods in secure and better communities.

I once more wish to thank the Union for its positive contribution to radical change. When I am done with my current assignment in the ANC and the province, the Union can give me any task as a volunteer, without any elected position.

I wish the 12th NEHAWU National Congress success.

I thank you.

ii. Presentation and Adoption of Congress Credentials

The congress credentials were presented by the General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha as follows:

12 TH NATIONAL CONGRESS CREDENTIALS
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Structure	Membership	Expected	Present	Males	Females	Workers	Officials
NEC Members	N/A	34	34	31	3	23	11
Eastern Cape	40 269	81	81	40	41	79	2
Free State	15 372	31	31	15	16	31	0
Gauteng	80 221	160	160	80	80	159	1
KwaZulu/Natal	40 290	81	81	40	41	78	3
Limpopo	25 669	51	51	25	26	51	0
Mpumalanga	24 168	48	48	24	24	48	0
North West	18 851	38	38	21	17	38	0
Northern Cape	8 286	17	17	11	6	17	0
Western Cape	26 330	53	53	30	23	53	0
Total	279 465	594	594	317	277	577	17

After the presentation of the 12th national congress credentials and subsequent clarification of issues raised, credentials were accepted and adopted.

KwaZulu/Natal

Northern Cape

b. Adoption of the Congress Programme

The programme of the 12th National Congress was presented by the General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha, and was adopted by the 12th national congress.

Gauteng

Eastern Cape

5 INTRODUCTION AND WELCOMING OF GUESTS

The Deputy General Secretary, Comrade December Mavuso, introduced both local and international guests who were attending the congress virtually including the Diplomats from the four Embassies and former National Office Bearers of the union who were in attendance to the 12th national congress.

6 OPENING ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, CDE. MZWANDILE MAKWAYIBA

6.1 The 12th National Congress was officially opened by the President, Comrade Mzwandile Makwayiba, The president made the following remarks to set the tone for the 12th National Congress.

- Comrades, the 12th National Congress is convened during a period when we are confronted with a global health pandemic [COVID-19] which has caused so much devastation to the world. This pandemic has affected the world beyond any measure.
- As such comrades, we take this time to pay homage and salute working class frontline healthcare workers for their utmost bravery during this pandemic. These workers have sacrificed their lives to save humanity despite the lack of adequate personal protective equipment [PPEs] and the looting of resources meant to save the lives of healthcare workers and ultimately the nation. We salute these workers for their dedication and efforts against this pandemic.
- The national union is vindicated by reports that have emerged on the corruption associated with PPEs'. We embarked on fact-finding mission into various healthcare facilities across the country at the peak of the pandemic. The fact-finding mission culminated into the national union producing a report that was shared with the National Department of Health and the general public into the state of affairs in public healthcare facilities. We even took the

- government to court in order for the government to protect these healthcare workers by providing them with PPEs and also adhere to Occupational Health and Safety [OHS] Act. This congress must take a decision for the union to litigate against the Department of Health for all our members who got affected by COVID-19 as a result of the department being negligent in handling the pandemic.
- d. Comrades, this congress take place at a time when recently the Minister of Finance indicated that the government has not budgeted for an increment of public servants salaries and this is in line with the neoliberal agenda of treasury to cut the public service wage bill and social spending for the next three to five years.
 - e. This comrades is a direct attack on workers and we must fight and struggle for the defence of workers who are at the coalface of service delivery. Why should workers be told and accept such a situation of no wage increases? Why should neo-liberal policies be imposed on workers and they're expected to agree? As workers should never agree to such and should struggle and be decisive in our struggle. Workers should guard and be jealous of our struggle. Life will not be easy for workers because the current government plans to cut the public service wage bill and freeze our salaries.
 - f. Comrades, this congress takes place at a time when our country is confront by the scourge of Gender Based Violence. The national union needs to have a dedicated focus in empowering women and we need to take a deliberate effort to empower women. Our organisation has been a leading force in the struggle for women empowerment and development. NEHAWU was amongst the first unions within our Federation [COSATU] to have a women president and we need to carry on with those traditions of empowering women and also continue with our gender struggle.
 - g. The national union must emerge out of this congress united and combat ready for the battles that lie ahead in defence of collective bargaining and workers.
 - h. Lastly Comrades, we want to thank the national union for having entrusted us with responsibilities of leading this militant union of Bheki Mkhize and Yure Mdyogolo. We thank the leadership of the national union for having supported us during our time leading this union. We handover the baton to the next generation of leadership having trust that it will safeguard and protect the union of Bheki and Yure and also continue to with the traditions of NEHAWU as a red militant fighting union.

7 RATIFICATION OF MINUTES

7.1 11th National Congress Minutes

The General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha presented minutes of the 11th national congress held on the 26th – 29th June 2017. The minutes were adopted without amendments.

Northern Cape

KwaZulu-Natal

8 ADDRESS BY THE SACP GENERAL SECRETARY, CDE BLADE NZIMANDE

Allow me on behalf of the SACP Central Committee and the entire membership of the Party to convey our revolutionary greetings. We wish your 12th National Congress a resounding success. From the onset, we also wish to stress the importance of unity to all the three elements of the theme, to the union at all levels, and to the entire progressive trade union movement both in the public and private sectors. We wish to underline that engaging in seeking consensus with each other on all major questions is part and parcel of working-class democracy and principles of solidarity.

Strengthen workplace organisation, deepen class consciousness, and advance internationalism

NEHAWU has been playing a key role in the trade union movement in advancing all the three elements of your theme for this congress, “Strengthen workplace organisation to defend collective bargaining, Deepen class consciousness and Advance internationalism”. This was without doubt visible in the struggle to seek the implementation of Resolution 1 of 2018. The SACP came out in a principled support of the workers, in defence of collective bargaining and mindful of the wider implications of the National Treasury-led U-turn in honouring the negotiated public service and administration salary increases. More than anything else underpinning the U-turn is the neoliberal policy of austerity and the arguments that go with it.

Collective bargaining is a key pillar of social dialogue in labour relations and the decent work agenda. If compromised, by among others post-settlement U-turns, other things break down. The consequences can spread beyond the confines of the workplace, as we have seen it happening. Also, certain sections of the private sector took their cue from the U-turn in honouring public service and administration salary increases by engaging in acts that undermined collective bargaining. We cannot overemphasise the crucial importance of strengthening workplace organisation to defend collective bargaining.

The second element of your theme, “Deepen class consciousness”, draws attention to the imperative of linking the workplace struggle with the broader political struggle to build working-class power in pursuit of universal social emancipation. Through its campaigning and union education, NEHAWU has played an active role in building class-oriented trade unionism. We need to deepen our joint efforts, such as the Chris Hani Brigade Programme, which has produced a good number of well-trained leaders and union officials within NEHAWU. This has also benefitted our broader movement with the capacity that it has produced.

NEHAWU has also played an important role in line with the third element of the congress theme, “Advance internationalism”. We wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude for the role that the union has played within the World Federation of Trade Unions, in international solidarity and anti-imperialist struggles. It will fill pages to name all the international solidarity and anti-imperialist programmes that NEHAWU has taken part in and supported.

We are looking forward to the union strengthening workplace organisation, deepening class consciousness, and advancing internationalism. On this score, one key task that NEHAWU and other public service unions face is that of using your strategic location in the state to help dismantle the networks of corporate state capture and other forms of corruption. We say this appreciating the positive contribution that you have made in the battle.

We acknowledge working together in a widest possible patriotic front, buttressed by the combined power of the workers, and united through progressive trade unions both inside and outside the state, we could have succeeded much earlier than our first breakthrough in dealing state capture networks a decisive blow. We refer to “both inside and outside the state” because the state capture networks, and their nexus of corruption, comprised elements from both inside and outside the state. This understanding is important to recognising and advancing the imperative to build working-class power in all key sites of the struggle, including the economy.

There are key lessons for us to learn from the answers to the vexing questions that we have posed in our battle against state capture. For instance, how did state capture and the industrial scale looting that it facilitated take place and entrench while we have a strong, progressive trade union movement in the public sector? How can we use our strength as the progressive trade union movement in the public sector to build and defend a capable democratic developmental state, while providing quality service to our members? Is there a contradiction between, on the one hand, building a capable democratic developmental state, and, on the other hand, providing quality service to our members as the progressive trade union movement?

One key aspect that makes these questions essential for your objective consideration is that it is the working-class that suffers more from state capture, corruption and associated weakening of the state.

Put People Before Profit: Socialism is the Future—Build it Now

This year marked the 100th founding anniversary of the SACP. We also wish to thank you for the SACP centenary celebration that you have organised to take place on November the 4th. We celebrate the centenary of the Party under the theme, “Put People Before Profit”. This is guided by the strategic slogan that captures both our immediate and long-term objectives, “Socialism is the Future—Build it Now”. Hence, “Put People Before Profit: Socialism is the Future—Build it Now”.

We put forward the theme in a strategic response to the capitalist bosses and their neoliberal hangers-on advancing more of the same measures that coalesce into putting profit before people in the face of the multiple capitalist system crises. By the way, neoliberalism has hollowed out and weakened the capacity of the state, like state capture. The industrial scale looting of state capture was more concentrated in the connection between the state and its entities, on the one hand, and the tenderisation of the state, outsourcing and privatisation promoted by neoliberalism, on the other. Neoliberalism is still driving similar measures globally. This time around, it uses the notion of structural reforms. The Washington-based IMF and World Bank, the Paris-based OECD, and Western imperialist credit rating agencies, to name but a few, are among the institutions intransigently pushing the neoliberal agenda.

The crises to which our centenary theme form a strategic response include the global COVID-19 pandemic which resulted in NEHAWU and other frontline workers’ trade unions losing their members in the course of duty. We wish to express our sincere condolences once again to the families that lost their loved ones because of the deadly virus, and to you, dear comrades. We also wish to thank NEHAWU members for the role they have played in fighting the pandemic! We need to drive vaccination more robustly to achieve population immunity and stop the pandemic.

The other crises in contemporary capitalism to which our centenary theme refers in response are the economic crisis and the multiple crises of social reproduction. The economic crisis is showed by the persistent high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality that affect the working-class, while the social reproduction crisis is showed by the associated inability of the affected working-class households to support their lives.

One manifestation of the multiple crises of social reproduction is that of gender-based violence and the subordinate position of women in society generally. The progressive trade union movement has a particularly important role in the forefront of the struggle against gender inequality, women’s oppression, and the associated gender-based violence. Our workplaces are still sites of women’s oppression and gender inequalities. Unless the progressive trade union movement goes to the front of this battle, we might never really defeat it.

Some sections in our country have, for many years, tried to convince us that the so-called economic policy fundamentals were in place. Now some of them insist that South Africa has good policies, that the only problem has been a lack of implementation. These arguments were and are still overwhelmingly one-sided. Neither do they appreciate the complexity of our situation, besides. In the end, they serve to maintain the failed paradigm.

The reality in South Africa is that the persistent high levels of unemployment, poverty, and inequality are long-term structural policy outcomes. For instance, unemployment in South Africa rose from below 20 per cent in terms of the narrow definition that excludes discouraged work-seekers to above 20 per cent in 1996. That was the year in which GEAR was imposed from within

the government. Since then, unemployment never returned below 20 per cent. It has fluctuated above the crisis high level of 20 per cent. Like the global COVID-19 pandemic, the global economic crisis that broke out in 2008 and the end of the global minerals super cycle in or around 2011 only worsened the pre-existing crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality, and social reproduction.

The long-term structural persistence of the crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality and social reproduction is one reason during the recent local government election campaign we stressed our message for a policy change. We did this while recognising the commendable social advances that benefitted millions of our people since our 1994 democratic breakthrough. We overemphasise the crucial importance of a change in the macroeconomic framework under whose auspices the systemic crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality, and social reproduction not only remained persistent but also worsened. Politically, these were a serious factor in the recent local government elections.

The interrelated crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality, and social reproduction also manifest in high incidents of criminality and different forms of violence afflicting many of our communities. We appeal to you, dear comrades, to reflect on how we can end the scourge of criminality, gender-based violence in particular, violence in general, drug dealing and drug and substance abuse in our communities and country at large. We need to achieve victory against these scourges and the individuals and forces behind them, regardless of their nationality.

In the same way, we must strengthen our mobilisation to roll back the neoliberal policy of austerity, as part of our effort to achieve the policy change that our country desperately needs to overcome the crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality and social reproduction. Among others, prescribed investment assets requirements, transformation of the financial sector, large-scale investment into infrastructure, industrialisation—including through beneficiation of our minerals, agro-processing, expansion and diversification of manufacturing in other employment creating drivers—and advancing more progressive social policy towards a comprehensive social security system. These must become an active reality in our policy trajectory.

We must solve our energy crisis through, among other measures, additional investment to turn Eskom around and reposition it to serve as the mainstay of our national and regional energy security of supply. This must include investment to end load shedding and secure the future of Eskom in renewable energy production. We cannot overemphasise the importance of the green transition to turn the tide against the catastrophic crisis of climate change, which is driven by profit-seeking interests.

As the SACP, we are saying it is not enough to articulate these policy perspectives. We need to actively mobilise the widest range of social forces to campaign for the realisation of these policy perspectives. This requires, amongst other things, deepening the joint campaigning of the SACP and COSATU, together with the entire progressive trade union movement, and other progressive organisations in society. We need to build a Left popular front to achieve radical structural transformation of our economy. This must be underpinned by returning to our joint political schools in order to build the necessary layer of cadreship to drive our policy commitments.

Sincere gratitude to the people

Dear comrades, allow us to take this opportunity to thank our people who voted for the ANC in last Monday's local government elections. We will conduct a detailed assessment of the results and develop the way forward. However, we have initial observations to highlight.

The results that started emerging yesterday were predictable. Which is why during the campaign we sought to turn the tide against, or at least limit the extent of the decline. There were service delivery problems affecting a number of communities across the country. Problems within our

broad movement, such as internal divisions and counter-campaigning of the ANC, factional conduct, and situations where Alliance partners were marginalised, resulting in divided communities and a failure to provide quality services. The decline in voter turnout affecting the ANC could be attributed to such subjective factors, besides the objective factors such as the crises of unemployment, poverty, inequality and social reproduction.

There is a warning from the decline that occurred in different areas and the weaknesses that underpin it. Going forward, the ANC needs greater internal unity, the Alliance stronger than before, the widest possible support from the masses through maximum unity and strengthening of service delivery. Those who think otherwise, those who think that the ANC can survive and do well by abandoning the Alliance, will cause more harm to the ANC and its nature and character. To allow that to take precedence would be tantamount to paving the way for the abandonment of the path of a national democratic revolution and strengthening the counter-revolutionary current, of which some elements are to be found within the ranks of our broad movement.

The 2016 and the 2021 local government elections also pose a serious challenge to the SACP and COSATU, as well as to the entire progressive trade union movement, that of the state and role of the organised section of the working-class in our metros. For instance, in the 1980s it was the organised section of the working-class in the metros of our country that was the leading motive force in the mass struggle against the apartheid regime. It is in the same metros, where the working-class has been historically very strong and firmly part of our Alliance, that our broad movement is now becoming weaker. This is a challenge we must all grapple with on the state of organisation of the working-class in our metros and the task of rebuilding its strength. Indeed, part of the challenges we face in the metros is the rapid casualisation of the working-class, retrenchments and labour brokerage. This, I would like to say, is one of the key challenges that we need to discuss and come up with practical measures to rebuild working-class power in the metros.

In the same vein, to emphasise the message we consistently drove throughout the campaign, we need to strengthen our organisational capacity to ensure that the government implements people-centred priorities. This is in line with our call for a policy change. We must serve as the most advanced and resolution force that holds the government to account. This is too important to be left in the hands of the right wing and all sorts of opposition parties.

International solidarity

We also want to take this opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of Swaziland in their struggle for democracy and social emancipation. The current situation in eSwatini requires the intensification of our solidarity activities on all fronts. We also wish to restate our solidarity with the people of Western Sahara and Palestine against occupation by Morocco and the apartheid Israeli regime, respectively, and with the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Bolivia, and others in Latin America. We continue to condemn the United States led imperialist aggression in Latin America and other parts of the world. We reiterate our strong condemnation of the recent coup in Sudan and express our solidarity with the people for democracy in that country.

This is also the time when international trade union solidarity has never been so necessary as we also face vaccine imperialism in the light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Such solidarity must remain at the heart of working-class internationalism, and we salute NEHAWU for the role it is playing in this regard.

We wish you a successful congress and look forward to engaging with the resolutions you will take at this workers' parliament!

9 MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

The messages of support and solidarity from the following organizations were read by the National Treasurer, Comrade Kgomotso Makhupola:

- PAME
- CTP DR Congo
- LLTU
- CTC, Cuba
- USB
- PASYEK PEO Cyprus
- Botswana Land Boards and Local Authorities Workers Union (BLLAWU).

10 PRESENTATION OF THE SECRETARIAT REPORT

10.1 The Secretariat report was presented by the General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha and it covered the following key areas:

International Context

- (a) The global capitalist crisis
- (b) The world economy, the pursuit of growth targets
- (c) Unemployment, poverty, food security and refugees
- (d) The environmental crisis
- (e) COVID 19 pandemic
- (f) Rising social discontent, working class resistance and protests
- (g) The right - wing utilises to re-enter the global political scene
- (h) Assessing major international developments in different regions
- (i) Strengthening the WFTU work in Africa and the Nigeria Platform
- (j) The Trade Union International
- (k) On COSATU and the alliance international strategy
- (l) Anti-imperialist movements
- (m) International organisations: The ILO, WHO and UNESCO

National Political Situation

- (a) The NDR and balance of forces
- (b) The Alliance at the present conjuncture
- (c) Working class strategic outlook in the current conjuncture

Socio-Economic Context

- (a) The analytical overview of the main socio-economic developments underlying the drivers of the unfolding socioeconomic crises
- (b) The radical second phase or a new Neoliberal trajectory
- (c) Developmental growth path
- (d) Public service
- (e) Public healthcare sector
- (f) Private healthcare sector
- (g) State-owned pharmaceutical company
- (h) Post-schooling education system

Organisational Context

- (a) Overview of Progress and Challenges over the last four years (Seamless Machinery, Head Office, Provinces and Regions)
- (b) COVID-19 pandemic and its impact
- (c) Functioning of war rooms
- (d) Nurses forums
- (e) On campaigns
- (f) Strengthening of workplace organisation
- (g) Fulltime release of regional secretaries
- (h) Resolutions on Fulltime release of shop stewards and office bearers
- (i) Membership and recruitment
- (j) Collective Bargaining
- (k) Implementation of specific sector programs
- (l) Strike actions in the period under review
- (m) Education and training
- (n) Case handling and management
- (o) Realignment of terms of Office
- (p) Conclusion

10.2 After the presentation of the secretariat report and general comments, the 12th national congress adopted the report as presented by the General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha, and deferred its discussion to commissions.

The congress adopted the realignment and strategic sequencing of term of offices as follows:

- all branch congresses must take place in 2022;
- all regional congresses must follow in 2023;
- all provincial congresses must take place in 2025; and
- the national congress of 2021 must be followed by a national congress in 2026.

KwaZulu-Natal

Northern Cape

11 ADDRESS BY COSATU PRESIDENT, COMRADE ZINGISWA LOSI

Comrade Chairperson,
Comrade President, GS and the NOBs of our Affiliate, NEHAWU,
The provincial, regional and local leadership,
Leadership of our Alliance Partners, the ANC and SACP,
International guests,
Most importantly, the delegates and membership of NEHAWU,
Good morning comrades,

Introductory comments

Thank you for inviting your Federation, COSATU to address this important congress today. It is a privilege to be with you this morning. We know that we are at home here.

Allow me to offer the heartfelt sympathies of COSATU for the tragic loss of comrade Khaya Xaba. This was a blow felt by NEHAWU and COSATU itself. We have lost far too many comrades over the past two years.

We owe it to Cdes Khaya, the late General Secretaries of NUM and SAMWU, David Siphunzi and Koena Ramatlou and the Minister in the Presidency and former MAWU Organiser, Jackson Mthembu, to pick up their spears and continue the struggles.

We must acknowledge the heroic sacrifices of our nurses, paramedics and health workers who have carried this nation on their shoulders, who have lost lives to the pandemic. We salute their selfless sacrifices.

COSATU is looking forward to robust and constructive engagements during this congress. We are looking forward to it producing concrete and progressive solutions to the challenges facing the working class, in the public sector and the economy.

This Congress has identified some of the key challenges facing the working class, namely defending collective bargaining, strengthening workplace organisation and international solidarity. We need a clear programme of action as we emerge from this Congress on practical steps to deliver on these revolutionary goals.

Workers and Unions must unite to defend collective bargaining

Collective bargaining is critical to defending the rights of workers and advancing their interests. NEHAWU has correctly highlighted that it is under siege, both in the public and private sectors, here in South Africa and internationally.

If employers are allowed to weaken and defeat collective bargaining, it will threaten the gains of the working class since the democratic breakthrough. It will place not only the wages, benefits and conditions of workers at risk but indeed their jobs as well.

If collective bargaining can be allowed to collapse in the state, it will put the very concept of a developmental state that is biased towards the working class at stake.

We must not assume the enemies of unions and a class conscientised working class are asleep. They are not. We have seen Treasury unashamedly seeking to collapse collective bargaining in the public sector with the unilateral abandonment of the 2020 wage agreement and their attempts to impose a further 3 year wage freeze.

We have seen it with Treasury's attempts to impose similar wage freezes in local government, Transnet, Eskom, SARS and many other state entities and SOEs. We have seen employers in the private sector seek to follow suit.

We must commend our Affiliates for having stood firm against this onslaught against collective bargaining. This includes the PSCBC for having stood firm against government's reneging on the 2020 wage agreement and attempts to freeze wages.

We must commend Unions for having defeated Treasury's attempt to impose a wage freeze for the 2021 financial year, more so in the midst of a global pandemic, the deepest economic recession in a century and an austerity budget across the state.

We commend SATAWU for securing a progressive agreement at Transnet. We commend SACTWU for securing progressive agreements in the clothing sectors.

Comrades if we are serious about defending collective bargaining and improving the lives of our members, workers and their families, then we need to jealously guard, nurture and deepen unity.

We cannot afford to compromise on unity amongst ourselves be it inside NEHAWU, in the JMC, in COSATU or in the PSCBC. Unions who are divided will be defeated.

The enemy is not workers. The enemy is not other unions, let alone unions inside our Federation, COSATU. The enemy is corruption, it is unemployment, it is poverty.

Not so long ago COSATU was paralysed by divisions. This led to the loss of NUMSA and FAWU. It has taken years to rebuild COSATU. Let us not risk our unity.

NUMSA today is politically isolated. FAWU is splintering left and right, with their leadership suspending each other. SAFTU is riddled with infighting.

COSATU has been able to win many victories benefiting workers over the past few years precisely because we have chosen to focus on unity.

We passed the National Minimum Wage Act into law lifting the wages of more than 6 million poorly paid and exploited workers, in particular farm, domestic, retail, restaurant, construction and hospitality workers.

We amended the Unemployment Insurance Act, increasing UIF payments from 8 to 12 months, increased maternity leave payments, extended paid maternity leave to include still born births and 3rd trimester miscarriages. We have passed the Labour Laws Amendment Act to provide for paid paternity and adoption leave.

We ensured that more than R63 billion was released from the UIF to help more than 5.5 million workers who lost wages during the lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 as well as the recent violence in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

We passed the Public Investment Corporation Amendment Act that provides for 3 worker representatives selected by the PSCBC unions to represent workers on the PIC Board, including a representative from NEHAWU.

This Act compels the PIC to seek a mandate from the GEPI and UIF when investing workers' funds, to report to the GEPI and UIF Boards as well as Parliament and the public on how workers' funds are invested and to invest them in a manner that benefits workers, creates jobs, grows the economy and builds a developmental state.

We won these battles because we were united. If we were divided, we would have failed.

The unity shown by NUM, AMCU, Solidarity and UASA at Sibanye will deliver victory for them. As has the unity shown by SATAWU and NUMSA in the bus sector.

COSATU appreciates the difficulties experienced by each of our Affiliates in the JMC over the past 2 years. Members are angry and rightly so. The behaviour of Treasury is unacceptable. Our members are correct to be unhappy with government. But we cannot afford to be divided as the JMC and as COSATU.

We must emerge from this Congress more determined than ever to unite workers. Workers divided will ensure that we are all defeated, and the employer is victorious.

Strengthen Workplace Organisation, Deepen Class Consciousness

We need to invest in and strengthen our machinery. All too often we fail to do so. The consequences are clear. A weak organisational machinery will see a Union that does not service its members that has no recruitment strategy and recruitment campaign, that does not educate and train its organisers and shopstewards that does not wage campaigns that will improve the lives of its members and attract workers to join.

If our organising departments are limping then we will not be able to mobilise workers to engage in pickets, protests, marches or strikes. If our organisers are not trained, then they will fail to win at the negotiating table.

We cannot be proud when only 1 out of 4 workers are unionised. We cannot be pleased as COSATU and Affiliates when our membership remains at 1.5 million year after year. We should not be happy when members call COSATU offices for help when they are aggrieved because their Union does not respond.

As we engage, let us reflect on how we can build, how we can improve? What can we do to build on the legacies of Bheki Mkhize and Chris Dlamini?

We must commend you comrades for making NEHAWU the largest Affiliate in COSATU. What can we do to increase NEHAWU's membership to 300 000?

Can we ensure that NEHAWU is the majority union in each public service department and state entity? Can we ensure that NEHAWU is the majority union at each University? Where we have been displaced, how do we rebuild and win back the confidence of members who have left us?

What are our systems to ensure that Locals meet, that members are engaged and receive reports, that each worker is serviced, and their grievances addressed?

Comrades we cannot afford to be complacent. It is deeply worrying to see NUMSA entering the university space. It is worrying to see university campus unions growing.

We must not create own goals that create space for the PSA to wage populist campaigns in SARS or the public service.

NEHAWU has done excellent work in defending the rights of Community Health Workers and ensuring that they are paid a living wage and permanent.

NEHAWU was at the forefront in 2020 in ensuring that public servants received the necessary PPEs and protections at the workplace. It was not an easy task to take the Minister for Health to court in the midst of a pandemic.

NEHAWU's in depth research on the conditions facing frontline workers was critical and assisted COSATU and Parliament in holding government to account.

As we wage these recruitment drives, let us target the unorganised. The issue of poaching is what divided NUMSA from NUM. As agreed, to by the COSATU Central Committee in September, COSATU with the support of the ILO is undertaking research through the University of Cape Town on the matter of scoping.

It will produce recommendations on how scoping should be managed and in a way that unites us. These recommendations will be tabled to the February CEC for engagement, adoption and implementation.

These researchers will ask to meet NEHAWU and other Affiliates soon. Please meet and engage them. The voice of NEHAWU is critical.

NEHAWU has been at the forefront of calls for Parliament to ratify ILO Convention 190 on Combatting Sexual Harassment and Violence Against Women at the Workplace. It has now been adopted by Parliament. The President will sign it shortly. Government will then inform the ILO of South Africa's ratification of C190.

NEHAWU as an Affiliate where the majority of members are women, has a key role to play in ensuring that our labour and criminal laws reflect the spirit and provisions of C190. Parliament will soon pass the 3 Gender Based Violence Bills. We need to reflect on further strengthening our laws.

We need to ensure that all our members and employers are aware of their rights and obligations. Otherwise these laws will remain nice English words.

We need to pay to our education and training programmes. We often neglect this strategic area of work. This results in Shopstewards not prepared for disciplinary hearings, workers unaware of their legal rights, in victories lost in bargaining councils.

Build NEHAWU, Build COSATU

COSATU needs a strong, united, ideologically conscience NEHAWU. NEHAWU too needs a strong, united, ideologically conscience COSATU. One cannot be without the other.

AMCU, NUMSA and Solidarity may be well organised in their sectors, but they cannot advance working class interests by working in isolated silos. SAFTU will remain a mirage as it only has one real Affiliate.

FEDUSA and NACTU depend upon COSATU and its Affiliates to drive workers' campaigns. They simply do not have the organisational muscle or class consciousness that NEHAWU and the Affiliates of COSATU have.

COSATU recently held a successful Central Committee where NEHAWU played a key role. We will be holding our Congress in September 2022. We are looking forward to the revolutionary discussions from the 12th Congress of NEHAWU helping to enrich the discussions and resolutions of COSATU's Congress.

The footprints of many Affiliates vary according to the sectors and regions where they operate. SACTWU is dominant in the clothing and textile regions, NUM in the mining sectors. NEHAWU is unique in being spread throughout South Africa. It is well placed to play an anchor role for COSATU and its Provincial and Local structures.

2021 is the year of the Local. We have made progress in building and launching many locals. More remains to be done. We need NEHAWU to continue to play the leading role it has played in building COSATU across the nation. We must ensure that when we go to COSATU's Congress there is a vibrant Local in every municipality.

We must commend the critical role that NEHAWU plays at Nedlac. It was central to the 2018 Presidential Jobs Summit. NEHAWU has worked hand in glove with COSATU at the JMC and PSCBC, at Nedlac and at Parliament.

NEHAWU and COSATU have worked as one on many key Bills, from the Border Management Authority to the Foreign Service Acts and more recently to the two DPSCA Bills currently before the PSCBC and Nedlac. It is this unity of purpose that will enable us to defend workers and advance their struggles.

Let us continue to build upon these foundations.

Rebuild and Transform the Economy

The economy is on its knees. It is in its deepest recession in a century. Unemployment is rising and has pushed past 44%. Millions of workers have lost wages, benefits and jobs. We simply cannot afford to continue as is.

The Economic Recovery and Reconstruction Plan is in place. There is progress in some areas, and less in other areas. We must continue to hold government and business accountable for its and the Presidential Jobs Summit Agreement's implementation.

We need as Organised Labour to play our role too.

This includes supporting local procurement. Can we as NEHAWU ensure that all our clothing, vehicles and furniture are locally made? Are the t-shirts, caps and bags we have today locally made? Or are they imports from China?

Can we engage our investment and pension funds on what are they doing to ramp up local investments and job creation? We cannot leave that to fund managers alone.

Have we engaged the workplaces, sectors and bargaining councils where we organise to ensure that they ramp up local procurement?

We need our NEHAWU members in Supply Chain Management across the state to ensure that public procurement is geared towards local procurement.

Organised Labour has committed to supporting local procurement and providing monthly reports on these campaigns to COSATU. Yet Affiliates are silent when COSATU asks for reports. Is local procurement simply a slogan? If we want to build manufacturing and industrial sectors, then we need to put the effort in.

NEHAWU has correctly raised the alarm bells on the delays on establishing a health and pharmaceutical industrial master plan. Let us ramp up our efforts in this regard. Let us continue to push for a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

Engagements are taking place on the implementation of the Eskom Social Compact. Some successes are being achieved, including the recovery of billions stolen from it, financing for a just transition, efforts to reduce its debt burden. Much more remains to be done. The economy cannot recover with constant load shedding. We need to ramp up just transition plans to ensure no worker or community is left behind. We need to ensure the local manufacturing of renewable energy technology and for Eskom to enter the renewable energy space as an owner. We should heed the call of NUM for worker and community owned generation capacity.

More needs to be done to rebuild Metro Rail and Transnet. We need a modernised, efficient and safe rail network that ensures workers and goods arrive at their destinations on time and at

affordable prices. We cannot keep quiet as we watch their disintegration due to cable theft, vandalism, arson and criminality.

Our SOEs are in danger of collapse. We need to develop clear proposals on how they can be stabilised and saved. How they can be re-pivoted to ensure they adjust to structural changes in their sectors. We cannot afford for them to collapse and send workers to the UIF. Neither can we pretend endless state bail outs are sustainable. SOEs need to be enablers of economic growth and pillars for a developmental state.

COSATU has tabled proposals on accelerating the fight against corruption, including extending the ban on doing business with the state to the leaders of political parties and their spouses and children. Workers are exhausted by corruption scandals. The implementation of the Step Aside Resolution by the ANC is bold and progressive. The NPA and courts must deliver speedy trials not endless delays.

We need our NEHAWU members to expose corruption at their workplaces.

Treasury has announced a revised Regulation 28 of the Pension Funds Act. This will allow pension funds to invest in infrastructure. This is a call that COSATU and NEHAWU made at Nedlac. Let us continue to support it.

Over the past 18 months we have spent our efforts seeking to minimise the spread of the pandemic and protect lives and livelihoods. We have the tools to defeat the pandemic in our hands. Let us continue to engage our members and their families to wear their masks, sanitise and social distance and to not abuse alcohol.

We must commend the work NEHAWU has done to mobilise health and public workers to vaccinate. Whilst we will reach 23 million vaccines dispensed this week, we are in real danger of not meeting the 70% target by the end of 2021. This will mean the unnecessary deaths of thousands of workers. It means our nurses and health workers will continue to be overwhelmed at emergency rooms.

COSATU's Central Committee set a target for us to ensure more than 80% of our members and their families are vaccinated by Christmas. How far are we as NEHAWU? What is our plan?

Rebuilding a Capacitated Developmental State

On the 11th of November Minister Enoch Godongwana will be tabling the Medium-Term Budget Statement. It will be a very tough budget. The state is broke. We cannot simply print money. Tough choices need to be made.

We need to ensure that the voices of workers are heard and that we do not see a repeat of Treasury undermining collective bargaining in the public sector.

We need to engage at the PSCBC on the next wage agreement. We need to ensure that public service and sector workers are protected from inflationary erosion of their wages and retrenchments. We also need to ensure that we can stabilise the SOEs and prevent retrenchments there. We need to do likewise in local government.

We must also push to ensure the extension of the Covid-19 Special Relief Dispensation Grants beyond March 2022 and to agree to a road map to increase it to be in line with the food poverty level. It is a steppingstone to a Basic Income Grant.

We need to ensure that Parliament passes the NHI Bill in 2022 and that we build its foundations.

We need government to expand the Presidential Employment Stimulus Programme, ideally to triple it. This can help to create 2 million job opportunities.

Whilst we push these demands we must reflect on where we can compromise and where we cannot.

We must propose solutions to the crises threatening the collapse of the state. It is not enough to lament and complain.

How can corruption be tackled? What must be done to fix public procurement? To rebuild the NPA and SAPS? To tackle tax evasion and strengthen SARS? To improve public service delivery?

What must be done to stabilise and save our SOEs? To stimulate the economy? To ensure a skills training regime that equips workers for the 4th industrial revolution?

How can we deliver comprehensive social security and ensure no person is left behind?

The voice of NEHAWU is critical. NEHAWU organises throughout the state. Its expertise is needed. We cannot afford to lament like some disgruntled opposition parties. Let us come with clear, practical and implementable proposals, table them at Nedlac and Parliament and hold government accountable for their implementation.

If we don't do this, then Treasury will continue on its austerity path. This will see more wage and vacancies freezes, cuts in expenditure and the collapse of public services. If we continue on the path of rapidly rising debt levels and economic stagnation, government will end up at the IMF. We will then see mass cuts in the wages and jobs of public servants, the slashing of public services and wholesale privatisation.

It is critical that we raise our voices and table our proposals. NEHAWU must be central in these discussions. The consequences for not doing so, will be devastating.

We Must Defend the Gains of the 1994 Democratic Breakthrough

The local government election results are a clear message from workers. They are tired of corruption, unemployment, load shedding and government's failures to deliver.

Workers have also said that they love the ANC and have not moved to other parties...yet. They simply stayed away. Coalitions will now be the norm in our cities.

This is the last chance. The ANC needs to deal decisively with corruption. Those who steal must go to jail. Eskom needs to be fixed. The economy cannot recover without reliable and affordable electricity. The economy needs to be stimulated, to grow and unemployment to rapidly fall.

Failure to deliver on these key issues, will see the ANC fall below 50% in 2024.

Let us not be naïve and think that workers or NEHAWU or COSATU will benefit from the ANC losing. An ANC in coalition will be forced to compromise on demands raised by COSATU and NEHAWU.

The opposition parties are clear. They want the ANC gone. The DA wants to see our progressive labour laws and collective bargaining dismantled.

The EFF wants to break COSATU and replace it with its labour desk.

We are all irritated by the ANC's scandals, but it is the only party listens to workers and delivered many progressive victories. We need the ANC to survive. But it must be cleansed of corruption and factionalism. It must fix Eskom, the state, the economy, corruption and unemployment. Otherwise voters will abandon it.

We need as COSATU and NEHAWU to help rebuild the ANC and to hold it and government accountable. There can be no blank cheques.

Build International Working-Class Solidarity

Workers are under siege across the world. Workers eSwatini are under siege from a rampant monarch, workers in Palestine are under occupation, in Western Sahara they are condemned to refugee camps, in Cuba to a blockade, in Venezuela to sanctions.

What are we doing as COSATU and NEHAWU to provide practical solidarity to workers internationally?

Hiring Cubans will not grow the Cuban economy. What is needed is to promote trade with Cuba, to invest in Cuba.

What are we doing to raise pressure at the United Nations in support of Palestine and Western Sahara? Are we sending relief to them?

We can picket at Oshoek for a day, but what happens the day after eSwatini? Can we not engage with government to put real pressure on Mswati? Is a picket of 100 members all we can muster to block the border eSwatini?

We must congratulate NEHAWU. Not only has President Makwayiba been elected to lead WFTU but as has General Secretary Zola Saphetha being elected to lead WFTU TUI-PS&A. This is a recognition of the quality of leadership that NEHAWU continues to produce. It is an affirmation of the working-class consciousness and Marxist-Leninist orientation of NEHAWU. NEHAWU has made workers across South Africa proud.

We look forward to this revolutionary congress developing clear programmes to heighten our international solidarity campaigns.

Let us look to what campaigns can we drive in the region, in SATUCC, to provide meaningful solidarity?

Let us engage on what conditions and protections should be put in place for workers in the African Continental Free Trade Area?

Concluding Remarks

Comrade leadership and delegates, thank you for allowing me to be with you today. Thank you for being the pillar and anchor for COSATU through thick and thin.

Workers are looking to you at this congress. Their expectations are immense. The challenges are daunting.

We are confident as COSATU, that we will see emerge from this congress, a NEHAWU that is united, is revolutionary, is driven by class consciousness. We will see a NEHAWU armed with a clear programme in defence of collective bargaining and strengthening workplace organisation.

We are looking forward as COSATU to walking hand in hand with NEHAWU in defence of the working class and towards building that socialist future.

Karl Marx said “Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.”

I thank you.

Matla!

12 NOMINATION AND ELECTION PROCEDURES FOR THE NATIONAL OFFICE BEARERS: ELECTIONS AGENCY

The Elections Agency informed the 12th national congress that all positions are allowed to be contested as per the constitutional precepts of the union. The agency further clarified that all nominations forms were sent to all the provincial secretaries with packages outlining the process in details. The congress thereafter agrees with the opening and closing times of nominations. The Elections Agency further outlined its timetable in terms of how it was going to run the elections for the office bearers' positions.

After deliberations the 12th National Congress agreed that nominations have to close at 15h00 and the elections has to prepare for voting to take place the very same day and results to be announced on the 6th November, 2021. In this regard it was also agreed that any form of identity was going to be allowed as identification and the name tags.

Northwest

Mpumalanga

13 FINANCIAL REPORT

The financial report was presented by the National Treasurer, Cde Kgomoiso Makhupola. After the presentation the national congress adopts the audited financial statements and deferred the discussions on the finance report to the organisational commission.

Free State

KwaZulu Natal

14 ADDRESS BY WFTU GENERAL SECRETARY, CDE GEORGE MAVRIKOS

Dear Comrades.

On behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), we congratulate you for your successful Congress. We know how important is the national congress of NEHAWU, a WFTU member that is a very important union not only for Africa of course, but also all over the world in the international trade union arena.

You have two very famous leaders namely Comrade Zola, who is the General Secretary of our Trade Union International for Public Services Workers (WFTU TUI PS&A). And also our Comrade, Mike Makwayiba, who is the president of World Federation of Trade Unions.

Brothers and sisters, you need to allow me to inform you that your leaders are known all over the world; they are very active and very important in the class orientation of workers all over the world. They try every day to support the working class in all continents.

Brothers and sisters, allow me to underline the contributions of comrade Zola. The last period, the period of Coronavirus, was a crucial period for workers. He greatly supported the WFTU efforts to strengthen the call for our demands against the anti-labour policies of governments and the call to support public sectors and health. Because as you know, we live in a period with big problems, big problems for the health of the ordinary people.

Currently, more than 5 million people have lost their lives from the COVID19 pandemic. These are very, very bad results from the **health** of the ordinary people and especial for the poorest people. Because of this, we have strengthened our efforts for the call for free and accessible vaccination for all people. We have strengthened our efforts to strengthen our support to the public sector and public hospitals all over the world, and we believe that our demands for the sector are crucial for the present and future of the ordinary people.

Brothers and sisters, the second big general problem all over the world is the imperialist aggressiveness in all continents by the USA and their allies. They attack people and countries who don't want to have a developmental path directed by the USA. Because of this, we need to strengthen our anti-imperialist and internationalist tasks to support first of all Cuba; to express our solidarity with the Palestinian people until the final victory to have the rights to have independent state with East Jerusalem as capital; to support Venezuela, Syria and all countries and peoples who are oppressed by the US and its allies so that they have a right to decide a development path for their countries. We must support these countries and their people against imperialism and their military forces.

Brothers and sisters, we believe that we need a class oriented trade union in the national trade union movement, we need to strengthen our class consciousness for the people and for the workers until there is emancipation of working class all over the world. We as WFTU, as militant unions, we need to strengthen our class orientation, our class unity because, of course, we need and we want unity to go on, unity to grow up, unity to strengthen our tasks, against imperialists, against capitalist barbarity, against exploitation. This is the unity which we need because we try to have this unity with concrete results for the benefit of working class and for our struggles.

Brothers and sisters, we fully agree with your discussions, the last three days of your 12th national Congress of NEHAWU. We need to strengthen our unions firstly in the workplace because it is in workplaces where the workers are shoulder to shoulder, were they work together and were they struggle together. Workplaces are our homes away from home. You know that for us the class oriented trade union movement, the world, their workplaces are the core. We need to with these tools we strengthen our core and our basis, this is our contemporary tasks, because to strengthen our unions is to strengthen our struggles in order to have very concrete results for the benefit of the working class. We need to have strong guns and our gun are a strong basis and through build internationalism because no one needs to be alone in our struggles.

It is very important that today in Palestine for example, they know that the WFTU is in 133 countries in five continents in all corners all over the world so that they don't loose hope. We are going to have a charity campaign on all levels, solidarity campaign with materials, etc in solidarity with the people of Palestine. It is very important for them to continue their struggles, because of this brothers and sisters, we need to strengthen our unions, our members in sight, in workplaces.

Allow me, because yesterday it was difficult for me to express on behalf of World Federation of Trade Unions, our greetings for their 100 years of anniversary of Communist Party of South Africa, SACP. Allow me, to express today, our greetings and our congratulations for the leadership of South African Communist Party. Comrade Zola, they are our comrades.

It is all normal that WFTU has very clear relationship with leadership and with members and friends of South African Communist Party. We were together as World Federation of Trade Unions from first day from 1945 for our founding Congress, we were together with the leaders of the South African Communist Party. Very famous leaders, as you know better than me. They were leaders

also in their high level, both of the World Federation of Trade Unions, like the leader, Moses Mabhidha, who was also vice president of World Federation of Trade Unions. It means that we as World Federation of Trade Unions, we are not relatives from yesterday with South African Communist Party, we are comrades from our foundation, and we are still comrades and we will continue to be together in our struggles.

Brothers and sisters, we congratulate the South African Communist Party, for their struggles, for the benefit of working class, in your country. The South African Communist Party, is famous not only in your continent, but all over the world because it was from 1921 until today, in front line for the liberation, for the benefits of working class and your people against apartheid, against the undemocratic policies against and against many anti-labour strategies and tactics. These 100 years we know very well the work of the Communist Party. The SACP is engraved in the mind and the heart of working class and your people because of this, we are proud for our relationship.

We know that your party, the South African Communist Party, is a bright guide for the internationalism in your continent in general, and with a glorious history, we are proud and respect the rich history of the party. We believe that the role of communist parties are also important for today and tomorrow. Especially for today and the future, because we live in a period that is very crucial. As you know, capitalism is rotten. Because of this, we need to have a good strategy for a world without exploitation of men by men and we must fight for socialism. Because of this, we believe that also today, especially as today, in our contemporary times, that all of communist parties are very important.

We congratulate the comrades. Now, for your successful Congress, we wish for you the best results, and you need to know that also you are not alone.

Brothers and sisters of NEHAWU, you have friends, comrades, and supporters through WFTU through our class family. You have supporters all over the world. 105 million members of WFTU in 133 countries.

We are all together with you for your efforts.

Long believe NEHAWU long live

Amandla

15 ADDRESS BY TUI PS & A PRESIDENT, CDE ARTUR SEQUIERA

The speech of President Artur Sequiera was read by TUI PS&A Spokesperson, Cde. Clever Banganayi as follows:

Comrades,

I would like to begin by thanking you for the invitation to participate in the 12th. Congress of NEHAWU, fraternally greeting your Leadership and in particular President Michael Makwayiba. I also greet the delegates and structures of the class-oriented trade union movement present.

Throughout the capitalist world, COVID-19 was used as a pretext to intensify the onslaught against workers and social rights, carried out in the capitalist State and supported by the political forces at its service, aiming at a flight forward from its structural crisis.

The onslaught and its consequences were brutally intensified, millions of workers were and still are being dismissed or placed on lay-off, seeing their wages cut, increasing their working hours and precariousness, their occupational health and safety conditions disrespected, forced to telework, among other forms of worsening exploitation and impoverishment.

Shamefully taking advantage of the health problem, the large economic and financial groups collected colossal profits, namely the pharmaceutical groups, also receiving enormous public funds from many governments, as in my country, Portugal, and in the EU.

The weaknesses of public services, particularly in healthcare, education and transport, were not only laid bare but used to promote the interests of economic groups in these sectors, namely through the channelling of public funds and mechanisms that increase the profitability of capital.

On all continents the workers, the class-oriented trade union movement has resisted and struggled, despite the brutal ideological onslaught, the curtailment of rights, freedoms and democratic guarantees, particularly visible in the attempt to limit or prevent the right to union organisation and action, and the right to strike and protest.

In Portugal, the CGTP-IN organised in 2020 and 2021, the most critical moments of the pandemic, in the streets of more than twenty cities, a May Day with strict health protection measures, gathering thousands of workers in a courageous and determined mass action.

The workers participated in May Day and other general and sectoral actions, with great emphasis in the Public Administration, organised by their class-oriented unions, showing that they did not accept the lockdown of the struggle, the loss of labour rights and other social and democratic rights. Thousands of people won the ideological offensive and also the exacerbation of fear, the instigation of resignation and conformism in the face of the assault on their rights and income.

Comrades,

We live in an international situation marked by the intensification of imperialism's interference and aggressiveness.

The US, NATO and the EU are re-launching a concerted strategy against the rights of peoples to development, promoting the arms race and the encirclement and confrontation with Russia and China.

In the EU, the upsurge and even the coming to power of far right and fascist forces is inseparable from the situation of economic and social crisis and from the nature and policies of the European Union that disregard democratic rights and sovereignty and promote exploitation and poverty, social inequalities and injustices.

Comrades,

In the current context of the crisis of the capitalist system, the governments and political forces at their service are now trying to deceive workers around the world with miraculous economic recovery that represents great costs for the peoples because they are imperialist in nature and aim to transfer public funds to national and international capital, holder of the means of production, deepening neoliberalism to enhance the devaluation of work and workers, deepening: the attack on their rights; the full or partial privatisation of public services; plundering resources and forcing workers and peoples to pay a huge bill for the indebtedness of countries, namely through the intervention of the IMF, worsening economic recession, exploitation and impoverishment.

Comrades,

At the 11th. Congress of NEHAWU, I said that the election of comrade Michael Makwayiba as President of the WFTU was very important for its strengthening, namely, being the President of NEHAWU and because of his firm sense of solidarity and internationalism.

Today, I welcome the election of comrade Zola Sapheta as General Secretary of TUI-PS-S/WFTU, at its 13th. Congress held in Cyprus in 2019 who, with the support of NEHAWU, despite the difficulties created by the global health situation, has been fighting to keep the functioning of the TUI bodies and for the reinforcement of their solidary and internationalist action, at a time when the defence of public services and the social functions of states and the rights of their workers becomes more relevant.

Despite the limitations, the Secretariat of the TUI-PS-S decided to hold online meetings at regional level that enabled us to learn about, assess the situation in terms of organisation and the effects of the pandemic crisis in every continent, a crucial contribution to the creation of a claim book aimed at defending workers in Public Administration, on all continents, with greater emphasis on the areas of healthcare and education.

We concluded that the pandemic we are experiencing has demonstrated that the existence of public services, where they exist, makes all the difference in controlling mortality and that private services cannot achieve the goal of profit or save lives. Facts that show that the lack of investment in public services, namely in healthcare, represents a very high cost for the peoples.

We assume a class-oriented posture aligned with the WFTU, of demand of defence of the right to healthcare for all, calling for free access for all to the vaccine against the COVID-19 pandemic, we fight, we will fight: against the selfishness of the richest against the poorest ; for the end of the enrichment of multinationals, namely pharmaceutical companies at the expense of people's health. We demand, with the United Nations, the end of patent rights as a way to stop the epidemic outbreak.

WFTU's TUI-PS-S will continue to develop its solidary and internationalist action, namely, supporting all the struggles carried:

- In defence of quality public services and defence of the rights of workers in Public Administration in all countries and continents and against privatisations.
- Against the use of the pandemic by capital, to withdraw rights from workers, such as the increase in working hours, the increase in precariousness and other civilisational rights that were won with their struggle and that are being called into question.
- For the requirement of compliance with occupational health and safety standards.
- For the defence of quality public services, only possible with public investment in human and technical resources.

The TUI-SP-S will continue to follow the solidarity action of the WFTU: against war, for peace; for the rights of peoples to self-determination. The struggle for a fairer society, a socialist society.

We will continue to give all our support so that the XVIII Congress of the WFTU becomes an action of affirmation of class-oriented and internationalist trade unionism.

We will continue to reinforce policies of unity in action, which do not undermine our class identity through the awareness of the workers in the workplace and strengthen our TUI with new affiliates.

We reiterate our support and solidarity with the struggle and resistance of the peoples who, in other continents, are fighting against the imperialist offensive, namely:

- To the peoples of Syria, Yemen, Iran, Palestine, the Saharawi people; to the peoples of African countries that suffer interference and the neo-colonial offensive; to the workers and people of Ukraine and Belarus; to all workers, peoples of Latin America, particularly of Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Brazil and Cuba.
- And our active solidarity and defence of the rights of migrants and refugees.

I conclude by hoping that the conclusions of the proceedings of this 12th Congress under the theme “Strengthen workplace organisation to defend collective bargaining, deepen class consciousness and advance internationalism” will contribute to strengthen the class-oriented trade union movement in South Africa, namely the representative structures of workers in Public Administration.

Long live the NEHAWU 12th Congress.
Long live the WFTU

16 CONFIRMATION OF NOBs CANDIDATES AND ELECTION – THE ELECTIONS AGENCY

The Elections Agency at this stage informed the 12th National Congress that upon receiving the nominations for all six positions of the national office bearers as follows; President, 1st Deputy President, 2nd Deputy President, National Treasurer, General Secretary and the Deputy General Secretary. The contenders for the positions are as follows:

- a) President – One Nominee.
- b) 1st Deputy President – One Nominee
- c) 2nd Deputy President – Two Nominees, Cde Patrick Makhafane and Cde Amos Monyela.
- d) National Treasurer – One Nominee
- e) General Secretary – One Nominee
- f) Deputy General Secretary – One Nominee

The Elections Agency then had to go and prepare voting for the contested position of the 2nd Deputy President.

17 OUTLINING OF COMMISSIONS AND BREAKING INTO COMMISSIONS

The General Secretary, Comrade Zola Saphetha outlined the 12th national congress commissions as follows:

Commissions and Venues	Personnel
Commission 1: International Venue: Marco Polo	Chairperson: Cde Jacques Cupido Resource Person: Cde Lucian Segami Scriber: Cde Noxolo Bhengu
Commission 2: Ideological and Political Venue: King Shaka	Chairperson: Cde Noluthando Masango Resource Person: Cde Mbulelo Mandlana Scriber: Cde Desmond Mlatha
Commission 3: Socioeconomic priorities Venue: Cape Town International	Chairperson: Moeketsi Napo Resource Person: Cde Sidney Kgara Scriber: Cde Tengo Tengela
Commission 4: Organisational priorities Venue: Heathrow	Chairperson: Cde Siyanda Zungu Resource Person: Cde Casper Nanto Scriber: Cde Clement Marule

After commissions outline, the congress adjourned and delegates break into respective commission and advised to come to the plenary on the following day in the afternoon for reporting and adoption of their reports.

18 PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS

INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY

ON THE GLOBAL CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Noting that:

- a) Since the 11th National Congress, the systemic crisis of the capitalist system has been deepening and has reached its limits in the monopoly stage, imperialism, beyond which it neither can continue to reproduce profitably nor respond to the basic social needs of humanity.
- b) The COVID-19 pandemic has deepened these contradictions, far more intense than the contradictions arising from the contradictions posed by the 1918 Spanish flu which had similar characteristics with the current pandemic.
- c) The worldwide resurgence of radical popular resistance against oppression, is effectively disrupting the alignment of many right wing and conservative forces, with imperialism, leading to the increase of forces that are on the side of the National Democratic Revolution, for peace, democracy and social progress.
- d) The Leninist Five point definitional framework for imperialism and agrees that whilst accepting that there are changes in the contemporary global situations, these changes do not bring a qualitative change so as to refute the Leninist approach.
- e) The establishment of BRICS remains a positive move in the disruption of the current status quo and changing the balance of forces against international finance capital facilitated by the IMF and the World Bank which favours advanced Western capitalist countries.
- f) There are many contradictions in all and within the BRICS countries, specifically the fascist governments in Brazil and the Hindu fundamentalist government of Modi in India. There are also many similarities including the shared history of anti-imperialist struggles, the anti-colonial national liberation struggle and progressive NDR states built in the initial post-independence period that supported decolonisation and a non-alignment policy.
- g) Deep tensions and contradictions exists within the largely heterogeneous BRICS countries around imbalances on trade between China and South Africa for instance, but there's more commonalities on the history of these and around the building of a multipolar global architecture and the presence of a left oriented social agenda amongst progressive forces that aims to meet people's needs, as the basis for a peaceful socialist world order.
- h) In this regard the union maintains that BRICS remains a crucial pole for anti-imperialist struggles and for the coordination of people relations to impede the ability of rightwing social forces to dictate a fundamentally rightwing policy. The union should struggle to revitalise those relations with progressive forces in the BRICS countries, including strengthening the BRICS Trade Union Forum and outlining a progressive social agenda.

Believing that:

- a. As a result of the endemic nature of the crisis of the capitalist system, the only way out of the crisis is through the elimination of the system itself and its replacement by a higher form of social organisation.
- b. The international working class around the globe is under siege from the burdens of COVID-19 pandemic and neoliberal policy orientation under imperialist globalisation.

Resolving that:

- a. Reaffirm our analysis of the capitalist crisis from the 11th National Congress, to study the impact of the crisis on working people in our country and throughout the world, in order to strengthen the consciousness of workers towards the principal task of fighting for the elimination of the capitalist system.
- b. Strengthen the goals of our economic struggles for the rights of workers, to be the exploitative system and build upon its remnants, a new economic order with justice, equal development and people's participation.
- c. Enthusiastically support struggles against social oppression, colonialism and imperialism worldwide.
- d. To continue the relentless fight against the neo-colonialism, against the nefarious role of multinational and transnational corporations that reproduces social oppression and capitalist exploitation.
- e. Combat imperialism in all its forms and to fight against the domination of international finance capital over the economy whilst linking these to the struggle to defend, advance and deepen the National Democratic Revolution in its second and more radical phase.
- f. Out-rightly reject the unsustainable and illegitimate debts of developing countries and to repudiate aid by international institutions of the IMF and World Bank that is tied to conditions of austerity.
- g. To campaign for alternatives to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and to build a new international financial architecture.
- h. To struggle for the reform of the United Nations (UN) including its organs such as the UN Security Council.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY

Noting that:

- a. Progress has been made in the implementation of our 11th National Congress resolution on international working class solidarity.
- b. The contributions from COSATU Affiliates participating in the centenary of the South African Communist Party were aimed at deepening our assessment of the present South African and the world situation.

Believing that:

- a. The centenary of the South African Communist Party coincides with the strengthening of sanctions against CUBA and Venezuela with a devastating impact of their economies.

Resolved that:

- a) We reaffirm the main thrust of our 11th National Congress Resolutions.
- b) We will use the centenary of the SACP as a base to strengthen ideological and revolutionary work of the left axis and campaign internationally against imperialist aggression, wars and the imposition of unilateral sanctions against anti-imperialist countries in defence of their sovereignty and for their right to choose their economic developmental path.
- c) We shall coordinate ongoing discussion, forums and lectures on the contribution of the SACP in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, on the national liberation struggle and its contribution to the growth of class-oriented trade unionism.
- d) Strengthen cooperation relations with sister unions particularly in the African continent and to build new strong relations with other unions globally.

- e) That provinces identify all international issues concerning, refugees, migrants communities that have a bearing on the province and develop a program to engage these communities and understand their struggles.
- f) The union working with provinces shall continue with efforts in supporting workers' struggles in Lesotho.
- g) The union shall develop a clear international program based on the Strategic Policy Framework to guide the work of the union.
- h) We strengthen and build capacity for all regional and provincial international relations committees to localize union's international work within regions and provinces.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Noting that:

- a) The growing in strength of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the success of the 17th World Federation of Trade Unions Congress held in Durban on the 05-08 October 2016 as we prepare for the 18th World Federation of Trade Unions scheduled for 2022.
- b) The work done by the National Union in implementing programmes of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
- c) The decision taken by COSATU to implement the congress resolution to re-affiliate to WFTU.

Resolved that:

- a) We reaffirm the main thrust of our 11th National Congress Resolutions on the WFTU and its program.
- b) We prioritise the activities of the class oriented trade union movement on the international day of action and to roll out a program of ideological training.
- c) We sustain our work with other African affiliates of WFTU and the Africa Office, in building WFTU and the TUI-PS&A on the African continent.
- d) We strengthen the role of COSATU as an affiliate of the WFTU and work tirelessly to encourage other COSATU affiliates to join WFTU and it's Trade Union Internationals (TUI's).
- e) We welcome the revitalised WFTU regional structure and resolve to support and strengthen it, ensuring capacity to prioritise the recruitment of new countries, new regions, new sectors and affiliates.

ADVANCING OUR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY PROGRAMME

Noting that:

- a. There is a negative correlation in the international balance of class forces in favour of reactionary right-wing, neo-fascist, pro-capitalist forces backed by imperialism.
- b. The singling out and rising attacks on the LGBTQI+ community in many African states based on gender orientation, is increasingly becoming an affront to working class unity**

Believing that:

- a) Although its strength is diminishing, imperialism still poses a serious existential threat to the working peoples struggle for democracy, peace, progress and socialism.
- b) Informed by its international working class solidarity principle, the union has supported struggles of many people across the world.

- c) The singling out and rising attacks on the LGBTQI plus community in many African states based on gender orientation, is increasingly becoming an affront to working class unity.**

Resolve that:

- a. To reaffirm our previous resolutions on principled international solidarity support for struggles of the people of Swaziland, Western Sahara, Palestine, Cuba, Venezuela, Mozambique, Cyprus, the Basque Country and for the struggle of the Kurdish people.
- b. To strengthen relations with other progressive solidarity and peace movements and to build fraternal bonds with the progressive trade union movement in the world.
- c. That the rights of the LGBTQI plus community are important and part of the broader struggles of working class struggles against capitalist oppression.**

We further resolve that:

- a. We intensify all our international solidarity campaigns.
- b. To contribute significantly to the humanitarian aid convoy of solidarity with Cuba, by collecting contributions of medical, food, clothing, educational and other crucial material and equipment in the light of the strengthening blockade.
- c. That we take a campaign on the right of the LGBTQI plus community in the wider context of our struggle for working class unity, against discrimination based on gender identities, especially in the African continent.**
- d. In this regard, we have to direct our campaign starting with the Zimbabwean government as well as other for its offensive and discrimination based on gender orientation.**

SWAZILAND

Noting:

- a. The COSATU Central Committee resolution adopted a resolution on Swaziland sponsored by the national union and the need to adopt a similar resolution in the 12th national congress.
- b. In the last few months, we have witnessed a real rupture in Swazi politics with rising social protests, led predominantly by youth in peri-urban and rural areas, alongside workers and political parties mobilising against the Swaziland Royal regime of King Mswati III, demanding rights and freedoms as well as articulating key demands for a democratic Swaziland.
- c. Although these protests started off peacefully with protestors aiming to petition the government around demands for democratisation, they soon turned into one of the bloodiest period in the history of Swaziland as the regime gave an authoritarian response through state sanctioned killings that resulted in loss of over 100 lives and countless injuries. The injuries indicates that police were in many instances firing at fleeing protestors with live ammunition and were deliberately and systematically concealing the nature of injuries sustained by hospitalised and dead protestors.
- d. Several persons mostly activists were reported missing and scores of charred remains of activists burned to death apparently by the police were found.
- e. There is sufficient evidence that gross violations were committed against unarmed citizens as some killings were point blank executions widely reported in the media. A number of people had to be amputated due to injuries sustained and many have since been torture with key leaders hounded at night in their homes resulting in forced exile and some going into hiding.

- f. Also note the lethargic response of governments across the world including specifically SADC, although a fact-finding mission was undertaken, which had no serious impact in changing the Swazi government's impervious attitude as sectarian meetings were imposed on it, without submission from the peoples elected representatives.
- g. As part of this authoritarian clampdown, the state maintains strong interference with the media and imposed a blackout on coverage of opposition political parties, including shutting down the internet in the early days of the protest.
- h. In the process, the developments led to the emergence and revitalisation of various social forces, groups and political parties in the political terrain, some claiming legitimacy as either the leading representatives of the protest movement or active participants.

Believing:

- a. That although the root cause of the recent protests were the government's autocratic crackdown against protesters demands for a democratically elected government and economy controlled by all Swazi for their equal benefit. But these protests are the manifestation of the wider struggle unfolding in Swaziland that represents a national democratic revolution under peculiar Swazi conditions, against a pre-capitalist ruling bloc presiding over a feudal superstructure, with a modern capitalist economic base.
- b. This Swazi ruling bloc is a backward but highly centralised and complex system of powerful and loyal traditional rulers with access to land and a vast compradorial family network that is at the helm of the state with all its institutions and the economy.
- c. This reality is fraught with a number of internal and external contradictions, such as a waning cultural influence, highly fractious ruling bloc, a deeply factionalised family network including the institutions it controls, the security forces, the judiciary and the traditional system hierarchy, especially over how to preserve economic and political power over the oppressed Swazis.
- d. The oppressive tinkundla system cannot survive with reliance on external support, including from certain powerful countries and is inordinately propped up by big capital with strong connections in a number of countries internationally including South Africa.
- e. The bloody massacre of Swazis during the protests period was carefully calculated that even the pretext of enforcing COVID protocols are negated by the disproportionate use of lethal force and the huge number of unarmed civilian casualties and it is now public knowledge that a lot of the arson incidents were carried out by security forces in civilian uniforms who highly infiltrated the protests.
- f. That not all the demands have been clearly articulated, which is a sign of enduring division in the ranks of the democratic movement that we have for many years been concerned about.
- g. That after all the ice has been broken by the protests on the possibility and desirability of democracy and that very disciplined forms of organisation are emerging, including the creation and strengthening of organs of peoples power across the country to respond to people's needs and sustain the struggle.

Therefore resolve:

- a) To reaffirm all our previous resolutions on a firm commitment to principled internationalist solidarity with the people of Swaziland fighting for democracy and freedom from the royal oppression.

- b) To support COSATUs demand for an urgent meeting with the government of South Africa on the resolution of Swaziland situation.
- c) To coordinate a strong campaign with SATUCC and other federations in the continent to ensure that SADC and the AU take a clear and decisive position regarding the political situation in Swaziland and to start an urgent discussion on a transition to democracy.
- d) To call for the immediate international investigation on the killings and other human rights violations during the protests.
- e) To call for more comprehensive SADC and AU fact-finding missions on the developments in Swaziland in which all Swazis should be afforded the opportunity to provide submissions on the political situation without the interference from the monarch.
- f) That both these institutions should ensure massive humanitarian program of food aid and medical supplies to benefit the people and demand from Mswati, the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and an end to arrest, torture, killings of unarmed civilians.
- g) To galvanise a concerted campaign of financial and material resources for the benefit of the Swazi struggle for the overthrow of the monarchy.
- h) We support COSATU international campaign aiming at monthly protests, boycotts, border blockades against Mswati regime and all its supporters inside and outside of Swaziland especially in South Africa until all Swazis are free from the tyranny of Swazi royal oppression.
- i) That for this reason, the national union should urgently establish a Swaziland crisis task team, whose mandate is to drive the implementation of the national union programs and strategy on Swaziland.

PALESTINE

Noting:

- a) The Zionist Israeli apartheid occupation of Palestine continues unabated.
- b) The occupation has gained support from a right wing shift in international politics including in the period of the Donald Trump American presidency that imposed major reversals on the struggle of Palestinians, specifically on the status of Jerusalem, on Israeli settlements expansion and the killings and detention of Palestinians, in violation of international law and many UN resolutions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- c) That congress took place during the controversy of Miss Universe hosted in Israel with the insistence by Miss South Africa to participate.**

We resolve:

- a) To re-affirm the 11th National Congress resolutions which affirmed our internationalist solidarity support to the Palestinian struggle, for an independent Palestinian state, within the 1967 borders with Jerusalem as its capital, the breaking of the Apartheid wall and the return of refugees and the release of all political prisoners as well as to intensify the boycott against Apartheid Zionist-Israel.
- b) To reiterate our demand for the South African government to end all diplomatic, commercial and trade ties with the Zionist-apartheid-regime of Israeli.
- c) To strengthen the Palestine solidarity movement in South Africa, to mobilize a wide range of social forces and public opinion behind this campaign.
- d) To work with all progressive forces, including Africa4Palestine in support of people of Palestine struggle to end the brutal Israeli apartheid occupation of Palestine.

- e) To continue with the cultural boycott and support the call for the withdrawal of Miss SA from the Miss Universe pageant taking place in Apartheid Israel.

PAME GREECE

Noting

- a) Our strategic relations with PAME and many other militant international sister unions belong to the class oriented trade union movement.
- b) That these relations require strengthening in the light of attacks by the ruling classes on working families.

We therefore resolve:

- a) To reaffirm all the 11th National Congress Resolutions on PAME Greece and to ensure the speedy implementation of all our resolutions and plan of action on joint trade union work.
- b) To greet the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles by PAME in Greece and its militant struggles against austerity and to increase the tempo of our solidarity support of the working people.
- c) To deepen cooperation with PAME, through concrete bilateral exchanges and programs in trade union and international work.

WESTERN SAHARA

Noting

- a. The persistence of the colonial occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco, in spite of numerous international resolutions by the UN on the referendum for self-determination.
- b. The outbreak of a war following Morocco's offensive against Saharawi's and violation of the ceasefire agreement including failure to effect the referendum on self-determination.

We therefore resolve:

- a. To reaffirm all the 11th National Congress Resolutions
- b. Reaffirm that the colonial occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco remains a threat to peace, stability and justice and is violation of the SAHARAWI rights to self-determination.
- c. Reiterate our position that the denial for the people of the Western Sahara to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence is an affront to peace in the region and the African continent.
- d. To continue denouncing the admission of the Kingdom of Morocco to the African Union and to campaign for the African Union to rescind this position.
- e. To call on government to extend political and development assistance to refugees Saharawi and to strengthen relations in areas of exchanging of arts, culture, youth sports, development and humanitarian assistance.
- f. To recognise that the Polisario Front liberation continues its struggle to end all foreign occupation of its territories and end the illegal exploitation of its natural resources by the Moroccan multinational companies.
- g. To call for the respect of human rights in Western Sahara occupied territories and call on international community to act in this regard.

- h. To strengthen awareness and influence the South African public opinion about the Sahrawi struggle to put an end to the last colony in our continent.

CYPRUS

We resolve that:

- a. We reaffirm all the 11th National Congress resolutions on Cyprus.

We further resolve that:

- a) We will support the struggle of the people in Cyprus for a bi-communal, bi-zonal, federal state with a single sovereignty, as a single international entity and with a single citizenship
- b) We will strengthen our relationship with the class oriented trade unions in Cyprus and to develop a viable campaigning platform in support of the aims of the revolutionary struggle.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of CONGO

Noting:

- a) The situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo remains volatile and that certain parts of the country are under the control of armed militias.
- b) That the DRC is endowed with abundant natural resources that could be of benefit to the people.

Believing that:

- a) The country resources are stolen by big countries and global corporations through fermenting armed conflict, committing human rights abuses in order to plunder these resources.

We resolve that:

- a. We reaffirm the WFTU resolutions on the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), to expose the role of multinational corporations and to forge strong links with the Congolese trade union movement.

KURDISTAN

Noting:

- i. The ongoing struggles of the Kurdish people for their rights.
- ii. The resolution taken by previous congresses in solidarity support of the Kurdish people.

We resolve that:

- i. We must call for the strengthening of protection of political activists seeking refuge in our country.
- ii. We must strengthen the solidarity with the Kurdish people and reaffirm our solidarity for the struggle towards attainment of peace.
- iii. We must continue the campaign calling for the release of Abdulla Ocalan and all political prisoners in Turkey.
- iv. To call upon the government of Turkey to cease military aggression on the Kurdish cities and its civilians.
- v. The government of Turkey must immediately cease using violence and intimidation against the Kurdish people.

- vi. We must strengthen the relationship with the Kurdish solidarity network in order to advance the struggle of the Kurdish people.

BASQUE

Noting:

- i. The unfolding situation in the Basque Country and the Spanish regime insistence to ignore calls by the Basque people to exercise their right to self-determination.
- ii. Our strong relations with the trade union movement LAB.

We resolve that:

- i. Congress reaffirms its support campaign for the struggle of the Basque people and expresses its resolved to fight for the end of the Spanish policy of dispersion, against arbitrary measure applied to Basque prisoners and from keeping them locked up hundred kilometres far from their homes and families.
- ii. The immediate release of seriously ill prisoners in order to receive adequate treatment for their illnesses.
- iii. The immediate release of all those imprisoned for their political opinions and activities, developed in political parties, youth organizations, and social movements or in the media.
- iv. 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.
- v. A process of dialogue and negotiation which would lead to release of prisoners and putting arms beyond use.
- vi. Political talks to lead a process where the right to self-determination of Basque people will be recognized.

MOZAMBIQUE

Noting:

- i. The armed insurgency in Mozambique, by religious fundamentalist groups with some ties to the Islamic state.
- ii. The conflict has killed many people and displaced several others.
- iii. The role of foreign military powers and the pervasive presence of mercenary groups operating in Mozambique.

We resolve:

- i. To promote solidarity actions with the oppressed people of the world, prioritizing workers of Mozambique.
- ii. To develop a more comprehensive understanding of developments in Mozambique and struggle for peace and democracy in that country, whilst condemning religious fundamentalism and all the factors that gives rise to it including errors committed by the liberation movement
- iii. To stage our quarterly solidarity programmes at all levels of the Organisation putting more focus on Mozambique.
- iv. To finalize the joint agreement and Political Education with Sindicato Nacional de Função Pública (SINAFP) as part of deepening our ideological understanding and joint trade union work.
- v. To campaign for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and for all mercenaries to end their activities in Mozambique.

ZIMBABWE

Noting that:

- i. There all-rounded political, economic and social crisis in Zimbabwe persists, with a negative impact on the working class.
- ii. The commission reiterates that workers in Zimbabwe remain largely oppressed, with no rights to dignified wages, to the right for collective bargaining and to strike. Zimbabwean workers do not have the right to freedom of expression. COSATU has made an attempt to march in 2019.
- iii. The Zimbabwean economic situation can be resolved by using its resources efficiently. The hard lockdown are destroying the Zimbabwean workers livelihoods.

We resolve that:

- i. We will continue our international campaign through regular visits to Zimbabwe, to find effective ways of supporting the aims of the struggle for the rebuilding of the political, economic and social crisis and to finalise our study and to strengthen political analysis of the situation in Zimbabwe.
- ii. Working together with the Zimbabwe Communist Party we must engage the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress through its subcommittee.
- iii. To pledge our international solidarity campaigns on Zimbabwe.
- iv. We must picket at the Zimbabwean embassies in solidarity with Zimbabwe

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL COMMISSION REPORT

On the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

Noting That:

- a. The 1994 breakthrough has been unable to fundamentally change the systematic and structural features of the political economy framework we inherited from apartheid-colonialism, as such features of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) remain intact.
- b. On the whole, that the balance of forces remains decisively in favour of the capitalist class and its political apparatus whose interests personify the agenda to advance and defend imperialist objectives in the national political economy
- c. That the present historical class formation that characterises the current environment in which the NDR is pursued has evolved over the medium term presenting new dynamics that affect the pace and direction of the NDR therefore demanding new tactics.
- d. The National Democratic Revolution however remains is a class contested program
- e. The objective challenges confronting our revolution include methodical political marginalisation of the motive forces generally and the working class in particular.
- f. The imposition of a neoliberal economic dispensation by the post-apartheid political arrangement has historically undermined the NDR and therefore delayed the resolution of the class, race and gender question in South Africa
- g. The re-emergence of tribalism, racism, regionalism and other backward political tendencies inside the board movement and the national political discourse
- h. The objective stagnation of the transformative programme and subjective incoherence of the organised forces of the NDR can be explained by a combination of internal organisational crisis of factionalism, poor strategic leadership and oversight as well as reactionary political inclinations of the leading political leadership.

- i. The need for the working class to assume a leadership role of the NDR and by implication produce from among its own ranks the capable cadre from which the vanguard party gather its advanced cadreship.
- j. The urgent task to defend the progressive trade union movement is critical to defending the programme of the National Democratic Revolution and therefore the interests of the working class.
- k. The re-emergence of corporate capture of the movement and the deepening corruption crisis in the state more broadly.
- l. The work of Zondo commission on state capture that uncovers the systematic nature of corruption in the state and society.
- m. That the increased level of corruption and state capture constitute strategic threat against the NDR
- n. The defeat of the so called 1996 class project and new tendency in 2007 and 2012 respectively did not result in the altering of the balance of class forces in favour of the working class in the overall trajectory of the NDR
- o. The important progressive policy shifts since the ANC's Polokwane Conference in 2007 which have been undermined since then parasitic corrupt network building in the high echelons of state and the liberation movement.

Believing That:

- a. That the political organisation of the progressive forces that are at the helm of the NDR is facing a political and strategic crisis that is both historically inherited and contemporarily evolved manifesting in objective stagnation of the revolution itself and subjective disorganisation of its political forces.
- b. For as long as the race, class and gender questions remain unresolved, the NDR objectives remain unfulfilled
- c. The NDR therefore is not merely at the cross roads, but in a state of stagnation.
- d. Among others, the stagnation of the revolution is related to an internal ideological crisis in the ANC that is marked by the mischaracterisation of the NDR as a struggle for a struggle for "National Democratic Society (NDS)".
- e. The left, broadly speaking, is proving unable to speak coherently and in manner reflecting unity on critical issues that affect it and on the overall direction of the class struggle at this historical conjuncture.
- f. Swelling the ranks of the ANC, building a Left Popular Front and preparing the Party to contest state power are inter-related strategies that are not necessarily contradictory to each other.
- g. The ideological rupture within the Alliance on the short and medium term objectives of the NDR continues to undermine the NDR
- h. Maximum unity of all progressive forces in general and the working class in particular around strategic objectives of the NDR is indispensable to a successful prosecution of the struggle and the realisation of its objectives
- i. The socialist axis of the alliance as led by the vanguard party of the working class has a greater responsibility in the NDR with and on behalf of all the working class and in national interests generally.
- j. 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
- k. 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.
- l. 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
- m. That successful revolutionary path towards socialism requires a rejuvenated communist party that unequivocally confronts its subjective weaknesses and organisational dysfunction (EC).

Therefore Resolve That:

- a. We reaffirm the National Democratic Revolution as our direct route to socialism and that the NDR must be defended in its proper revolutionary orientation
- b. Reaffirm that the working class, under the political leadership of the SACP, is the social force that should drive the NDR as a minimum programme towards socialist outcome.
- c. The National Democratic Revolution remains relevant, and its strategic objectives are key in our quest to achieve fundamental transformation.
- d. That the working class must consolidate its leadership position over the NDR by deepening its hegemonic position through intensified ideological struggle.
- e. A reorganised and rejuvenated South African Communist Party (EC) is indispensable for a successful revolution therefore we must work with the wider working class to recuperate and build up the party and maintain its integrity as the leading political force in the struggle against capitalism capable of rallying the motive forces of socialism.
- f. To work with other affiliates to unite the working class and its formations through activism across all sites of struggles including community struggles.
- g. To work with other affiliates in order to build & consolidate the unity of COSATU in the interests of the workers as a whole including working through the federation in rebuilding the Party's the trade union commission.
- h. The Chris Hani Institute must be reorganised and refocused so that amongst other functions, be an institution with a mandate to train our current and future revolutionaries
- i. 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
- j. Engage the Party through our federation to develop a concrete strategy to building relations with various social forces and organisations in the country as part of building working class hegemony in all key sites of power with the view to deepen and advance the NDR and the struggle for socialism
- k. That the ANC is the historical political legacy owed to the struggle of popular classes and the radicalising influence of the working class and its formations and can thus not be handed to our class enemies without contest and therefore congress resolves that we continue to battle for working class hegemony in the ANC itself.
- l. That while building progressive platforms to unite the working class for a decisive socialist struggle

On The South African State

Noting That:

- a. The current South African state, is a neo-colonial state; a historical feature that continues to define its policy perspective on transformation and accounts for its inability to bring meaningful change into the lives of the historically oppressed majority.
- b. The character of the state of the state in South Africa reflects a state that is in crisis from both a policy and operational point of view.
- c. At a strategic and political level, the current South African state is defined by a neoliberal orientation that forms its ideological outlook in policy formulation.
- d. The inability of the progressive movement to use its political power to discipline capital through the state, undermines transformation in society and strengthens the neoliberal agenda in South Africa in the current epoch.
- e. The demand of the union for a developmental state does not negate nor undermine our characterisation of the current state as a neoliberal state and our struggle for a socialist state, but is a medium term strategy seeking to achieve certain short-term transformative outcomes in the face of the neoliberal onslaught the working class is confronted with.

- f. That the state under capitalism is inherently captured by the ruling bourgeois class and that in the contemporary dynamic the capture of the state is not a fundamental departure original and essential character of a capitalist state.
- g. The significant role of the public sector and public sector workers in the second phase and in building a developmental state.
- h. The undermining and reversal of workers' democratic gains by ANC government reneging on its on collective agreement.
- i. The self-preservation of aspirant capitalist strata mainly drawn from the ranks of the formerly oppressed, whom many of them are in control of strategic positions in our movement and government.
- j. The serious danger posed by the middle strata to the national democratic revolution through its capacity to stop at nothing in pleasing the real capitalists
- k. The manipulation of economic policies, cutting on social spending, retrenchments, and backdoor sale of state assets.
- l. The grand scale and systemic corruption rampant in the state as manifested through crude manipulation of its institutions to further short term material and political advantage of those who occupy positions of power in the state and their political machinery elsewhere, to the detriment of the state and society.
- m. That the increased level of corruption and state capture constitute strategic threat against the NDR; this alongside other immediate threats that have been identified.

Believing That:

- a. Efforts of the democratic state aimed economic transformation tend to focus only on reproductive capital while ignoring surplus capital.
- b. The persistent and worsening triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment are a reflection of the failures of the post 1994 neoliberal dispensation and the stagnation of the NDR.
- c. The role of the democratic state in the economic sphere is to discipline capital.
- d. The neoliberal orientation of the current South African state is informed by the reality that the state is an instrument of class rule, and reflects the dominance of the bourgeoisie over the working class in South Africa.
- e. Part of the call for a developmental state speak to the transformation of the public service to build a new cadre in the public service that values moral incentives over material incentives.
- f. The need to combat the tendency to reduce the role of the state to administering tenders in the economy.
- g. 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.

Therefore Resolve that:

- a. NEHAWU, by virtue of its scope and location should play a central role in the struggle for a developmental state in South Africa.
- m. Ensure that we actively contribute to the development of a radical programme for the second phase of transition. The key foundation of the programme will include
 - A radical developmental path characterised by a developmental macro-economic policy, 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;

- b. Recommend to congress that it instruct the NEHAWU CEC to adopt the union's position as elaborated in our SPF on the Developmental state as a policy perspective of the union.
- c. NEHAWU must mobilise against the re-emergence of the state capture forces
- d. The National union must build class consciousness among its rank and file in order to mobilise against the working class enemies in the state.
- e. Intensify our struggle to defeat the tendency of state capture and all counter revolutionary tendencies in the whole movement.
- f. The SACP must be persuaded further to contest state power in favour of the working class and the poor.

On Building and Strengthening the Alliance

Noting That:

- a. The alliance remain the vehicle for advancing and deepening of the NDR.
- b. There is still a need to emphasise the relevance of Alliance as a Strategic Political centre that drives transformation.
- c. The emergence of factions influencing the leadership and structures of the ANC and government.
- d. Since the democratic brake through workers gains have been reversed by the ANC led government influence by a particular direction towards capitalist agenda
- e. The Alliance relations are at its all-time low and has not been functioning properly over the last decade at least
- f. The fact that the alliance political council does not sit as timely and frequently as necessary to respond to the collective tasks of the alliance components born out of the common programme, the NDR.
- g. 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.
- h. Strengthen the alliance at all levels and not only at the head office or provincial office.
- i. The National Alliance summit directed that the work done in the national summit should be replicated in a series of national alliance-led provincial and regional alliance summits.
- j. The weak state of the Alliance is also detrimental to national elections outcomes as it is only functional on the eve of the national and local government elections.
- k. The ANC does not conscientise and encourage its members to join COSATU affiliated unions and has at times seen its leaders cooperate with our rivals.
- l. Our members regardless of the swelling of the ranks resolutions are still not participating effectively in a number of ANC branches

Believing That:

- a. There is a need to increase the alliance secretariat in order to improve its efficiency and effectiveness as well as broadening the sources of views on which the alliance programme is based as well as facilitating the creation of the secretariat as the critical political centre.
- b. Alliance should not be effective and work together only towards the elections as it is relationship which has been established for purpose far beyond just elections campaigns.
- c. The Alliance continues to share a general 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 despite the internal contradictions.
- d. As a leading component of the Alliance, the ANC has the primary duty to contribute in strengthening other Alliance components by promoting the rebuilding the Mass Democratic Movement

- e. The socio-economic transformation of the country relies on a united and vision oriented alliance as guided by the NDR programme.

Therefore Resolve That:

- a. The Alliance is the strategic centre of power as resolved in several alliance platforms; therefore we should continue drive for full implementation of alliance programme in its reconfigured form.
- b. NEHAWU would work within COSATU to influence and fight for Unity and Cohesion within the Alliance.
- c. That the Alliance develops a communication system to jointly communicate collective decisions in order to avoid alliance partners pronouncing differently on issues commonly resolved.
- d. That the Revolutionary Alliance, should be strengthened; as the only mechanism and instrument available and capable in the current conjuncture to lead and advance a National Democratic Revolution and its goals.
- e. That workers as a class should continue to swell the ranks of the SACP and the ANC.
- f. NEHAWU would work within COSATU to influence and fight for Unity and Cohesion within the Alliance.
- g. Through COSATU locals, a localised Alliance programs should be developed in efforts to resuscitate and sustain both the unity and the relevance of the Alliance
- h. Continue to assess the membership status of our shop stewards in the ANC, SANCO and the SACP and report back to all Union structures.
- i. 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.
- j. 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 among alliance components.
- k. The direct implication of the reconfiguration of the alliance is that the Party as a class party in the alliance assumes, of necessity, the leadership role of the National Democratic Revolution and command the strategic direction of the revolution
- l. The party, in addition to the pronouncements on the reconfiguration, needs to tabulate the structural and systemic representations of a reconfigured alliance and its envisioned capacity to alter the trajectory of the revolution as exits.
- m. The SACP and COSATU have to assert their independence whilst defending and advancing the shared perspectives, policies and programme of action with the ANC.
- n. Abide by the following principles as a guiding framework for the proper functioning of the Alliance:
 - 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.
 - To strengthen each and every component of the Alliance, including making resources available for mutual benefit of Alliance formations.
 - 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 spat.
 - To promote debates in the Alliance and to resolve such debates through engagement rather than the vilification of each other.

On The ANC

Noting That:

- a. The ANC 54th Conference dealt an important defeat to the corrupt right wing tendency and factional project rooted in a parasitic relationship with the state.
- b. The ANC as the leader of the alliance is currently highly divided by factions within its structures and in government.
- c. The standing of the ANC as a leader of society and the political organization that organises the rest of society behind the vision of transformation (NDR) has been greatly challenged and compromised as evidenced by different election results overtime, including recently.
- d. That the gains of workers are reversed by the ANC lead government
- e. That currently the ANC is a highly divided organisation controlled by factions and our resolution of swelling the ranks has not proven to deliver the intended outcomes.
- f. The systematic crisis of lack of political education in the ANC as an organisation broadly and therefore incapacity to carry out its political programme or political analysis
- g. Individualism and divisions within the ANC at all levels has become the order of the day and this compromises the dignity of the organisation.
- h. Tribalism and political cores remain a challenge as the ANC is moving towards its 2022 National Elective Conference.

Believing That:

- a. NEHAWU has a national resolution that direct the union to support the ANC during elections
- b. The step aside policy is relevant in ensuring confidence to the masses on its position towards corruption
- c. That the ongoing endemic capture of the South African state presents effective basis upon which the public and moral standing of the ANC as a governing party is systematically eroded to the detriment of the revolutionary programme.
- d. The 54th National Conference of the ANC should serve as a turning point in the life of the movement and the entire Alliance.
- e. Further believing that the 54th National Conference should serve to represent an important advance for the working class and an end to the paralysis and crisis within the Alliance and its individual components.
- f. 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.

Therefore Resolves that:

- a. The national union must support the ANC policy of step aside.
- b. We reaffirm our support for the ANC in the National Elections; pending the process and decisions of the left axis on reconfigured alliance and popular front as a political strategy.
- c. That the ANC prioritises its renewal as a principal task to deepen its revolutionary tasks
- 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, the branch, in the political education programme with a key focus on inducting new members

On SANCO (Sponsored by M and L)

Noting That:

- a. There has been a decline in the activism and popular support for the civic organisation within our communities
- b. The resultant decline has opened space for reactionary NGOs and Populists ultra- left Political Parties/ Community Organisations to occupy and mobilise the historical constituencies previously commanded by SANCO
- c. SANCO does not have its own programmes and is dependent on the ANC programmes

Believing That:

- a. The Mass Democratic Movement will be severely weakened if it fails to mobilise communities in all sites of the struggle therefore calling for alternative strategy

Therefore Resolves that:

- a. NEHAWU members must strengthen SANCO within the communities where they live and fully participate in its activities including taking leadership roles
- b. NEHAWU in provinces will have to invite SANCO membership office into our constitutional meetings and other platforms within the province to encourage NEHAWU members to join SANCO
- c. The PECs to develop a monitoring tool to assess the extent to which NEHAWU structures work with SANCO
- d. The alliance must assist in rebuilding and uniting SANCO as it is still relevant in pushing community struggles

On the SACP

Noting that:

- a. The SACP remains relevant as the only Vanguard Party of the South African Working Class.
- b. The SACP is facing fundamental organisational and leadership challenges at various levels.
- c. The ongoing debate in the Party and in the structures of the progressive trade union movement about the possibility of the Communist Party contesting the 2019 national general elections on its own.
- d. That the contestation of elections, as such a possibility, is not equivalent on its own to contestation of state power; it is rather the cumulative part of the strategic objective of the Party to contest political power in the wider sense.
- e. The flooded nature of the debate around the corrupt parasitic bourgeoisie, the reconfiguration of the alliance, the short term and long-term debate of the SACP and state power and its conflation with minimalist election contestation; this causes the present apparent ideological mix-up as to the direction of the Party and the working class.
- f. The most consistent and the task of the Party and the working class movement is the continuous agitation of the working class against the oppressive system of capitalism and continuously agitate for the alternative system to capitalism
- g. The leadership of the NDR and the leadership of the alliance structure are not a similar thing.
- h. 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 are still relevant.
- i. COSATU is still yet to establish the political fund to support the SACP.
- j. The on-going joint political-education programmes between the SACP and NEHAWU highlighted by the recently launched Chris Hani Brigade programme.

- k. The struggle for socialism will remain elusive if workers do not exercise their revolutionary responsibility to join, belong and build the SACP
- l. The launching of party workplace units remain an important resolution whose execution has not progressed well due to lack of a targeted programme to establish these units.
- m. The programme of the SACP to launch VDBs throughout the country.
- n. There is increasingly a dangerous emergence of workerist tendencies in the progressive trade union.

Believing that:

- a. In particular, the SACP enriches the ideological, theoretical and programmatic depth of progressive trade union movement under the banner COSATU and the working class more broadly.
- b. The revolutionary components of workers organised under revolutionary trade unions represent the sections of the working class with the highest revolutionary potential and with the potential for the highest levels of class consciousness.
- c. The SACP remains the vanguard of the working class and the ideological school for the workers.
- d. 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.
- e. The SACP and COSATU share a common platform for the realization of socialism in South Africa.
- f. The South African Road to Socialism (SARS) remains the guiding document which defines our short, medium and long term strategic objective in laying the building blocks towards Socialism.
- g. The SARS document is the bible of the workers and as such need to be well understood and internalised by the NEHAWU shop stewards.

Therefore Resolve that:

- a. We re-affirm the resolution of the 11th National Congress on the building of a popular movement towards socialism.
- b. That the Party be engaged to convene a Socialist Conference to engage the working class on the substance socialism programme and agenda at this historical point of evolution of our struggle.
- c. That our federation COSATU be engaged by the union to persuade the SACP to contest elections directly.
- d. The Party must be supported to rebuild itself from branch level upward.
- e. We must revive and launch industrial and workplace branches of the SACP in our respective workplaces.
- f. The SACP should review and relook its decision and approach as it relates to its fulltime officials and other leaders and their relationship to participation, on behalf of the party, in the state as ANC deployees.
- g. Work with the SACP to build active SACP industrial units that run political class regularly
- h. That the union has the responsibility through the federation to influence the SACP in a manner that promotes the party's political strategy to include, in a decisive approach, the contestation of elections.
- i. The Party should recognise through action, its comprehensive vanguard character, in that it is vanguard of the whole of the working class and requires its total mobilisation behind its vision in order to guarantee a path to socialism and not only secure allegiance of the unionised, urbanised and politicised working class, its formations and institutions.
- j. The communist party must seek as its mission the leadership role of the National Democratic Revolution.
- k. The Union should continue supporting the SACP's anti-corruption campaign, particularly in the public sector as well as all the other campaigns of the party.

- l. Regions must ensure that the SACP is invited to participate in all the regional political classes.
- m. As part of building class consciousness of the shop stewards and members, the POBs working with the SACP POBs must convene quarterly Provincial Socialist Forums.
- n. The union must continue to support the Party with resources financial and otherwise to ensure that it is able to implement and run its programmes at all levels.
- o. The union has to support the SACP in developing its capacity to have leaders deployed to work full-time at its offices at national, provincial and district levels.

On COSATU

Noting that:

- a. The concerning emergency of divisions within COSATU affiliates compromises the strength and unity of the federation.
- b. There are a number of locals where NEHAWU shop stewards are in the leadership positions at local level
- c. there has not been enough coordination of the work of NEHAWU shop stewards in participating in the locals
- d. The fighting capacity of the Federation is weakened overtime and with particular reference at the time of ideological rapture peaking in the year 2015.
- e. There has been an intervention programme established by the COSATU central executive committee to resolve the current challenges in the federation.
- f. The federation has produced the discussion document on “Building Unity and Cohesion”.
- g. New union organising in government and the private sector are now a new threat to our COSATU unions
- h. Poaching of membership by affiliates within COSATU is becoming a norm.
- i. The positive move to invite all trade union Federations in the country during COSATUs recent Central Committee as a way of uniting the working class.

Believing that:

- a) the participation in the locals by our shop steward is fundamental to the strengthening of the locals
- b) The coordination of the attendance to the locals will ensure that the locals are vibrant and active
- c) The vibrancy and activism of shop stewards in the locals depends on their capacity
- d) Locals are engines of service delivery and are an important structure to ensure the flow of information
- e) The participation by the higher structures of affiliates will ensure that the locals are functional
- f) The current attacks on COSATU and its affiliates must be understood within the context of the all-round offensive against our revolution.

Therefore Resolve that:

- a) Capacitating local leadership must be at the centre of strengthening Locals
- b) We must revive Chris Hani Brigades in an endeavour to strengthen Locals
- c) To call on COSATU to programmatically develop a program that will deal with the contradictions amongst the affiliates.
- d) COSATU must focus on strengthening industrial unions because without the mobilization of the industrial proletariat, the prospects of the success of our socialist revolution are low.

- e) COSATU must work on uniting itself and on healing relations between her affiliates
- f) COSATU must support and also lead efforts to fight against job losses in our SOEs, Public Service and Administration, and in the private sector
- g) The federation and its affiliates have to heed the call of going back to basics in relation to organising and serving members in particular vulnerable workers.
- h) COSATU should orientate, as an ideological exercise, the average public servant and union member, through union platforms so as to create a crop of public servants cadres who can represent the agenda to build a developmental state.
- i) The COSATU NOBs must work with the leadership of the affiliates to build the unity and cohesion of the Federation and encourage tolerance amongst affiliates.
- j) All COSATU affiliates must enrich the discussion document on building the unity and cohesion whilst respecting the founding principles of the Federation.
- k) NEHAWU should encourage our federation and all its affiliates to intensify the campaign on swelling of the ranks of the ANC and SACP.
- l) Ensure that COSATU proactively provide strategic leadership, unify affiliates and rein-in affiliates that encroach on its pivotal role as the centre.
- m) To drive a programme of defending the collective leadership of our federation
- n) Ensure that COSATU's anti-corruption campaign is not being narrowly focused on the public sector as we must also fight against corruption in the private sector and nongovernmental organisations.

ON COSATU Locals and Clusters

Noting that:

- (a) The lack of commitment to COSATU locals and Clusters by the affiliates results in poor attendance and coordination of Locals and Cluster activities.
- (b) Locals and Clusters are important structures for mass based work, leadership development and campaigns.
- (c) Locals are an important structure of the Federation which ought to enjoy delegation status to its congresses.

Believing that:

- (a) The scope of the COSATU cluster is equivalent to an ANC region and SACP district.

Therefore Resolved that:

- (a) The COSATU POBs must revive all the COSATU locals and Clusters to ensure stability at Local and Cluster level.
- (b) COSATU must constitute Clusters as Regions consisting of all affiliates to represent the Federation in regional activities.
- (c) NEHAWU members must fully participate in COSATU Locals in their respective and convenient areas.

On the Popular Left Front Towards Socialism

Noting that:

- a. The foundation to building the hegemony of the working class lies in building the Popular Left Front as resolved by the Party congress. 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 frontiers 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 clear perspectives within trade unions and the working class in general on their relation to the struggle for socialism.

Therefore Resolve That:

- a. It is necessary to pursue the SACP resolution on the Popular Left Front build working class hegemony beyond the Alliance in society broadly. Support our working class vanguard, the SACP, in building a popular movement towards socialism.
- b. Develop solidarity, cooperation and mobilise a wide section of the anti-capitalist left and build on the 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. Ensure to work towards seeing 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 neoliberalism, 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.

SOCIOECONOMIC RESOLUTIONS

DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

Noting that:

1. Section 195 of the Constitution provides that 'public administration must be development-oriented', that the 'people's needs must be responded to' and the public service must have 'good human-resource management and career development practices'.
2. As a result of the imposition of the Neoliberal macroeconomic policy framework and the New Public Management practices to reform the Apartheid state, the post-Apartheid state is weak and plays

a minimum role in the economy to drive socioeconomic transformation and to meet the people's needs.

3. The public service lacks the necessary technical capacity, size of budgetary allocations and personnel to be effective in fulfilling its constitutional mandate of progressively ensuring access to socioeconomic rights.
4. Government has failed to create a single public service and now it is amending section 5 of the Public Administration Management Act (PAMA) "to provide for the transfer of employees across the spheres of government without the consent of employees where such transfer is operationally justified".

Believing that:

1. The state is a decisive instrument that can leverage the transformation of the economic base and to allocate and redistribute economic resources in order to address the prevailing socioeconomic crises.
2. Fulfilling the overarching task of transforming the state and building working class hegemony would enhance the capacity to forge a new developmental growth path as opposed to the current Neoliberal trajectory.
3. The imposed Neoliberal macroeconomic policy framework and the New Public Management reforms are two-sides of the same agenda of building a Neoliberal state and this runs counter to the agenda of a developmental growth path.
4. In the current conjuncture government continues to entrench the Neoliberal form and role of the state in the economy as manifested through privatisation, the deregulation of public infrastructure network for the private sector, the creation of more agencies, outsourcing of functions, keeping the Treasury and SARB independent from the electoral mandate and maintaining the Neoliberal macroeconomic policy framework.
5. The tender system is inherently corrupt, undermines the capacity of the state to fulfil its constitutional obligations and merely serves the narrow interests of the elites within the state and in the private sector.

We therefore resolve:

1. To reject the agencification, unbundling, privatisation, of ESKOM and other state entities and call for a rolling mass-action programme as part of the tasks of the Left Popular Front.
2. To call for a proper developmental planning approach to ensure that the budgetary allocations are linked to the needs of society and that the state together with its enterprises prioritise socioeconomic transformation targets and objectives.
3. To call for a state that is itself an economic producer, entrepreneur and an investor in social and economic infrastructure and that uses public procurement and localisation as instruments to build manufacturing capacity and capability.
4. To reject the blended-finance model to fund social and economic infrastructure and reaffirm COSATU's resolution calling for the scrapping of the etolls.
5. Call for the creation of the Sovereign Wealth Fund, State Bank and Workers' Banks.
6. To develop a campaign calling for the scrapping of the tendering system and the insourcing of all the public service functions.
7. To reaffirm the COSATU Central Committee resolution against workplace forums.
8. To develop an education programme on revolutionary and ethical responsibilities on NEHAWU members as servants of the people and to work with the relevant institutions to drive education in the wider public service cadre.
9. To revive our Public Service Delivery Campaign to fight against outsourcing, agencification, filling of vacancies and for 'good human-resource management and career development practices' in line with the Constitution.

10. To work with other COSATU unions, including SAMWU to fight for an end to casualisation in the public sector and for the rights of the Community Health Workers, Community Care Workers and workers in the Expanded Public Works Programme.
11. To reject the coercive redeployment of public servants across different spheres of government, including local government level as proposed in the Public Administration Management Amendment Bill.
12. To reject the current Neoliberal macroeconomic policy stance and to mobilise to fight against austerity.
13. To reject the Treasury's proposals on social security reforms and call for the implementation of a comprehensive social security system, which must include a Basic Income Grant.

HEALTHCARE TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME

Noting that:

1. The COVID-19 exposed the poor state of our public healthcare sector, especially in terms of the governance and management of the hospitals and clinics as well as the poor support and coordination on the part of the district and provincial health authorities.
2. The NHI seeks to nationalise the financing of the healthcare services, but in itself the NHI would not necessarily address the current poor management in the public healthcare institutions at the provincial and district levels.
3. The Human Resources for Health 2030, Presidential Health Summit Compact and the Health sector's strategy 2019-2024.
4. The sacrifices and suffering of the healthcare workers in the frontlines of the fight against COVID-19.

Believing that:

1. In nationalising the financing of the healthcare services, in itself the NHI would not necessarily address the current poor management of the public healthcare institutions at the district and provincial levels.
2. The Office of Health Standards Complaints is not effective in enforcing the National Core Standards due to its poor resourcing and the lack of effective consequence management to force compliance on the part of healthcare authorities in institutions, districts and provinces.
3. Provincial health authorities are complicit in the perpetuation of poor management and governance of the public healthcare institutions and district offices.
4. Without the commitment of the healthcare workers, the public healthcare system would have collapsed in the face of COVID-19 pandemic and the poorly managed healthcare system.

We therefore resolve:

1. To defend the NHI, fight against budget cuts and for its accelerated implementation and the creation of a publicly administered NHI Fund.
2. Engage with government to ensure that the proposed devolution of powers to the health districts and tertiary institutions in terms of the NHI legislation does not disadvantage the healthcare workforce.
3. To adopt the approach of the NOBs led healthcare programme on sites visits in the Fact Finding Report on OHS Compliance in 2020, to campaign for compliance with the National Core Standards and Quality Improvement Programme in the public healthcare sector, especially at the healthcare institution level.

4. To reaffirm the COSATU's resolution against compulsory or mandatory vaccination and to participate in government's campaign to encourage more vaccination to achieve the national immunisation target.
5. To intensify our campaign for the absorption of the Community Health Workers (CHWs) as permanent employees of the state, the strengthening of primary healthcare and improvements in their working conditions, training and the career-pathing of the CHWs.
6. To fight for accountability, transparency and the democratisation of the hospital boards and to encourage our cadres and progressive community organisations to participate in the hospital boards and clinic committees as part of ensuring effective primary healthcare and building working class hegemony. The union must make sure that our suitably capable cadres are elected into hospital boards and clinic committees.
7. Fight for the regulation of the pricing of private healthcare tariffs by government in line with the National Health Act.
8. To reaffirm the union's support for the creation of a state pharmaceutical company and for the accelerated finalisation of the Health Economy Master Plan.

EDUCATION AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

1. The shift from the loan scheme to the bursary scheme in post-schooling education system to cover tuition, accommodation and study materials by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) in 2018 for students from poor households.
2. The question of the funding of the so-called "missing middle" and post-graduate students remains unresolved.
3. The union is linked to a number of SETAs that are located within our scope and yet we have not systematically taken advantage of the resources in the SETAs to improve the skills of our personnel or staff and to enhance the training of shopstewards and organisers.
4. The good progress in the realisation of the quantitative national targets of student enrolment in higher education, whilst enrolment in the technical and vocational education as well as adult basic education progress has fallen behind.
5. The lack of adequate workplace training opportunities for TVET students and lecturers.

Believing that:

1. Skill development must be on scale that linked to a proactive industrial policy that support the transformation of the economic structure of our society, the expansion of the existing manufacturing sector and its diversification to create decent jobs, beneficiation and drive the development of the emerging green sector.
2. There is a need for the further expansion of the post-schooling system, in which technical and vocational education would be the leading component.
3. The current governments' austerity programme, amongst others, threatens to derail the realisation of the 2030 national objectives of the post-schooling system.

We therefore resolve:

1. As part of addressing the existing gaps in the provision of funding pertaining to the so-called missing middle and post-graduate studies, the GEPF must make resources available for the funding of the public servants' children across the post-schooling system.
2. To address the funding gaps COSATU and affiliates must demand that employers must be use Section 18 (a) of the Company Income Tax to fund the post-schooling needs of their employees and their children as they would be able to claim rebates from SARS.

3. Our post-schooling programme must fight for a prescribed and biased allocation of resources for infrastructure and personnel funding to improve quality and conditions in the former historically black institutions, including those that have been merged with the historically white institutions.
4. To call for all government departments, state enterprises and organs to be mandated to offer workplace learning programmes, in-service training and internships for TVET student and graduates.
5. The union must undertake an audit on the skills of our staff and develop a union's skills development plan to take advantage of the resources in SETAs for the training and education of our personnel or staff.
6. To call on COSATU and SACP to use the Chris Hani Institute to develop modules and personnel to run the education and training for organisers, shopstewards and cooperatives for retrenched workers through the available for resources in the SETAs.
7. To work towards the creation of a skills development and training centre for our members.
8. Our branches must take advantage of the skills levy to press for Workplace Skills Plans at their workplaces through the relevant SETAs.
9. To establish the National Skills Committee to coordinate all our work on skills development, including responding to the emerging challenges as a result of the digitisation of work in the public service, to facilitate the training of our representatives in the boards of the SETAs and to develop a union's skills development agenda.
10. To fight austerity and for the strengthening, improvement in quality and expansion of the entire post-schooling system, especially the TVET and CET sectors.
11. To formalise and strengthen the Student – Worker Alliance in every campus and institutions to take up campaigns and joint work on issues of mutual interests.

KwaZulu-Natal

Western Cape

ORGANISATIONAL RESOLUTIONS

Seamless Machinery

Noting that:

- a. Whereas at the national and provincial levels our seamless-machinery approach always struggled to achieve integrated coordination as opposed to working in horizontal and vertical silos, the experience in the period under review has been different.
- b. It was only during the hard-lockdown period whereby there was some attempt to balance working in an integrated and coordinated manner around the workplace issues whilst simultaneously attempting to ensure continuity with the separate departmental priorities in the work plan
- c. 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. The issue of planning, organising, monitoring and reporting cannot be a matter for constitutional meetings alone.
- d. It is inherent for all employers to establish their own procedure manuals. There is also a pressing need to control the quality and consistency of the service the union gives to its members.
- e. NEHAWU, as a general union with a diversified membership profile, needs to standardize its operational activities and professionalise its functioning to meet the standards of our time.
- f. Standardized procedures shall further reduce miscommunication and failure to comply with the union's constitution, set timeframes and national directives.

Believing that:

- a. The Secretariat is the centre of coordination and driver of strategies and programs to implement the organisational priorities in the union from the centre.
- b. The provincial planning meetings and provincial organisers' forums are key in assisting provinces to develop and operationalise nationally agreed programs at regional and branch levels.
- c. These provincial operational structures 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 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.
- e. The system of accounting of Organisers all levels is not fully working with National Organisers, PHOSECs and Regional Organisers not consistently complying with submitting monthly reports.
- f. 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.
- g. The union has not yet forced the regions to account on implementing the national programs.

Resolve that:

- a. We reaffirm the 9th national congress resolution on the concept of seamless machinery as a correct approach to ensure that the union talks to itself.
- b. The union through national and provincial SMTs must strengthen coordination and operationalization of our program of action to ensure lockstep uniformity, synchronisation and regular reporting in between meetings of constitutional structures. We must develop a system to monitor implementation, strengthen management and accountability of operational structures.
- c. The union must immediately develop a standardized operating procedures manual that shall ensure consistency and uniformity across all structures in executing the union's programs. We must ensure that these standard operating procedures provide clear expectations for officials and elected office bearers alike. This SOP should be used as an induction manual and guiding document for supervision of the union staff at all levels. All Service centres must continue to support the union's core work of organising and servicing members.
- d. The link between the Head Office, Provinces, Regions and Branches must be strengthened 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 at all levels of the union to sure that organisational priorities are implemented.
- f. The union must enforce a periodical review on performance of its staff guided by tools to be developed by the union through human resource management.
- g. The Provincial Organisers' Forums be convened monthly and must focus discussions on improving organising and servicing of branches in regions in line with the theme of the 12th national congress.
- h. The union must ensure that there is continuous rotation of Regional Organisers and that they are not deployed to one sector for too long. This must not be done for punitive reasons but to enhance service delivery by utilising the skills and experience of individuals

Strengthening Workplace Organisation

Noting that:

- a. The union's program of branch congresses completed in 2019 was an integral part of building a strong workplace organisation.
- b. The organisational assessment report on branches indicates that the union must deal with many challenges if we are to have strong workplace organisation.

- c. The report also indicates that many regions are failing to implement Constitutional decisions such as setting up functional key sub-structures in branches. The substructures were established in order to enhance the work of constitutional strictures
- d. The political and ideological orientation and lack of organisational capacity of shop stewards, makes it difficult to realise the establishment of strong workplace organisation.
- e. 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.
- f. Branches don't report to regions on a monthly basis so it is harder to detect the challenges that require appropriate interventions. This makes it difficult for RECs to discuss the state of organisation in branches.
- g. The Strategic Policy Framework of the union identified four (04) key elements that should be central in developing an ideal branch which are Communication, Knowledge of Work and the Worksite, Development of a System of Choosing Issues and Leadership Development.
- h. The Strategic Policy Framework of the union further outlined that the ideal branch that must entail a workplace democracy, the union is in control of all structures in the workplace and the union must be part of the decision making through control of the workplace.

Believing that:

- a. The 12th National Congress theme Strengthen Workplace Organisation, to defend Collective Bargaining, Deepen Class Consciousness and Advance Internationalism requires properly constituted branches as the most basic unit to organise and service members.
- b. 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 and exposed by the COVID-19 lockdown period
- c. That sub-structures such as Paralegal, Education and Training, Bargaining Forums, and Professional Forums (i.e. Nurses' Forums etc) are necessary in enhancing the work of constitutional structures
- d. There is a need to review the number of substructures , their relevance and effectiveness in providing support to constitutional structures
- e. Rooting ourselves on the ground at the workplace amongst our members must be taken as an important organizational practice of ensuring that the union attends to the vital interests of members. Organization. This ground terrain, supported by concrete facts about what is going on in the workplace, must be embraced and internalized by the union for effective mobilization and representation, especially at the provincial and regional level.
- f. To identify branch challenges and weaknesses, the union must update and maintain branch data on a quarterly basis, as this will provide for appropriate and timely interventions.
- g. A standard reporting format for branches is necessary and 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 key task of regions is to capacitate shop stewards in order to build strong workplace organisation
- j. The political and ideological education and training of shop stewards is key to building strong workplace organisation and deepen class consciousness.

Resolved that:

- a. The task of strengthening the workplace organisation should begin immediately with convening of successful branch congresses in across all regions in 2022. This means that branch congresses shall be an anchor of all that we do in implementing our nationally agreed program of action
- b. In strengthening workplace organization, the union must ensure that the demarcation of all branches by the central executive committee is aligned to the constitution. This means that there must be unbundling of regional, provincial and national branches. The branch data and reports of what is existing on the ground must help us prepare better for branch congresses. The union must use the branch congresses to continue to refine and set up a system to manage, monitor and update branch data on quarterly basis across all provinces and regions.
- c. When clustering branches due consideration on the proximity of the institutions and the distance between each institution should be considered to enable proper functioning and improved servicing to members.
- d. Our national programme of action driven by the national leadership must ensure that workplace and branch visits become a permanent feature and an integral aspects of regional supervising and monitoring the work of the organizers as well as ensuring that the leadership collective familiarize themselves with members and that their issues are taken up.
- e. The congress reaffirms the central role of regions as engines of service delivery and as such the union must pay special attention in capacity building program for Regional Office Bearers, Organisers and Administrators to deliver quality, effective service and support to branches.
- f. In order to ensure functionality of all constitutional at all levels and that there is no gap between members and leadership which could lead to poor or lack of service. The upper structures must ensure that all dysfunctional leadership structures are re-launched by convening a special congress within three months after it has become defunct. The union must utilise the capacity of remaining leaders from the defunct structure at the relevant to help prepare for the special congress.
- g. The union must pay specific focus in strengthening our work in the Higher Education, TVET, SETAs and Parastatals sectors by strengthening branches in order to drive campaigns building from the good work undertaken in public health etc. The national union through the Organising Subcommittee must in a systematic way develop sector specific programs across all the sectors.
- h. That the War Rooms must be the permanent feature at all levels of the union to drive our campaigns and improve service to members by ensuring lockstep uniformity, synchronisation and reporting on regular basis
- i. The union must develop a standard policy and procedure on the election and appointment of coordinators and full-time shop stewards in terms of their roles and responsibilities. The policy must take into account applicable legislations and collective agreements

Substructures

Resolve that:

- a. The union must undertake an organisational development process to review and evaluate the work of all substructures with the view of assessing their relevance and effectiveness and to streamline them. The outcomes must achieve the objectives of strengthening the work of constitutional structures especially the Branch Executive Committees to service members. This work must be completed by the December 2022 Central Executive Committee
- b. The union must develop clear terms of reference for the National, Provincial, Regional and Branch Coordinators. This must include reporting channels and submission of monthly reports of the coordinators.
- c. The Central Executive Committee must appoint a task team that must work on modalities to establish young worker's forums/sub-structures in the union for the recommendations to be tabled in the next congress.

Education and Training

Noting that:

- a. The education and training is one of the fundamental priority of the union to capacitate the shop stewards, office bearers and officials
- b. The lack of a systematic training programme in order to capacity building and continues development remains a challenge.
- c. We are still having a challenge of developing and continuously improving a system of education that will be downward focused to service branches.
- d. The union doesn't have a reliable database for all trained shop stewards on different programs.

Believing that:

- a. The education & training strategy can enable the union to broadly understand how to unlock the perennial challenges existing in our education and training.
- b. The theoretical approach can create a response to the existing challenges in education and training.

Resolve:

- a. That the union must consider the review of training manual and the development of skills matrix for all shop stewards and officials to meet the individual needs.
- b. That the education and training of the shop stewards must be a permanent feature of the union. Our focus at the workplace must be broaden to the smaller and weaker sectors and regions to ensure shop steward education and training take a step-up in order to build the capacity of our branch leadership collectives and women leaders (in particular) for strengthening workplace organization and self-activity of the branches.
- c. That the town based shop stewards training must be implemented with a targeted number of shop stewards that needs to be training.
- d. That the union must partner with the accredited education facilities that will be relevant to the union as part of improvement of the capacity of shop stewards and membership.
- e. To revise the current education and training strategy to be in line with the current challenges faced by workers and the changing work environment including the 4th Industrial Revolution
- f. To develop a dedicated and deliberate organiser development programme to build capacity for all Organisers of the union as the critical component in servicing the members of union and performing the functions required of them.

Gender

- a. The union must develop annual gender programs in order to ensure full realisation of our gender policy as adopted which be monitored by the central executive committee.
- b. The establishment of gender structures at all levels must be part of the program of action post the national congress. The training must be part of the cadre development program to build second layer of leadership
- c. The union must establish a task team to work on the modalities of launching of the union woman's desk

Membership, Recruitment and Retention

Noting that:

- a. In the majority workplaces within the sectors that we are organising we are not commanding 50% +1.

- b. The lack of majority representation within the workplaces in the sectors we are organising compromise our bargaining power.
- c. We are not doing enough on the membership cancellations as part of ascertaining the reasons of membership cancellation
- d. The standing resolution of the national union for a coherent national recruitment campaign to increase membership by 10% annually and setting targets of 50%+1 for all branches across Sectors.
- e. While significant membership growth was achieved through recruitment campaign, we also experienced a significant number of fall-offs due to cancellations.
- f. The Public Service landscape in particular State Administration sector 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.
- 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.

Believing that:

- a. The majority representation will ensure that we influence all policy positions of the workplace within the sectors we are organising.
- b. The majority cancellation of membership is the lack of membership service by the union.
- c. Targeted recruitment campaign in all sectors can assist the union to break new grounds and grow the union, including 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 public service and Parastatals workers.
- e. The Public Health sector is also a strategic sector to grow, in particular KwaZulu-Natal province, given the high density of Public Health workers.
- f. 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.
- g. Numbers facilitate politics and strengthens the ability to bargaining including changing the balance of forces in the broader transformation project.

Resolved that:

- a. Our recruitment campaign will be anchored around the understanding that we need to protect the base by scaling up service in order to attract those outside the union.
- b. The national union must develop a target driven and inclusive recruitment strategy for all sectors as an ongoing campaign.
- c. Every member of the union must be a recruiter to ensure that we dominate in all sectors we organise.
- d. The union must develop social activities for members at the level of regions in the form of choir competitions, sporting activities etc. these events must be used to attract new members to the union.
- e. We reaffirm the resolution of the 11th NC to cascade down membership capturing to regions
- f. Develop a membership app aimed at assisting members to view their membership status as well as the status of funeral policies. That we must develop an exit interview for members who are cancelling the union whilst we are also persuading the fraudulent case of the rival union.

- g. We must review and improve membership benefits for members as part of attracting the new members. This include implementation of the decision to provide golf shirts and other recruitment material
- h. We must monitor the service providers that we are working with in attracting new members through incentives and services they provide.

Collective Bargaining

Noting that:

- a. The trade union movement has now reached a politically decisive moment in which it is required to consciously maintain its militant traditions to sustain its organisational integrity that has been built on solidarity as well as strategic and ideological clarity.
- b. Treasury announced a new wave of austerity attacks, the public service wage bill was 35, 1% of the budget and so, in line with the prevailing prescript it set out to cut public service wage bill over the next three years.

Believing that:

- a. There is a coordinated agenda from employers starting with the public service to undermine and eventually collapse collective bargaining
- b. The struggle facing workers in the coming years is not only going to be about the defence of collective bargaining and conditions of work but also about the fate of the working class and the poor
- c. Collective Bargaining is a tangible means to measure and evaluate the overall performance of the union.
- d. 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.
- e. The involvement of members in bargaining matters through general members meetings remains an important democratic step in mandating processes to determine their future
- f. 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.
- 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. Centralised bargaining remains the strategic objective to strengthen, unite and advance the collective interest of workers in all sectors.
- i. One of the key performance areas of organisers is to anchor collective bargaining at all levels.

Resolve that:

- a. The union should convene in 2022 a national bargaining conference to review our national bargaining strategy across sectors and develop uniform set of demands that cut across which can be used to develop solidarity amongst members in defence of collective bargaining.
- b. The union must adopt an improved coordination, cohesion and synergy on centralised bargaining in order to defend collective bargaining.
- c. The union must support the implementation of the COSATU resolution on review of scopes, implementation of mergers and strengthening of the policy on poaching without further delays.
- d. We reaffirm that COSATU JMC remains a strategic platform for the union in taking forward the work of Public Service Bargaining, therefore the national leadership must engage the COSATU leadership and Public Service unions NOBs to strengthen the JMC.

- e. The union must, central to its program of action post the congress, place the campaign for the defence of collective bargaining both in public and private sectors. This action must be used as a catalyst for resisting the IMF sponsored Neoliberal Economic trajectory of the sixth ANC administration in defence of collective bargaining
- f. There must be a push back against the attack on collective bargaining by working together with other affiliates in sectors where we share scope rather than promoting competition. This must include following up with International Labour Organisation on the violation of convention 154 on collective bargaining.
- g. Our strategic approach in exerting pressure through mass mobilisation to support our engagement with government must be strengthened across sectors.
- h. There must be a national day of action to highlight the plight of the working class and poor in 2022 and this must include the WFTU international day of action on the 03rd of October.
- i. At the national level we should continue reviewing and electing new national negotiating teams for all the sectors and run basic induction training and roll-out the intermediate and advance training for the negotiating teams across sectors.
- j. The private health, private social development and the Parastatals sectors require substantial growth in membership as part of the strategy towards centralised bargaining arrangements.
- k. The union must intensify insourcing of all outsourced services in all the sectors we are organising but also we must enforce the implementation of all outstanding resolutions through workplace campaigns.
- l. The union must issue monthly bulletins on bargaining matters in all the sectors so as to update members on bargaining issues.
- m. To implement a system that ensures that organisers prepare, assist, research and coordinate collective bargaining adequately at all local levels.

Case Handling and Management

Noting that:

- a. The union constitution defines the responsibility of a shopstewards as first and foremost to defend the individual and collective interest of members in the workplace.
- b. The paralegal strategy is an important process at defending the members and the union against management oppression and exploitation.
- c. The most important reasons for members joining the union is for protection against dismissal, unfair labour practices, improving wages, benefits and working conditions.
- d. In our quest to bargain for the improvement of the working conditions of members disputes arise which lead to cases at different forums.
- e. The legal bill is ballooning as result of continues outsourcing of cases from the workplace to attorneys

Believing that:

- a. We need to put our efforts first and foremost into successfully defending workers in disciplinary cases, conciliations, arbitrations, reviews, enforcements, unfair labour practices (grievances, etc.) and into wage bargaining.
- b. There is a correlation between the bargaining and representation of members in disputes.
- c. The legal bill is mainly as a result of the weak internal capacity of the union to handle cases.

Resolve that:

- a. We must train all our shopstewards at the workplace in order to handle grievances and arrest disciplinary cases from escalating to disputes. We must also continue build the paralegal teams at

- all levels of the union as part of implementing the paralegal strategy of the union in support of the work of shop stewards in representing members.
- b. We continue to build capacity to the paralegal team's members through attending hearings and paralegal team trainings.
 - c. As a result of the experienced volume of referral case load within NEHAWU, the hand-over of cases process becomes non-negotiable.
 - d. That we initiate, provide and monitor the training for union representatives on Labour Relations and Labour related issues.
 - e. The union must secure accredited training and further provide provinces with an online research library, this also in line with implementing the Paralegal Strategy.
 - f. That we initiate and defend NEHAWU and its members in Labour litigation, provide legal opinions to the union members and the shop stewards.
 - g. That the case management system must be updated to keep track with the progress on cases.

Building Financial Self Sufficiency and Sustainability

Noting that:

- a. There has been significant progress made by ensuring that a substantial part of the resolutions of the 11th national congress have been implemented.
- b. Some institutions are not paying the correct subscription fees, especially in the tertiary sector.
- c. The union has incurred deficits on its financial statements for the years 2019 and 2020 partly due to no increase in the budgeted revenue. As a result, the union has accumulated a debt of R27m.
- d. The objective of cost cutting remains central and key pillar in the management of the union's financial resources, of cause without compromising service delivery to its members.
- e. The purchase of property remained outstanding as a result of funding challenges from financial institutions.
- f. Previous resolutions aimed to ensure that NIH is accountable to the union structures have not been realised.
- g. Non-implementation of some of the previous national congress resolutions and re-affirmation thereof.

Believing that:

- a. All members of the union must pay the correct subscription fees as determined by the union from time to time.
- b. The union is losing substantial revenue, not only from institutions paying incorrect subscription fees, but also decline of membership in the public sector as well as agency fees from different workplaces.
- c. Expenses should always be kept below income and revenues generated in order to avoid deficits in the unions financial statements.
- d. The financial deficits must be addressed in the short term as part of re-alignment of the union's finances
- e. The purchase of property if pursued will bring in the long term benefits to the union in terms of reducing the cost of office rentals and also improve the union's asset base. Existing properties must also be maintained.
- f. In line with the theme of strengthening workplace organisation, increased interface with branches and deployment of resources will enable service delivery at this level and contribute to the growth of the union.
- g. The union must continue to support and promote the development of NEHAWU SACCO for the benefit of members

Resolve that:

- a. The oversight role of Fincom and treasurers in the finances of the union must be strengthened. The union must train treasurers at all levels on financial skills and understanding the finance manual/policy
- b. The national union must make use of audio-visual technology for meetings of the non-executive and constitutional structures (structures that are not constitutional) on a regular and appropriate basis, especially for meetings with smaller numbers of attendees as part of cost savings.
- c. The Fincom must continue to develop and implement cost cutting measures across the union in order to improve our finances
- d. The national union must implement the resolution on buying of union property as a cost saving measure for the national union.
- e. The national union as part of transparency must table through the NIH the status of the investment for deliberations by the constitutional structures.
- f. Regions are centres and engines of service delivery and the union must work on deploying more resources to improve service which includes providing pool cars, office infrastructure and improve conditions of fulltime secretaries.
- g. The central executive committee must look at the possibilities of uncapping the membership subscription in order to ensure that lowest paid members doesn't subsidise the highest paid.
- h. The union must reduce its liabilities and debts as per the auditor's reports where the union's assets are less than its liabilities.
- i. The union must support NEHAWU SACCO to deal with administrative challenges as well as recruitment and structures in provinces.

19 CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The Constitutional amendments were presented and adopted by the congress following the process of engagements with provinces through the Constitutional Review Committee. The adopted Constitutional amendments are as follows:

Section 3 Scope:

Section 3 (1) (a) the word **public service** be changed into **state administration**.

Section 7 Spheres of Authority within the Union: on 5(c) that the words "*and national office bearers (NOB's)*" be deleted. The new 5(c) should read "***the NEC exercises the executive authority of the union, subject to the decisions of the CEC and the NC***"

Section 47(3) Composition of Provincial Congress

Replace *Branch* with *Region* and clause 47(3) must read as follows:

*"Each **region** must advise the Provincial Secretary of the number of members in that region, the number of delegates appointed in that region, and the names of those delegates and their alternates."*

Section 47(4):

To replace branch with region

*"The PC is entitled to request proof of the membership on which a **region** has decided its delegation."*

Section 48(3) (a) on meetings of the Provincial Congress:

Should replace "*shop stewards*" with "*members*"

Section 59 (2) on Composition of the National Congress

Amend the word "*PEC*" and be replaced with "*Province*" for consistence across layers of the union

Section 61(1) (a) that it be amended as it creates ambiguity because it has merged office bearers and shop stewards into one;

Section 61(1) Removal from Office

The committee proposes separation of "*office-bearer or elected official holding any position in the union*" from *shop steward* and keep (1) with "*any shop steward*".

The committee further proposes that the creation of new (2) which should read as follows:

61(2) any office-bearer or elected official holding any position in the union shall no longer hold that position if:

61(2) (a) they no longer employed within the scope of the union;

(a) they fail to attend three consecutive meetings of the council and/or committee, which elected that person without sending a written reason;

(b) they fail to be in good standing with the union;

(c) the union suspends or expels them; and

(d) they are unable to perform their duties.

Section 11(b): “the member has been suspended in terms of section 64(7).”

Section 12 Suspension of, or Expulsion from Membership be amended so as to achieve finality and conclusiveness

The meetings further considered the format under which the disciplinary measures are scattered all over the constitution being section 12 which appears to be dealing with membership only and section 64 which deals with office bearers and shop stewards. Therefore section 12 should be integrated into the new section 64: **DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE FOR A MEMBER, SHOP STEWARDS, OFFICE-BEARERS and ELECTED OFFICIALS as follows:**

64(1) the union may place a member, shop steward, office-bearer and elected official on precautionary suspension for a period not exceeding 30 days, such action to be imposed by the relevant authority i.e. BEC, REC, PEC, NEC or CEC. The period of the precautionary suspension may only be extended by the chairperson of the disciplinary inquiry on application inside the disciplinary hearing.

64(2) when intending to discipline a member the BEC, REC, PEC, NEC or the CEC as the case may be, must:

(a) advise the person concerned in writing giving not less than seven (7) days' notice of the charges against him/her and the date, time and place of his/her hearing. This notice may be sent by registered post to the last known address of the person charged or delivered by hand;

(b) from amongst themselves appoint a person, or persons to prosecute the enquiry.

(c) From a higher executive structure appoint a person to preside over the hearing.

(d) In exceptional circumstances, the union may appoint an external person to preside over or to prosecute in the enquiry.

64(3) the following are a guide but are not an exhaustive list of possible misconducts which may result various sanctions as stipulated in clause 64(7):

(a) Acting against the interest of the union;

(b) Violation of the union's constitution, policies, practices, procedures and membership code.

(c) Failing to attend more than three (3) consecutive meetings of the BEC, REC, PEC, NEC or CEC without a reason or apology acceptable to the relevant committee.

(d) Placing the name of the union into disrepute.

64(4) If the BEC, REC, PEC, NEC or CEC as the case may be, is satisfied that:

(a) The person charged although absent received the notice;

(b) The person charged is present ;

(c) Of BEC, REC, PEC, NEC or CEC may proceed to hear and determine the charge.

64(5) at the hearing the person concerned shall have the opportunity to state his/her case personally and to call witnesses in support of his/her case.

64(6) In each case the person concerned must receive written notice of the decision and be advised in this notice that that he/she has a right to appeal to the upper structure(REC,PEC,NEC and CEC as the case may be) within seven(7) days of being notified of the sanction.

64(7) If, in its opinion, the charge has been satisfactorily proven, the BEC, REC, PEC, NEC and CEC may:

(a) Remove the shop steward or office-bearer or elected official (as the case may be) from office.

(b) Expel the member, shop steward or office bearer from the union, or dismiss the elected official from employment by the union in terms of the union's staff policy;

- (c) Suspend him/her for a definite period from membership of/or employment in the union;
- (d) Impose a fine and may suspend a person from membership until such fine is paid;
- (e) Impose any other such penalty, not listed above as it deems fit.

64(8) the appeal must be referred to the relevant appeal structure as referred to in clause 64(6) for consideration. The appeal decisions are final and binding.

Northern Cape

North West

20 ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NOBs ELECTION RESULTS

The COSATU President, Comrade Zingiswa Losi, dissolved the national leadership as elected by the 11th national congress and she then invited the Elexions agency to announce the elections results.

The Elexions Agency supported by the observes declared the elections results as free and fair and announced the following comrades as duly elected national office bearers for the next four-year term:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) President | Cde Michael Shingange |
| (b) 1 st Deputy President | Cde Nyameka Macanda |
| (c) 2 nd Deputy President | Cde Patrick Makhafane |
| (d) National Treasurer | Cde Kgomotso Makhupola |
| (e) General Secretary | Cde Zola Saphetha |
| (f) Deputy General Secretary | Cde December Mavuso |

21 DECLARATION OF THE 12TH NEHAWU NATIONAL CONGRESS

We the 593 delegates to the 12th National Congress of our giant public sector union, NEHAWU, representing 279 465 members across the public administration, post-school education system, parastatals, healthcare system and in both the private and public welfare sectors from 1732 branches, have now come to the conclusion of this highest decision-making body of our union. Our 12th National Congress was a resounding success and it was graced by speakers and delegates from our fraternal formations of the Alliance and the broader Mass Democratic Movement. The congress delegates enjoyed a fitting celebration of the 100th anniversary of the vanguard of the South African working class, the SACP.

Congress received inspirational messages of support from our international friends in WFTU, our TUI-PS&A as well as from the class-oriented trade union movement in Africa, Europe, Latin America, Middle East and Asia. Once again, this underscores the growing international stature of our union and the intertwined struggles of the radical trade union movement against monopoly capital and their bourgeois governments as well as in the fight against imperialism and its labour aristocracy in the yellow unions. Certainly, none can contradict us in this country if we claim that we are a leading force with regard to our international solidarity work and proletarian internationalism in general. Our international pillar outlines a program for mobilisation to support the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles around the world, including our ongoing solidarity with Cuba, Palestine, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara and the Basque Country.

The 12th National Congress took place under the shadow of the COVID-19 pandemic, as a result of which over 800 million people in the world face hunger, 220 million are unemployed and countless frontline workers, especially public servants, have perished in active duty. In this regard, congress pledges solidarity with the families and their friends as well as our own comrades amongst the frontline workers whose lives have been sacrificed over the past 20 months. This unfolding catastrophe only aggravated the multiple crises that were already engulfing global capitalism since the outbreak of a large-scale financial meltdown more than a decade ago. Countless research reports increasingly confirm that capitalist

civilisation has clearly reached its absolute limits in terms of its logic of the exploitation of human labour and destruction of the planetary ecology. Countless multilateral international meetings, including the COP 26 that is presently taking place in Glasgow, show that the capitalist system is unable to extricate itself from these crises and that bourgeois governments have neither the commitment nor the capacity to place the wellbeing of the people before the profits. Hence, whilst we support measures to achieve carbon neutrality, we reiterate what as part of WFTU we have been saying all along, that the present existential emergency that is facing humanity is not climate change but system change. A more rational organisation of society is not only possible but it is also necessary for the survival of humanity. We have noted that in the midst of this grim reality that there has been the re-emergence of fascism in several regions, especially in the global-north, which serves monopoly capital by deflecting attention from the attacks on the working class in scapegoating migrant workers. At the inter-state level, we noted the renewed military and economic aggression on the part of the US-led western imperialism especially against Russia, China, Cuba, Bolivia and Venezuela. Nonetheless, despite this despairing developments we are inspired by the defiant resurgence of resistance by the organised working class and rural masses in almost all regions of the world, including in the global-north itself. Latin America remains the frontline of these raging clashes in which imperialism is determined to block and reverse the tide of the Bolivarian revolutions that swept across the region a decade ago, using networks of counterrevolutionary forces in Peru, Brazil, English Guyana, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador. Our continent has seen a new wave of instability and needless mass killings in the recent years, as highlighted by the bloody war in the horn of Africa between Ethiopia and Eritrea, military coups in western and central Africa, including the Sudan, terrorist banditry in Mozambique and the brutal suppression of the democratic forces and freedom loving people of Swaziland.

At the home front, congress noted with concern the further deepening of the already crisis levels of unemployment, poverty and inequalities in our country. These combined crises are mainly suffered by our young people and women, whose bear the worst brunt of the crisis of social reproduction. At the root of this is the stagnant and monopoly-dominated structure of our economy, whose semi-colonial features continue to reproduce the racialised, gendered and spatial inequalities of the Apartheid era. The socioeconomic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic only served to escalate to new heights what was already a persistent tragic fate imposed upon the masses of our people. These appalling socioeconomic realities, combined with the weakened state of the ANC-led Alliance and the deviation from the perspective of the radical second phase of our transition, underscore our conclusion that the national democratic revolution is indeed stagnant, at risk of being derailed and our movement being defeated. We reiterate the consistent message of our previous congresses: that the masses of our people are running out of patience and the ANC as the leader of society is running out of time. The sustained downward spiral in the electoral turnout and the corresponding fall in the ANC's electoral support underscore the current untenable and unsustainable Neoliberal trajectory.

However, this despairing state of affairs and the state of the national democratic revolution shall not break our resolve. We remain resolute in insisting and fighting for the implementation of a radical socioeconomic content of the NDR. We insist that the working class and the rural masses are not helpless, they are not without their own class interests and practical political agency to change the present circumstances.

Hence, we issue an appeal to our federation, COSATU, and our vanguard party, SACP, that it is time to move with speed in practicalising the joint commitment to building the Left Popular Front. To unite and converge with the spontaneous and disparate struggles of the working class and rural masses for land, housing, water, sanitation, basic income grant and the general service delivery struggles. To strengthen the leading role of working class women in the struggle against patriarchy and gender-based violence and against crime in general. As a contribution to building this working class led movement, on our part we shall spearhead the resistance of the public servants to the government's offensive against collective bargaining and austerity measures that plunge the masses of people in deeper misery.

During the proceedings of this congress, the new Minister of Finance, Enoch Godongwana, in total disrespect of the collective bargaining processes, publicly stated that as far as the Treasury is concerned,

in the coming 2022/2023 financial year, there shall be no pensionable salary increases for public servants, except the possibility for a 1.5% pay-progression. Therefore, congress wants to send out a clear message to government that we remain resolute in our rejection of the petty allowances in substitution for a real wage increase. That we are a union of workers whose basic reason for existence in the first place is to improve the workers' salaries, to reduce the rate of exploitation and to improve the conditions of service for the members and public service workers in general. We are saying that the suppressive conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic and the declared state of disaster shall not last forever. At the right time, we shall mobilise to unleash our full might to challenge the austerity measures, not only in relation to the cuts on the public service wage bill but also the draconian cuts in the provision of public services on which tens of millions of our people depend.

Despite the offensive against collective bargaining and declining unionisation in the public sector, as NEHAWU we can proudly claim that the state of our union remains solid and unshaken. This is reinforced by the steady strengthening of COSATU and the further expansion of WFTU in our continent and the world over. Throughout the turbulent times experienced by our federation and some of its affiliates, we are proud to say that we have remained true to our ideological identity, our democratic organisational practice and maintained unity and cohesion within our ranks. Our primary organisational challenge going-forward is to close ranks and to deepen connection with the rank and file of the union, to expand our presence in the wider public sector and increase our membership in the areas in which we already have presence.

This congress was the culmination of the democratic cycle of organisational renewal that started at the branch level in 2018 and so we are now armed with new resolutions to deepen worker control and internal democratic practice as we built on the organisational achievements and the progress reported at this congress. Our organisational priorities and the task of strengthening workplace organisation shall remain our overarching preoccupation in the face of the government led offensive against collective bargaining throughout our constitutional and operational structures and at all levels of our national union. This is because members are the life-blood of the union and this is a moment when they need their union the most, amidst the deterioration of their incomes and benefits as a results of the rolling wage freezes.

The activity reports presented at this congress confirm that we have made some advances in internalising the alignment and synchronisation of our work on major organisational priorities across our constitutional and operational structures. More work needs to be undertaken to improve and address the existing unevenness in the performance of our national service centres, in provinces and regions to strengthen our workplace organisation and in servicing members in branches. Our influence in the terrain of socioeconomic transformation especially with regard to the transformation of the healthcare system and post-school education systems stands out, as exemplified by the critical role that we have played in shaping the outcomes of the Presidential Health Summit and in our unique capacity to mobilise for a shutdown in the technical and vocational education and training sector. Higher education remains a highly contested terrain in which we need to consolidate our presence and take up the fight for our longstanding demand for centralised bargaining. The rulings of the judicial system on the fate of the Community Health Workers is not the end of the road, as we still can depend on our growing organisational power to force concessions and win our demands from the employer.

We proclaim that over the medium-term the national union shall underpin its work around our battle cry, 'Strengthening Workplace Organisation to Defend Collective Bargaining, Deepening Class Consciousness and Advance Internationalism'. To enrich the four pillars of our SPF and to set out our programme of action, congress passed resolutions and adopted the commissions' outcomes that amongst others:

- Reaffirmed our perspective that BRICS is a potential counter-hegemonic block from the point of view of the working class in forging people to people mutual solidarity and in fighting for a more developmental path and collaboration in addressing the pressing challenges facing the working class

and rural masses. In all these countries of BRICS there are federations that are leading affiliates of the WFTU, which lays the basis for the deepening of our collaboration and the strengthening of the BRICS Trade union Forum.

- We reaffirm our commitment to a radical phase of the national democratic revolution. In this regard, the Left Popular Front is the relevant platform to agitate and build the necessary organising capacity for the resurgence of the working class as the primary motive-force in the national democratic revolution and simultaneously in driving socialist tasks led by our vanguard party, SACP. In this regard, our socialist axis must be the pivot around which the Left Popular Front is built. The growing joint work between COSATU unions and unions of other federations in their defence and fight for the interests of workers at the workplace is an important change and a stepping stone for building maximum unity of the organised workers in action in our country. As well as supporting these workplace struggles, the Left Popular Front must fight for mass public employment programme to address youth unemployment and skills development, industrialisation to change the semi-colonial structure of our economy, social wage in the form of subsidise public transport, universal health coverage, free education system and comprehensive social security which includes the basic income grant, all of which would enhance the value of wage gains at workplace.
- We commit the national union to use its strategic location within the state to systematically monitor and wage a fight against corruption, demand enhanced protection of whistle-blowers and campaign for an end to the outsourcing of the government's functions and responsibilities. In this regard, we shall resuscitate our Public Service Delivery Campaign, which would include the education of public servants on ethical service to our people. We call for a progressive Developmental State, which requires a dedicated programme to produce a pipeline of properly trained and capacitated personnel to effectively and efficiently implement public services and therefore we reject government's proposal for the forcible redeployment of public servants across the spheres of government without their consent. In the same vein, we shall fight for the implementation of the resolutions of the 2010 Public Service Summit and other outstanding resolutions adopted at the PSCBC since, to strengthen the public service as part of building the Developmental State. We shall use our national health programme to spearhead the campaign for the implementation of the NHI and the national core standards to improve the governances and management of the healthcare institutions.
- Next year we shall convene a national collective bargaining and organising conference to prepare for a strong fight back in the battles ahead across all our sectors in the face of attacks on collective bargaining and the erosion of the workers' rights. NEHAWU remains committed to a united and fighting JMC and therefore we shall continue to reach out to all the COSATU public service unions to ensure that the JMC retains its proper character as both a collaborative platform for the consolidation of our bargaining demands and for the coordination of our public service mass action campaigns. We reaffirm that the regions are our engines for service delivery and therefore we shall work to ensure that we have full-time regional secretaries, intensify our training of organisers and progressively reallocate more resources to capacitate the regions to service our branches effectively. We commit the national union to strengthen our War Rooms as a permanent feature to coordinate our campaigns. As part of our drive to reduce our legal bill, we shall build our paralegal teams at all levels of the union and build the capacity of our shopstewards to defend members at the workplace. The first CEC of the 12th Congress shall establish a National Task Team to work on the modalities of the establishment of a Young Workers Forum of the union. Similarly, we shall establish the Women's Desk to facilitate the strengthening of the role and voice of women within the union as part of mainstreaming our gender work, including the education on our gender policy and enhancing our contribution in building a working class led women's movement.

As the current generation of cadres and members of this glorious movement of public servants, we are now ready to forge ahead in writing new chapters in our unfinished story. The 12th National Congress celebrated the successful launch of NEHAWU History Book -'In the Belly of the Beast', which in itself is a historic milestone as it finally fulfils an aspiration of the 6th Congress. Thus, we shall convene provincial chapters on NEHAWU History Book in 2022 as part of publishing its content and message. Yet another

milestone is the adoption of our Strategic Policy Framework which together with the adopted resolutions we shall faithfully implement in the period ahead leading to our 13th National Congress in 2026. We pay tribute to all the gallant founders and all generations of leaders and members that came before us; and we pledge to sustain their spirit and hard work in building and defending NEHAWU and advancing the interests of members and the broader working class.

Amandla!
Viva NEHAWU!
Viva COSATU!
Viva WFTU!
Viva ANC!
Viva SACP!

Northern Cape

North West

22 MESSAGE FROM THE INCOMING PRESIDENT, CDE. Madala Shingange

Cde First Deputy President, Cde Second Deputy President, Cde National Treasurer, Cde GS, Cde DGS, Comrades delegates to the 12th national congress of this giant union, guests, comrades and friends I greet you once again this afternoon in the name of those who walked this road before us. We have arrived at the conclusion of this important meeting of the workers. This congress is the first national congress for many of our delegates and it is valuable experience for the future of the union because of the experience they have gained. This congress is also the last congress for some of the delegates here who may not return to a platform like this for various reasons. The experience of these outgoing members and shop stewards reflects in the capacity and spirit of our union in our daily struggles. But specifically and most importantly this congress is a departure congress for our immediate former President Cde Mzwandile Michael Makwayiba as National Office Bearer and President of this great union.

I can confidently speak on behalf of members of the union converged here to say that we derive great pride from the fact that we all had the privilege to be led by a shop steward of Comrade Makwayiba's calibre as our President. To us as members of the union we view comrade President Makwayiba as the model shop steward who individually embodies the very idea of what an outstanding shop steward is. This is to say that the tradition of revolutionary shop steward can be reflected and be perfectly summarised in the personality and conduct of comrade Makwayiba; and we say this without a fear of contradiction. In the outstanding role that President Makwayiba played and continues to play in the international trade union environment speaks highly not of him only him as an individual shop steward but reflects positively on all of us as members of the union that he has led with several collectives for more than 30 years.

The revitalisation of WFTU and the affiliation of COSATU to WFTU has a great deal to do with the critical role that our President played consciously and deliberately. We thus accompany Comrade Makwayiba on his departure from leadership structures of the union with clean hearts and good wishes. Ndlovu will always be our President and our organisation will call on him many times in the future when his wisdom is needed as it will surely be needed.

As we close this congress we are supposed to ask ourselves important questions about the success of this important gathering of workers. The question that immediately arises at this point is whether we have achieved all that we set out to achieve? As the leadership we have reason to believe that we have made great progress in this congress. From all the discussion in this congress it is the belief of this leadership that as we conclude this congress we are in an improved position to elevate our struggle to a higher stage for the victory of the working class against our class enemy.

We are of the firm belief that we have deepened and improved our understanding of the true nature of the challenges that face our members and our structures. We believe that we should be in a position now to articulate clearly the strategy and plans that we have developed and adopted in order to respond to the challenges of our day and project a clear programme over the medium term.

It is our belief too that the members of the organisation as represented by these delegates have been able to select the most suitable and capable of shop stewards and officials to steer the ship in the correct direction and carry out the necessary tasks to fulfil their aspirations as a class. We also believe that if we can call this congress successful we must have been able to raise our collective consciousness in relation to the tasks we have as an organisation in the wider political space in connection with to the wider working class struggle. If the 12th congress of the union is indeed a successful one we believe that we must be able to say we have come out more united from this from the congress than we were when the congress started it; indeed we believe this to be true.

The unity we speak of in this instance is not the ordinary claim that is made for cosmetic appearances but the unity we refer to is that which is rooted on common purpose and common vision we have consolidated.

Therefore we believe that the declaration and resolutions that emerge here serve as the foundation for the unity we seek as an organisation; that unity contributes to the unity of the class as a whole. The reason we hold this view is because the resolutions and declaration contain the breath, the thoughts, the experiences, the aspirations and the imagination of the members inside and outside of the walls of this hall. This hall merely contains a perfect summary of the relevant experiences and knowledge of the masses of the oppressed working class. The whole thinking of the delegates here, we believe, is inspired and shaped by the knowledge and perspective of the workers out there without whom we could not sit as we are sitting and claim revolutionary goals as we proudly claim.

It is only through the living spirit and memory of the whole working class represented here that we can truly shape the future of the oppressed classes.

Whether these beliefs that we hold are true or not true will be proven on the ground through our daily organising work in the workplaces where our structures exist. This is to say that the outcomes of this intensive congress work will be confirmed or disputed by the how our decisions and programmes are received and carried out in the workplace as a primary habitat of the trade union by our shop stewards and members. The work and deliberations that was done over the past five days cannot be declared automatically relevant unless those outcomes are tested in the area where trade union practices its art; the workplace.

As we finish and round up this national congress it is our view that we must carry the memory of this particular congress some key principles that were affirmed in our congress discussions.

These principles continue to confirm and emphasise the character of our union which we all have responsibility to defend. It is important that we must always put it clear for all concerned to see and understand that our orientation to our work as a revolutionary union has its foundation in the understanding that our is not an orientation to cooperate with the system by which we are oppressed; but ours is to wage a consistent struggle that is ultimately intended to undermine and collapse the system of capitalism as a whole than cooperate to sustain it.

The enemy camp in the reactionary trade union holds a view that a trade union must concern itself with only the short term regulation of relations with the employer with an express intention to create labour peace other than to confront and contradict the employer. The notion of labour peace and

cooperation as though there is mutual benefit is liberal idea that favours maintaining of the economic and political status quo. This tendency is a tendency that we must fight with all our power. It is very important that we remind ourselves and each other of this particular perspective of our red union to struggle because the liberal ideology of cooperation with the system removes from the thinking of the workers that they constitute a class that has specific class interests. Therefore any cooperation with the labour and economic system by any of our class oriented trade unions must always be understood is a temporary tactical manoeuvre to attain short term goals in the economic struggle and not a long term strategy that define our permanent attitude to the existing power relations.

Defending the class oriented trade union tradition and its political perspective is important to ensure that the struggle we wage is revolutionary at all times. To defend the character of the programme we pursue is as important as defending the position of the motive forces in a revolutionary struggle. For that reason this congress bears the responsibility to rearticulate, for purposes of the present political moment, our understanding of the state of the motive forces in the NDR.

Our understanding of the motive forces goes beyond the mere accidental association of groups with interests on a particular political programme as potential beneficiaries but our perspective identifies motive forces as that category of social forces whose inherent class position guarantees the sustainability of the whole transformation discourse while its revolutionary demands and revolutionary action shapes its direction and content. The motive force has the most enduring revolutionary potential to carry the struggle to its logical conclusion as result of its objective position not only its short term decision. The motive forces of any revolution are tied not only to the result of the revolutionary effort but are placed as those who pay the greatest price for its execution. In history of the revolution it is undeniable that the working class is the motive force of the NDR because it is on the grounds of its revolutionary actions under the political guidance of its political party that we have scored the many victories that we have scored in the political terrain.

Therefore this congress must affirm the longstanding position we have always had that the working class forces cannot abandon their rightful position at the helm of the revolutionary programme on account of tactical blunders of the political players who have no objective long term interest in the success of our revolution. The political infrastructure that built the South African revolution belongs to the working class and so does the political tradition of mass organisation that carries the permanent potential for radical change. The working class therefore cannot be found in a position of a spectator in a game it must be playing and dominating. The fact that our revolution is conducted under the premise of a class alliance does not absolve the working class as a force its thoroughgoing responsibility to inspire the demands of the revolutionary process and inform its pace and direction.

The organisations of the working class especially the red trade union bears the greatest responsibility to defend the revolution because they are the main category of social forces at the cutting edge of the contradictions that the revolution seeks to resolve. The working class therefore does not have the privilege to abandon the political terrain and leave politics to politicians because its own political and economic demands are the foundation of all political processes in the first place.

The working class must never be seen only as trade union economic demands but must be seen as the totality of the socioeconomic necessities of the popular forces and the disadvantaged masses.

The union is challenged in the present epoch to defend its base, in line with one of earlier themes in our national congresses. When we say defend the base we refer to the whole space where it exists; we mean the individual workplace where a branch is but we also mean the network of workplaces and branches that work together to defend one another from the common attack from the employer. The base of the union is the members first but also the population of cadreship of

the union as reflected in its shop stewards. When we say we must defend the base we mean an expanded programme of the organisation rooted in campaigning and building internal solidarity in the organisation. The foundation of internal solidarity of the union occurs among branches of the same sector but different locations, among different branches of different sectors in the same locality and among unions of the federation in one or several localities.

The defence of the base means that we are a growing union whose growth is based on clearly defined and relevant campaigns that addresses the various challenges of the members and the workers more generally. The defence of the base includes unity of purpose in the organisation, diligent implementation of decisions that are collectively taken and accountability of individuals and collectives to the decisions and the standing vision and objectives of the union. Defending the base means that as the union we are functioning on the basis of the agreed strategy and programme as opposed to dependence of the many on the initiative of the individual.

No trade union of any respectable calibre can consolidate its future if its base is not defended on these basis. Beyond this congress we are required comrades to defend our base especially in the face of the attack on the collective bargaining rights.

The duty to defend bargaining is as basic as the duty to defend our very right to exist and an organisation of workers in our workplaces. The attack on the right to collective bargaining is an attack on the very basis why South African political can be called progressive, let alone revolutionary. The attack on collective bargaining in the beginning of the Americanisation of our labour relations and the whole economy. The attack on these rights is creation of gun slinging politics of the imperialist that are based on the continuous suffocation of the average man. This is big boots politics that are camouflaged as sensible economics. We must fight and we will fight with all that we have to defeat this attack.

If any war against the working class in the last 27 years was ever waged; this is the greatest war that has ever been waged. It is the final battle that the capitalist intends to wage against us that has the most potential to give him long-term victory against the workers. It indeed goes beyond the public sector but affects the whole economy. We do not have the privilege not to win this battle. Indeed to take up the war against the suppression of the right to collective bargaining is to further our duty to defend the base.

The union also as earlier reflected continues to pursue an international struggle. To that end it is important that we make it clear to this congress that the internationalist struggle is connected to the local struggle and vice versa. As such we are as duty bound to fight for freedom in Swaziland as we are bound to fight for rights in the workplace because of the dialectical relationship between the local and the international. The international struggle is expressed in the relationship between the local regional struggle, the continental question and the global questions. The regional questions require to be given greater attention particular the Swaziland question. The Swaziland struggle is key to the progress of the SADC region and the progressive political forces need to pay attention to the Swazi question because failing to address the crisis of the monarchy in Swaziland places any progressive vision of the region in great danger. The SADC region is important to the success of the South African revolution as well. To that end this congress and the union must utilise the resolution it has taken on Swaziland to elevate our struggle and campaigns to higher heights.

The Palestinians and the Cuban blockade questions continue to sit high on the agenda of our organisation because the freedom of the Palestinians and Cubans is equivalent to our own. The firm resolutions taken here on these two standing campaigns of our union should propel us to a more determined action so that we deepen our solidarity work and force the ANC to desist from relying on

formal government relationship of state to state relations to replace the political relationship we have with the peoples of these nations.

The use of the state to hide a reactionary posture on the political and ideological questions is unacceptable to say the least. This statement is true in relation to the movements approach to the Swaziland question and as congress we must clearly condemn this counterrevolutionary orientation.

The results of the recent local government elections have revealed important issues about the national political situation. For us as the union we have consistently made it known that the ANC had limited time to correct its actions before the electorate effected punishment as swift as this one. That negative outcome reflect how the ANC has failed ti heed the call of the working class and other popular forces. This election presents a deepening moral crisis for the liberation movement and an estranged relationship of the movement with the masses. The election also presents a scenario where our electoral system is facing a legitimacy crisis if one considers the lack of participation as shown by a drastic low turnout of voters. The election was not a vote to affirm the opposition than it was a vote against the consistent failures of the ANC and that vote was communicated by sheer absence of the masses at the voting lines. The legitimacy crisis we speak of must be halted by all revolutionaries because all revolutions are based on the moral superiority of the revolutionary cause and its forces

23 CLOSURE AND DEPARTURES

The President officially closed the 12th national congress after all the issues on the same congress programme had been exhausted.

End.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

These are proposed constitutional amendments processed through Constitutional structures from the base up to national level of the union which are related to new positions to be adopted by the congress to be nominated and elected with effect by the 13th congress. These amendments were further processed and rectified by the Office of the Registrar in the Department of Employment and Labour. This office formally replied to us by providing a go ahead with proposed amendments for adoption and immediately implementation before nominations and elections of the national office bearers by the congress. The union was further advised with two minor changes marked in red and submit congress record on these amendments for the signing of the new Constitution post congress.

We have a pleasure to present these proposed and rectified constitutional amendments for congress consideration and adoption.

CHAPTER 16: NATIONAL OFFICE

48. *National Office-Bearers and National Secretariat (Elected Officials)*

(2) The National Secretariat (Elected Officials) of the union are:

- (b) the First Deputy General Secretary; and
- (c) the Second Deputy General Secretary.

(3) Each national office-bearer

- (b) must be elected for a term of **five (5)** years by the NC, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (5);
- (d) the date on which the **five (5)** years period expires.

(4) The General Secretary, First Deputy General Secretary and Second Deputy General Secretary.

- (b) must be elected for a term of **five (5)** years by the NC, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (5);

(5) At ordinary meeting of the NC:

- (b) Any person who has been a shopsteward or for a minimum period of at least four (4) years or a combined period may be nominated and seconded for election as General Secretary or First Deputy General Secretary, or Second Deputy General Secretary, as referred to in subsection (2)(a) or (b) or (c)

49. Powers and Duties of National Office-Bearers and National Secretariat

(9) The First Deputy General Secretary:

- (a) perform all other duties delegated to him/her by the General Secretary, and the national union.
- (b) assist the General Secretary in performing organisational, collective bargaining including coordination of sectors and sector councils,

implementation of union programs at all levels and development of reports.

- (c) work with COSATU on organisational and collective bargaining matters.
- (d) assist the General Secretary in performing Human Resource duties and staff related matters.
- (e) coordinate development of reports for constitutional structures for approval by the General Secretary.

(10) The Second Deputy General Secretary:

- (a) perform all other duties delegated to him/her by the General Secretary, and the national union.
- (b) assist the General Secretary in performing political and ideological work, coordination of international working class solidarity, socio-economic campaigns, and administrative duties.
- (c) work closely with COSATU and NEDLAC on policy matters.
- (d) coordinate development of reports for constitutional structures for approval by the General Secretary.

NEW CHAPTER 22: ELECTION STRUCTURE OR COMMITTEE OF OFFICE BEARERS/ SECRETARIAT

- (1) The workplace chairperson and secretary and branch office bearers' elections shall be presided over by a Regional Office Bearer/union official.
- (2) regional office bearers/regional secretariat elections shall be presided over by a Provincial Office Bearer/Provincial Secretariat in the regional congress.
- (3) T provincial office bearers/provincial secretariat elections shall be presided over by a National Office Bearer/National Secretariat in the provincial congress.
- (4) The national office bearers/National Secretariat elections shall be conducted and presided over by an external service provider/company appointed by the national executive committee to perform such a duty, in accordance with the provision of Section 48.