



Numsa Policy Resolutions

Edited Version

Section 4

Political Resolutions

**1987 to end June 2012
(includes NC 2012)**

Section 4

Political Resolutions

Table of Contents

Believing	7
Socialism	7
Socialism is the Future	7
The Struggle for Socialism	7
Working Class Leadership	7
Building Working Class Leadership	7
Why working class leadership is necessary and possible	7
A working class political programme	7
Working Class Unity	8
Unify and strengthen working class organisations	8
Political Organisation	8
ANC	8
SACP	8
The Alliance	8
Other Political Organisations	9
Alliances	9
Principles of Alliances	9
The Left	9
The Process of the Struggle	10
The Struggle before 1994	10
Progress since 1994	10
Political Strategy and Analysis	10
National Democratic Revolution	10
Freedom Charter	10
Analysis of the current situation	11
Political Issues	11
Floor Crossing	11
Youth and Unemployment	11
Political Orientation	12
Socialism and Working Class Leadership	12
Working class consciousness	12
Democratically Planned, Socialist Economy	13
Working Class Unity	13
Class and the National Question	13
Working class political programme	13
National Democratic Revolution, Freedom Charter and Socialism	14
The Freedom Charter	14
The National Democratic Revolution and the Freedom Charter	14
Strengthening the National Democratic Revolution	14
Political role of trade unions	15
Trade Union independence and unity	15

Political Settlement Process leading to 1994	16
Political Negotiations	16
Power Sharing	16
Violence	16
Interim Government and Constituent Assembly	16
Negotiation Process	17
Trade Union Candidates for the Constituent Assembly	17
Constitutional Principles	18
Political Organisations	19
ANC	19
ANC Youth League Conduct	19
Cosatu / ANC relations	20
SACP	20
Concrete measures to build the SACP	21
Material Support for SACP	22
Numsa / SACP Relations	23
The politics of the SACP	23
The need for full-time leadership	24
COPE	24
The Left	26
The Alliance	27
Support for the Alliance	27
Before 1994	27
After 1994	27
How the Alliance should work	27
Before 1994	27
After 1994	28
Solving problems in the working of the Alliance	29
Assessing and reviewing the Alliance	29
Assessing the May 2008 Alliance Summit and October 2008 Alliance Economic Summit	30
Content of the Alliance	30
Role and Nature of the Alliance	30
Working with the Alliance	32
Alliances	33
Principles of Alliances	33
1989: Unifying the working class	33
Tactical Alliances	34
Historical Alliances	34
UDF	34
Patriotic front	34
MDM	34

Strategic and tactical assessments	35
Analysis of the situation after the 2008 global crisis	35
2011: From a Working Class Position	35
Elections	36
Support for ANC in Elections	36
Suggested interventions	36
Election Manifesto	36
Election Challenges	37
The post-election space	37
Numsa Councillors	37
The Constitution and Legislation	38
The Constitution	38
Labour Relations Act	38
Insolvency Act	38
Traditional Courts Bill	38
Nationalisation	40
Human Rights Council	41
Floor Crossing	41
Jacob Zuma	41
SABC	41
DSO	41
Future of the Provinces	41
Local Government	42
Arms Deal	42
Odious Debt	42
Index	43

Believing

This section is drawn from all the 'Believing' sections of all the political resolutions from 1987 to 2011.

Socialism

Socialism is the Future

1. The democratic socialist system is the only system which can solve the social and economic problems of South Africa.
2. Socialist transformation will only be truly realised if both the economic and political power is firmly entrenched in the hands of the working class.

The Struggle for Socialism

1. The foundation for building socialism is strong organisation of the masses of the working class in mass based and democratic trade unions, civics and rural organisations and the working class party.

Working Class Leadership

Building Working Class Leadership

1. There is a need for us to raise the consciousness of the working class on an ongoing basis to ensure that it is not only the leadership corps who are for socialism but that the working class as a whole resist the persuasion of capital and other backward, right wing and conservative forces in society.

Why working class leadership is necessary and possible

1. Only the working class masses, under the leadership of organised industrial workers, can truly liberate our country from the chains of capitalist exploitation and apartheid exploitation.
2. The organised workers have a common interest in the creation of a worker-controlled, socialist society where there will be no exploitation, oppression or discrimination of any form.
3. Only with the leadership and control of organised workers over the mass democratic struggle of today, and the government of tomorrow, will the demands of the Freedom Charter be fully and completely exercised in the lives of the working masses of our country.

A working class political programme

1. The working class can only take the lead in the struggle, make and lead the correct alliances and build true socialism and democracy if it has a clear programme to achieve these aims.
2. It should be a clear priority of COSATU and other organisations of the working class to build a clear political programme.

Working Class Unity

Unify and strengthen working class organisations

1. NUMSA believes that its first and foremost task is to contribute to the unification of the working class and the strengthening of its organizations. NUMSA must take up this task in full co-operation with COSATU and its allies.
2. To carry out this task effectively, NUMSA must commit itself to Trade Union unity - which requires that a timetable be agreed between COSATU, NACTU and other independent unions to work towards the principle of one union, one industry, and one federation

Political Organisation

ANC

1. The ANC is the only non-racial organisation capable of advancing pro-working class policies
2. The track record of the ANC as the only multi-class organisation with a bias to the working class remain unequalled
3. The ANC is mass based; it enjoys the mass support of South Africans. This was demonstrated during the April 14th, 2004 National Elections where the ANC won with an overwhelming majority of votes. However, lessons have to be drawn from the DA's growth and we must swell the ranks of the previously disadvantaged communities, which were no-go areas at first.
4. Fundamental in tilting the balance of forces domestically in the short-term is to mobilise for an overwhelming victory of the ANC-led Alliance in the forthcoming elections; and to intensify class battles in order to reconfigure the balance of forces in class terms to be in favour of the working class and the poor in general.
5. The ANC draws its support from the working class and should therefore reflect a government which supports working families.
6. We should properly analyse the class contestation which has played itself out within the ANC over time and the failed project to turn the ANC into a modern bourgeois political party which seeks to divorce the ANC from the working class and the poor masses of our people;

SACP

1. All unions and NUMSA in particular should contribute in building the SACP
2. Every class conscious worker should join the SACP
3. It is only the SACP that can lead workers to Socialism

The Alliance

1. The alliance remains relevant
2. Joint policy formulation within the alliance remains an important arena of struggle.
3. The unity and cohesion of the ANC-led NLM is in the interest of the working class and the poor, and fundamental to the sustainable victory of the ANC-led Alliance electoral victory and socio-politico-economic transformation toward the attainment of the vision of the Freedom Charter.

Other Political Organisations

1. Splinter groupings from the ANC-led NLM is counterrevolutionary and pose a challenge to medium and long term strategic objectives of class conscious workers.
2. We should characterize the current political developments in our country and the shenanigans of the SHIKOTA grouping as counter revolutionary, anti working class, anti the National Democratic Revolution and against our historical march towards a socialist society. In this regard we must defend our revolution against this counter revolutionary onslaught;
3. We should expose how the dissidents have destroyed jobs through their fixation on neo-liberal policies such as GEAR and a move away from the golden demands of the Freedom Charter
4. We should expose the silence of Cde Thabo Mbeki when the movement that he has served for many years alongside OR Tambo is under attack from power mongers who lost out in Polokwane. This silence is tantamount to tacit support for the renegades of this epoch
5. We should gauge where our members are in relation to the breakaway group and the confusion that is visited on our membership through the former COSATU/NUMSA trade unionists who are organizing to establish a rival trade union federation against COSATU.
6. We should take serious note of the fact that amongst the dissidents count the former Minister of Defence and Deputy Minister of Defence. This occurrence should be examined on how significant this is in the light of an untransformed defence force, the fact that capital in the last few years has followed the peace & security interventions of our government on the African continent

Alliances

Principles of Alliances

1. Any alliance between organised workers and community and political organisations must be disciplined and clearly structured at local, regional and national level.
2. The purpose of any alliance is the achievement of both immediate and long-term demands through the political action and common programme of the parties to the alliance.
3. The alliance involves a common respect and understanding for the independent structures and mandates of the parties to such alliance and should therefore be guided by the universal principle of a united front: "March separately and strike together."

The Left

1. In order to make a desired impact the coordination and coherence of the left forces including trade unions and their federations, left political parties and progressive governments, must be grounded in different national contexts. This means that the working class of each country must intensify struggles to settle matters with the respective bourgeoisies.

The Process of the Struggle

The Struggle before 1994

1. That organized workers have a duty and responsibility to rebuild organization amongst the working class masses in the communities that can provide the foundation for the forging of the national mass united front alliance of all democratic working class organizations.
2. That all attempts to broaden the alliance by including political representatives of capital, homeland opposition parties and all other forces outside of the mass democratic movement only serve to confuse, weaken and distract organized workers from our principle task of building the mass united front of working class forces within the democratic movement.
3. That there can be no political settlement to the South African crisis without full freedom of political assembly and association for the oppressed and exploited masses.
4. That any negotiated settlement can only have meaning where there is free and open political association, assembly and debate in the true spirit of worker control and democracy.

Progress since 1994

1. In as much as capital is strong there have been advances and breakthroughs in, for example, our struggles against privatisation resulting in a halt of the full-scale privatisation of state assets thereby and pushing back the agenda of capital.
2. there are forces of resistance against transformation both in government and outside the government. Opposition parties and the elite including big capital are against labour laws that are pro-workers. The attitude of Government and Business towards the Job Summit leave much to be desired.
3. President's message on "A people's contract to create work and fight poverty " worked well as a campaign but people are wary of empty promises. What we seek to achieve is the Freedom Charter programme that "the people shall govern." Now this is the time to put the programme into action
4. Child support grants are appreciated though their abuse and corruption has to be eradicated

Political Strategy and Analysis

National Democratic Revolution

1. That the national democratic struggle against apartheid and the socialist struggle against capitalist exploitation are complimentary parts of the uninterrupted struggle of organised workers for control over the industry and government of a liberated South Africa.
2. We should remind ourselves of the fact that the SACP and COSATU have developed the concept of the 1996 class project and the mission to liquidate the NDR in collaboration with Capital.

Freedom Charter

1. We should popularize the Freedom Charter amongst the rank and file of metalworkers and thereby expose the opportunism and fabrication articulated by the dissidents who want to appropriate the Freedom Charter away from the national liberation movement.

Analysis of the current situation

1. The global financial crisis underway has opened space for new international consensus, in particular the need in the short-term to put in place tight regulation and monitoring of capital and in the medium to long terms to finally defeat the neo-liberal policy paradigms (the Washington Consensus) both nationally and internationally.

Political Issues

Floor Crossing

1. That the floor crossing clause undermines the rights of the individual voters and democracy at large
2. That parliamentary seats belong to the party which appoints candidates for those seats
3. That it opens doors for opportunists
4. That this also tampers with the rights of minorities to be heard or represented in parliament
5. That it does not help to tilt the balance of forces and is protective of minority parties.

Youth and Unemployment

1. Leadership and Entrepreneurship is encouraged and funded. National Youth Commission and Umsombomvu Youth Fund are vital tools to promote youth interest; however, access must be expanded. Equity Fund to expedite skills and enterprise development among youth and the unemployed is welcomed but should be expanded to cover the masses of the unemployed people. For this to be realised, there is a need for increased coherence, coordination and collaboration of left and progressive forces (e.g. trade unions, political parties and other civil society formations, and states), strategic and tactical alliances internationally.

Political Orientation

From here onwards all the text is drawn from the 'Resolving' sections of resolutions.

Socialism and Working Class Leadership

1. Only the working class masses, under the leadership of organised industrial workers, can truly liberate our country from the chains of capitalist exploitation, because the organised workers have a common interest in the creation of a worker-controlled, socialist society where there will be no exploitation, oppression or discrimination of any form.
2. A multi-party, democratic socialist system, which guarantees collective and individual rights and freedom, is the only system which can solve the social and economic problems of South Africa.
3. Socialist production must be efficient, using the productive forces better than capitalism. But this efficiency must be developed in ways which do not lead to the exploitation of workers. Socialist production must bring full employment and a good standard of living to all.
4. Socialist transformation will only be truly realised if both the economic and political power is firmly entrenched in the hands of the working class.
5. The foundation for building socialism is strong organisation of the masses of the working class in mass based and democratic trade unions, civics and rural organisations and the working class party.
6. There is a need for us to raise the consciousness of the working class on an ongoing basis to ensure that it is not only the leadership corps who are for socialism but that the working class as a whole resist the persuasion of capital and other backward, right wing and conservative forces in society.
7. In order to have the desired impact, the coordination and coherence of the left forces including trade unions and their federations, left political parties and progressive governments, must be grounded in their respective national contexts. So the working class of each country must intensify struggles to settle matters with its bourgeoisie.

Working class consciousness

1. We need to target sectors of society like schools, the youth, women, etc to shape an understanding of where we come from (Freedom Charter, RDP) and where we want to go to (Socialism).
2. There must be a conscious education drive within working class families to ensure that socialism, the NDR and the route to socialism are understood;
3. We must consistently raise our objections to what the state and capital does in its attack on the working class.
4. There is a need for the establishment of a national institution (e.g. MERG, Rosa Luxemburg institute, etc) which should develop and formulate policy in taking forward the interest of the working class in the context of the 2015 Plan and the Mid Term Vision:
 - 4.1. with a clear working class orientation
 - 4.2. driven by the working class
 - 4.3. accountable to the working class
 - 4.4. linking what is done by the Cosatu parliamentary office and the Chris Hani Institute

- 4.5. serve as an instrument to define what a socialist South Africa should look like
5. We must develop precise campaign strategies to integrate our activists within community based structures/struggle to stimulate consciousness.

Democratically Planned, Socialist Economy

1. The new [post-apartheid] economy must be a democratically planned socialist economy, based on the following key principles:
 - 1.1. Worker control of factories, farms, banks and mines
 - 1.2. Social ownership that includes nationalisation **Error! Bookmark not defined.** of the leading heights of the economy
 - 1.3. Nationalisation **Error! Bookmark not defined.** of land.

Working Class Unity

1. Numsa's first and foremost task is to contribute to the unification of the working class and the strengthening of its organizations. Numsa must take up this task in full co-operation with Cosatu and its allies.
2. To carry out this task effectively, Numsa must commit itself to Trade Union unity - which requires that a timetable be agreed between Cosatu, NACTU and other independent unions to work towards the principle of one union, one industry, and one federation
3. We must resist and campaign against employers' tendency to fragment work along racial lines and focus on the unity of the working class on the shopfloor - with special emphasis on white and coloured workers.
4. Beyond the shopfloor, Numsa should set up structures in primarily in Indian/Coloured designated areas to deal with the legacy of the Group Areas Act.

Class and the National Question

1. When addressing the national question, the national liberation movement must consistently focus on the Coloured and Indian communities, particularly the working class and the poor, as an important constituency not just at the time of elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.** but during times when fear and uncertainty are displayed.

Working class political programme

1. The working class can only take the lead in the struggle, make and lead the correct alliances and build true socialism and democracy if it has a clear programme to achieve these aims.
2. It should be a clear priority of Cosatu and other organisations of the working class to build a clear political programme.
3. This must include discussion of what socialism **Error! Bookmark not defined.** is, in the light of the setbacks in other countries, and how socialist production can be efficient. The working class programme must also say how we can build socialism in South Africa and internationally.
4. Numsa must develop alternatives to the current discourse of global competitiveness and ensure that all Numsa members and officials understand it.
5. The union should bring together revolutionary activists, working class thinkers, socialist and progressive intelligentsia to formulate working class solutions.
6. Numsa should engage sister unions and working class formations who still firmly believe that there is an alternative to capitalism and that that alternative is class struggle.

7. Such a process would build working class loyalty of workers to their trade union and to themselves as a class for themselves.

National Democratic Revolution, Freedom Charter and Socialism

The Freedom Charter

The Founding Congress of Numsa resolved to:

1. Adopt the Freedom Charter as containing the minimum political demands that reflect the vision which the majority of workers have of a free, democratic and non-discriminatory South Africa.
2. Develop among the working class and its allies a coherent understanding that the demands of the Freedom Charter and all other demands of organised workers can only be realised through the practical leadership of the industrial working class.
3. Uphold and advance the leadership of the working class in the struggle for the establishment of a socialist society, where workers' control of government and industry will be enforced.

The National Democratic Revolution and the Freedom Charter

1. The national democratic struggle against apartheid and the socialist struggle against capitalist exploitation are complimentary parts of the uninterrupted struggle of organised workers for control over the industry and government of a liberated South Africa.
2. We should popularize the Freedom Charter amongst the rank and file of metalworkers, understanding that only with the leadership and control of organised workers over the mass democratic struggle and the government will the demands of the Freedom Charter be fully and completely exercised in the lives of the working masses of our country.

Strengthening the National Democratic Revolution

1. As part of Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.**, Numsa subscribes to the National Democratic Revolution in the Marxist Leninist tradition as opposed to the theory of Permanent Revolution as espoused by Leon Trotsky.
2. Our continued reference to white monopoly capital within the context of how it is defined in Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) in our view remains a correct analysis and characterisation in relation to the colonial character of the South African Economy. Anything short of this characterisation must be defined as revisionism.
3. The current accumulation regime must be transformed into one that is oriented towards the workers and the poor. South Africa needs to break the dominance of the Minerals/Energy/Finance Complex and the white community it supports in South Africa, for a truly equal and democratic South Africa to begin to emerge. Only this can uproot racism in South Africa.
4. The ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** should lead the NDR but we must influence their strategies to be in favour of the working class.
5. The working class must continuously strive/seek to be the leading force of the NDR and impose its own stamp on the direction of our NDR both theoretically and practically. In our discourse on the NDR, we must very sharply advance the position of Morogoro 1969 and the seminal work of Joe Slovo on the Role of the South African Working Class in the NDR so that the special role of the working class is properly located.
6. Our assessment is that the NDR is not on track.
 - 6.1. When a revolutionary movement ceases to lead and the key focus becomes electioneering, then the NDR is not on track. We should not allow within Cosatu a diluted characterization

of the NDR. Numsa must not be apologetic about our stance that the NDR is not on track irrespective of the platform where the matter is discussed.

- 6.2. Many of our shopstewards are spectators in the ANC, unable to influence the direction of our NDR. We are found wanting in ANC regional conferences. The recently established Numsa Political Commissions at local, regional and national level must work very hard to change this picture
7. We must build:
 - 7.1. a conscious cadre able to impact on state institutions and economic policy as well as mass formations in favour of the workers and the poor.; we must use Socialist Forums to conscientise our members on the National Democratic Revolution and how it is not on track
 - 7.2. a progressive women's movement led by working class women based on a working class programme while at the same time unifying the majority of South African women.
8. We must use the political and organisational muscle of the working class to regulate and redirect significant resources from the private sector towards our development objectives.
9. We must mobilise progressive social forces to push the state in addressing agrarian and land reform on an anti-capitalist basis.
10. We must advance the building of an interventionist, activist, developmental state whose role in the economy is aimed at a fundamental restructuring of social relations in favour of the working class and the poor.

Political role of trade unions

1. We assert our rights as the labour movement to play a political role and not confine ourselves to bread and butter issues. In line with this we commit ourselves and our members;
 - 1.1. to struggle for a socialist future,
 - 1.2. to build a stronger South African Communist Party (SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.**)
 - 1.3. to forge and build a strong movement for transformation with other progressive organisations
2. An important part of these tasks is the building of a working class biased ANCE **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and strengthening of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** Alliance.
3. We must guard against transforming into a benefits union and remain a fighting and campaigning Cosatu and Numsa. We must champion the issues of our members and the working class at large by intensifying the fight for better achievements of social wage benefits including housing benefits both through collective bargaining and political struggles¹
4. The current conjuncture provides us with a golden opportunity to develop and spearhead our socialist approach as an alternative to the capitalists' failures.

Trade Union independence and unity

1. Numsa and Cosatu must jealously guard their political independence and put forward their positions and campaign vigorously
2. Numsa and Cosatu are homes for all workers irrespective of their political allegiance.

¹ NC 2012

Political Settlement Process leading to 1994

Political Negotiations

1. All political negotiation processes, whether bilateral or multilateral, should be publicised in a simplified form in order to serve the best interests of the South African people. This process should not be delayed so as not to frustrate the masses on the ground.
2. Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** must mobilise its masses and gear them up for consistent actions so as to force negotiations **Error! Bookmark not defined.** to reflect mass interests. Cosatu should have a clear programme of action and adhere to it till our objective is achieved. It is important that the Alliance put a time frame on negotiations **Error! Bookmark not defined.** since the regime is using other measures to retain power and weaken our position.
3. We must rebuild our mass struggle around all our present demands.

Power Sharing

1. We commit ourselves to majority rule; we therefore reject any constitutional arrangements which will impose any form of multi-party government on a party which has won a majority in the Constituent Assembly/Parliament; we also reject any arrangement that will give any minority the power to veto majority positions.

Violence **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

1. We support the activities of the National Peace Accord
2. The National Peace Accord should be restructured with mechanisms that reinforce its powers and make it more representative e.g. to include all TBVC states and that it be supported by an International peace keeping force.

Interim Government and Constituent Assembly

1. The framing of a democratic Constitution **Error! Bookmark not defined.** must be the responsibility of the people as a whole through an elected Constituent Assembly whose proceedings are public and broadcast in the mass media and which will not be restricted in any way by any prior agreement concerning the constitution it will draw up..
2. The process leading to a Constituent Assembly should be characterised by free political activity and access to the Media. The Nationalist Government and its Security Forces cannot guarantee this.
3. Numsa and Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** should establish a steering committee that will determine and oversee the election campaign, a Voter Education Committee and a Political Campaign Programme in conjunction with other progressive forces.
4. Technical committees, including Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.**, SANCO and organs of civil society must be established to oversee the polling stations.
5. Trade unions must combine our mass actions to ensure that an Interim Government is established to administer the transitional period and supervise the Constituent Assembly elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.**. The Interim Government should be composed of the major political parties that have proven and identifiable constituencies
6. SADF/SAP must be kept in the barracks and disarmed and an international peace keeping force accountable to and controlled by the Interim Government be established to ensure peace and combat crime during the transition period.
7. The Constituent Assembly is empowered to adopt the new constitution only once its final version has been subject to a referendum of all South African people.

Negotiation Process

1. Numsa proposes that a joint NEC meeting of the Alliance should be amandating structures for major decisions in the negotiations**Error! Bookmark not defined.** and in the TEC's.
2. Where concessions have been made in the Interim Constitution**Error! Bookmark not defined.** that are seen as beyond the mandate the Election Manifesto should make it clear that these will be corrected by an AN**Error! Bookmark not defined.** majority in the CA.
3. The present process of negotiations**Error! Bookmark not defined.** is unsatisfactory as major policy decisions seem to be effectively made in technical committees. This process must be changed.
4. Numsa should conduct regular discussions Locally, Regionally and Nationally wherein positions on the political negotiations**Error! Bookmark not defined.** should be adopted. These positions should reflect the interests of our members and through Cosatu**Error! Bookmark not defined.** we should influence the positions of the Alliance.
5. Numsa should influence Cosatu**Error! Bookmark not defined.** to conduct the same discussion in its structures. In addition forums should be held for the leadership of affiliates in order to give them opportunities to air views and disseminate information.
6. All political negotiation processes, whether bilateral or multilateral, should be publicised in a simplified form in order to serve the best interests of the South African people. This process should not be delayed so as not to frustrate the masses on the ground.
7. Cosatu**Error! Bookmark not defined.** must mobilise its masses and gear them up for consistent actions so as to force negotiations**Error! Bookmark not defined.** to reflect mass interests. Cosatu should have a clear programme of action and adhere to it till our objective is achieved. It is important that the Alliance put a time frame on negotiations**Error! Bookmark not defined.** since the regime is using other measures to retain power and weaken our position.
8. We must rebuild our mass struggle around all our present demands.

Trade Union Candidates for the Constituent Assembly

1. Candidates both from Numsa and Cosatu**Error! Bookmark not defined.** on the AN**Error! Bookmark not defined.** list must be **seconded** for the duration of the Constituent Assembly; once the drafting of the Constitution**Error! Bookmark not defined.** has been finalised, the Candidates must be given the right to choose whether they come back to the Union or not.
2. Candidates who stand for elections**Error! Bookmark not defined.** to the Constituent Assembly must:-
 - 2.1. have a good record of defending and advancing workers' rights and working class interests.
 - 2.2. reflect the rural, urban and colour make-up of our community.
 - 2.3. be accountable and stick to mandates.

Constitutional Principles

1. We put forward the following constitutional principles:
 - 1.1. A united, democratic and non-racial state.
 - 1.2. A unitary state where Regions have developed powers and not a wide range of original powers
 - 1.3. Equality for all, irrespective of race, colour, creed, gender **Error! Bookmark not defined.** or religion
 - 1.4. Guaranteed independence and rights of the organisations and institutions of civil society, including full trade union rights and the right to strike
 - 1.5. A Workers' Charter to be protected by the Constitution **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
 - 1.6. A government that is fully accountable to the people on all issues
 - 1.7. A democratically planned economy which meets the needs of our people and redresses the imbalances of capitalism and apartheid.
 - 1.8. No protection of private property"
 - 1.9. One person one vote
 - 1.10. No racist clauses in the Constitution **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
 - 1.11. One LRA **Error! Bookmark not defined.** for a united SA
 - 1.12. No imposition of multi-party government on a party which has won a majority in the Constituent Assembly/Parliament
 - 1.13. No minority veto

Political Organisations

ANC

1. **The ANC is the only non-racial organisation capable of advancing pro-working class policies ;** the track record of the ANC as the only multi-class organisation with a bias to the working class remain unequalled.
2. The ANC draws its support from the working class and should therefore reflect a government which supports working families.
3. There is class contestation within the ANC which has taken the form of a failed project to turn the ANC into a modern Social Democratic, bourgeois political party, divorcing the ANC from the working class and the poor masses of our people as if the ANC's strategy and tactics are not informed by a Marxist Leninist analysis of society . We need to make sure that Morrogoro, Kabwe, Green book and Alliance Ekhuruleni 1 & 2 conferences find expression in the public discourse.
4. Within the ANC the drive for personal enrichment has resulted in a struggle for the heart and soul of the movement. The ANCError! Bookmark not defined. currently has a situation where money defines who becomes leadership from branch to national level. In these circumstances the working class is nowhere to be found.
5. Labour should continue to fight for a working class biased ANCError! Bookmark not defined. and make certain that it changes the structure of the South African economy and its capitalist accumulation path:
 - 5.1. Officials, shop stewards and members should be encouraged to swell the ranks of the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. as members and take leadership positions in the structures of the ANC in order to give political direction and make the movement accountable. This must be executed and monitored by our structures
 - 5.2. Starting from now we must begin to identify comrades in all provincesError! Bookmark not defined. who can lead in the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. in the top 5 and PEC's. In this regard we must audit the participation of our shopstewards in the ANC. We need to pay attention to producing a working class leader in the next round of ANCError! Bookmark not defined. provincial conferences. Resources must be set aside so that we can do the necessary political work in provincesError! Bookmark not defined. to rebuild the ANC and sponsor Numsa leadership.
 - 5.3. A discussion document must be produced on swelling the ranks of the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. and how metalworkers will occupy and play a critical role in the ANC at all levels by participating and influencing the policy direction of the ANC to be in favour of the working class.²
6. The ANC must pose the question of nationalisation against the historical position of the national liberation movement and in its investigation of the models for nationalisation must ensure that nationalisation benefits the working class and the poor, i.e. Nationalisation for Socialization³
7. The Gauteng ANCError! Bookmark not defined. provincial conference and Numsa's contribution to it has once again showed that Numsa must pay much more attention to the politics in the Gauteng province.

ANCError! Bookmark not defined. Youth League Conduct

² NC 2012

³ CC Aug 2011

1. We must be harsher in our criticism of the ANCYL because they are seriously undermining our movement. In this regard we must properly characterize the ANYCL of today and what they are doing for young people in distress. We must also trace all developments inside of the ANCYL in the recent past which seek to undermine the working class

Cosatu / ANC relationsError! Bookmark not defined.

1. Cosatu should ensure that all the affiliates drive and monitor the implementation of the federation's longstanding resolution to encourage workers to swell the ranks of the ANC which may include the establishment of political commissions within the affiliates⁴
2. The Cosatu 2015 Plan demand for the working class to swell the ranks of the ANC needs to be broken down into a Programme of Action, to ensure that Cosatu avoids the obvious mistakes of 2007 as outlined in the Cosatu CC Political Report. The working class cannot afford to outsource its working class leadership function to other classes!⁵
3. As we resolved to swell the ranks of the ANC, Numsa members through Cosatu must push for a review of the current leadership based on the principle of continuity and change; we must review the Cosatu CEC position in the Cosatu National Congress so as to influence the ANC leadership outcomes
4. The federation must be given a seat in the ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** caucus in the national assembly to influence and advance the agenda of the working class.
5. Cosatu worker leaders must sit in the ANC NEC, but as ANC members coming from the ANC ranks in a manner that does not compromise the independence of organisations from which these worker leaders come.
6. A political accounting structure for deployees must be set up to make sure that the deployed cadres come back and account on work that has been done. Such structures must report to the COSATU Central Executive Committee.⁶
7. Well before the seminal political events of 2012, Cosatu must produce, debate and adopt a document detailing the fundamental demands of the South African working class today if the NDR is to be brought back on track, and enable this country to move steadily towards a Socialist Republic of South Africa⁷.
8. The coming Cosatu Congress must account for our inability to implement the 2015 plan that could have put us in a firm position to influence the leadership of the ANC.⁸

SACP

1. It is only the SACP that can lead workers to Socialism; all unions and Numsa in particular should contribute in building the SACP as the vanguard of the working class; every class conscious worker should join the SACP
2. We must strive for a vanguard and a strong SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** which is able to propagate independently a working class agenda. Cosatu and the SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** must continue to elaborate and develop a socialist programme.
3. As Numsa we need to ensure that we encourage shop stewards and our members to become members of the SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.**.. We must build the capacity and strength of the SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** to become a leader of the South African working class in

⁴ NC 2012

⁵ CC Aug 2011

⁶ NC 2012

⁷ CC Aug 2011

⁸ NC 2012

struggles for the enforcement of their momentary interests, the achievement of their immediate aims and the realisation of a socialist transition to the ultimate goal of communism.

4. This is in pursuit of our goal and desire for a an independent working class party with a programme that increases working class hegemony in society as envisaged in the SACP Mid-Term Vision (MTV) and Cosatu**Error! Bookmark not defined.**'s 2015 Plan. The two documents stress that for this to happen, the working class and its formation must build their hegemony in all centres of power including the state. The working class programme must be implemented inside and outside of parliament and the state.
5. This requires an SACP**Error! Bookmark not defined.** with a fulltime leadership whose mission must be to build a working class independent profile of the Party.
6. We concur with the SACP**Error! Bookmark not defined.**'s position paper entitled *Our Marxism* which in short is premised on the following principles;
 - 6.1. Locating ourselves as a revolutionary party with its historical roots in the Communist International, an international movement which came into existence in 1919, inspired by, and in the direct aftermath of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution;
 - 6.2. Proletarian internationalism
 - 6.3. Commitment to building disciplined, vanguard parties, made up of revolutionary cadres, unified around a relatively clear, ideological programme;
 - 6.4. Application of democratic centralism to maintain the ideological and organisational cohesion of these new Communist Parties; this means that while debate and participation by rank and file members is encouraged, once programmatic decisions have been taken, disciplined adherence is required. In theory, at least, factions and platforms within the Party are not allowed.
7. We require solid analysis from the SACP in respect of our world reality as it relates to imperialist wars, global capitalist crises and what constitutes elements for a new growth path that serves the interests of the working class against the interests of Capital. This will contribute to the building of a strong SACP instead of simply consolidating power in the state at the expense of the working class⁹
8. We support the SACP**Error! Bookmark not defined.**'s National Policy Conference resolutions to contest elections**Error! Bookmark not defined.** on the basis of a reconfigured alliance.

Concrete measures to build the SACPError! Bookmark not defined.****

1. Joint Activity
 - 1.1. The CC must draw clear guidelines for implementation of socialist forums to be held on a monthly basis.
 - 1.2. Cosatu and the SACP**Error! Bookmark not defined.** should have a combined year Planner. The Annual General meetings of the Party should also be included in the year planner to ensure that all activists take part in these Annual General Meetings,
 - 1.3. Joint Political Schools at least four times a year for both Mbuyiselo Ngwenda and Chris Hani Brigades should be held.
 - 1.4. SACP**Error! Bookmark not defined.** cadres should be invited to participate in our education programmes,
 - 1.5. We must invite the recruitment desk of the SACP to NUMSA operational meetings in order to ensure the implementation of the resolution
2. Numsa Tasks

⁹ CC Aug 2011

- 2.1. The union will lead the formation of industrial units in all companies organised by Numsa. It must give these units clear roles - essentially of an ideological and political education kind and tasks related to the sale and distribution of literature
- 2.2. The Central Committee should develop:
 - 2.2.1. A clear political education programme for the socialist forums
 - 2.2.2. Guidelines on the operation of industrial units
 - 2.2.3. Proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for these tasks.
- 2.3. We must do a survey of our own participation in the party structures: audited current names of party members within Numsa must be submitted to secretaries and around them the Mbuyiselo Ngwenda brigades must be initiated with a clear programme.
- 2.4. Encourage young members and officials of the Union to take up membership of the Young Communist League.
- 2.5. Numsa education department must intensify mass political education of shopstewards and members to understand the role of a vanguard party.
- 2.6. Auto companies should invite speakers from the SACP to address their annual general meetings
3. Cosatu Tasks
 - 3.1. Numsa must call on Cosatu at different levels to have quarterly bilaterals with the SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** in order to strengthen working relations and pursue joint programmes.
 - 3.2. Working with the South African Communist Party, Cosatu must draw up a programme of re-invigorating, rebuilding and transforming the South African Communist Party into a militant, fighting and revolutionary vanguard of the working class.
 - 3.3. Cosatu must quickly produce and adopt a resource mobilization plan for the SACP from amongst all its affiliates, for immediate implementation.
 - 3.4. All Cosatu affiliates must be encouraged to participate in building SACP workplace and industrial units and branches, where these are capable of being created.¹⁰
4. SACP Tasks
 - 4.1. SACP members who have firsthand experience of how branches function should evaluate the experiences of VD branches to determine whether they have assisted in ensuring that we build the necessary consciousness and interest in the party.¹¹
 - 4.2. SACP cadres in the ANC National Executive Committee must provide political and theoretical education in the ANC¹²

Material Support for SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Various decisions have been made about providing material resources for the SACP; these have included:

1. We will continue supporting the SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** financially within the context of the existing Cosatu political fund. The Central Committee of COSATU must ensure that there is proper accountability for how the COSATU political fund is used by the party¹³.
2. Financial support:
 - 2.1. The union should increase its monthly contribution to 7,5% effective in 2002.

¹⁰ CC Aug 2011

¹¹ NC 2012

¹² NC 2012

¹³ NC 2012

- 2.2. The SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** should seriously investigate and monitor deductions of debit orders by banks. CosatuErr! **Bookmark not defined.** should assist the party to probe the matter.
 - 2.3. Our goal is 50 000 debit orders from Numsa (in 2002). If the debit order fails to achieve its objectives, members must contribute voluntarily. This may include the national office bearers, central committee delegates and other leaders
 - 2.4. The NEC/CC leadership will contribute a once off R100 to the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** by the end of March. This arrangement will be optional to staff member.
 - 2.5. All Numsa Staff members should be encouraged to contribute a minimum amount of R10 per staff member per month.
 - 2.6. We should encourage 'isoso' collections at LSSCs and in other constitutional meetings of the union and the federation.
 - 2.7. Numsa must adopt at least one SACP provincial secretary who may be required to serve fulltime, and to call for other affiliates within Cosatu to do the same.
3. Tasks for Regions
- 3.1. In regions where we have auto manufacturers, auto workers would build vehicles for the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** The Regions will approach the automobile employers to negotiate the number of cars based on the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** needs in terms of number of vehicles to be contributed. We must make sure that we convince workers on this decision.
 - 3.2. In regions where we do not have auto manufacturers, the regions should look at creative ways of contributing to the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** (excluding contributions from their regional imprests)
 - 3.3. Regions should involve the Secretary General of the SACP when negotiating contributions.
 - 3.4. Regions should table proposals on debit orders in the Central Committee.
 - 3.5. The NOB's should avail themselves in the factories to convince workers to contribute.

Numsa / SACPErr! Bookmark not defined. Relations

1. We must hold bilaterals with all structures of the party, including the leadership, at national, provincial and local levels, and raise some of the problems experienced with some of the leadership in provincesErr! **Bookmark not defined.**¹⁴
2. Numsa NOBs through Cosatu will honestly engage with the ANCErr! **Bookmark not defined.** SG/SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** Chairperson on the public utterances which take an anti-Cosatu and anti-working class stance.

The politics of the SACP

1. It has become critical for the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** to properly analyse the question of state power and the independent profile of the SACP in the current domestic and global environment and set out periodically our march to a socialist SA.
2. The analyses of the SACPErr! **Bookmark not defined.** of the 2010 State of the Nation Address lacks a detailed class analyses and it would be worrying if the vanguard does not become robust in the need to depart from the previous neo liberal paradigm espoused by the 1996 class project. In this regard the NOB would have to raise some of these matters in the envisaged SACP/Numsa bilateral.

¹⁴ NC 2012

The need for full-time leadership

1. Since all elected officials of the SACPErr! Bookmark not defined. took senior positions in government and the ANC, we have seen a decline in the Party's visibility and vanguardism in working class battles. We have also failed to pay attention to the grooming of replacement or second tier leadership
2. We decry the silence of the SACP as our vanguard and its invisibility in leading working struggles.
3. We believe that:
 - 3.1. leadership in the struggle for Socialism cannot come through press statements but only through concrete working class actions.
 - 3.2. The SACP has got to indicate how the struggle for Socialism relates to the ongoing class battles in our society today¹⁵.
 - 3.3. Therefore the national leadership of the SACP should return to office to provide leadership on a fulltime basis: the General Secretary and Provincial Secretaries of the SACP must be full time in office and not be deployed in the state
 - 3.4. The SACP constitution should not be amended to suit individuals¹⁶
4. We recognize that some see this position as ultra-leftist and workerist for failing to appreciate the SACP's calls to communists to occupy key and strategic position in all sites of power (the state, economy, community, workplaces, internationally and ideologically)

COPE

1. Forming splinter groupings from the Alliance are counterrevolutionary and pose a challenge to medium and long term strategic objectives of class conscious workers.
2. COPE is counter revolutionary, anti working class, anti the National Democratic Revolution and against our historical march towards a socialist society; we must defend our revolution against this counter revolutionary onslaught.
3. In relation to COPE, we should:
 - 3.1. expose how the dissidents have destroyed jobs through their fixation on neo-liberal policies such as GEAR and a move away from the golden demands of the Freedom Charter
 - 3.2. expose the silence of Cde Thabo Mbeki when the movement that he has served for many years alongside OR Tambo is under attack from power mongers who lost out in Polokwane; this silence is tantamount to tacit support for the renegades of this epoch.
 - 3.3. develop a programme and embark on a road show, through Factory General Meetings, Local General Meetings and Shopsteward Councils, Regional Shopsteward Councils etc, to counteract the splinter from the ANCErr! Bookmark not defined.-led NLM, to persuade members of the importance of remaining in the ANC-led NLM and to appeal to them to vote for the ANC-led Alliance in the forthcoming electionsErr! Bookmark not defined. and beyond.
 - 3.4. convene Workers Indabas with the specific task of targeting workplaces that are considered to be contested by COPE and other opposition parties
 - 3.5. call on the ANC, through Cosatu, to expel the dissidents with immediate effect;
 - 3.6. develop a special Numsa News as a matter of urgency to deal with the attempts to attack the ANCErr! Bookmark not defined., CosatuErr! Bookmark not defined., SACPErr! Bookmark not defined. and our own Union Numsa;

¹⁵ CC Aug 2011

¹⁶ NC 2012

4. On members, shopstewards, office bearers or officials who have joined and/or are mobilizing for COPE, we must
 - 4.1. undertake a discussion on how we deal with this in the context of our 8th National Congress decisions and Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** positions
 - 4.2. The NOB must obtain a legal opinion on how we deal with fulltime Numsa officials who are openly defying the Numsa and Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** positions.

The Left

1. In 1991 Numsa proposed to Cosatu the unification of the left and the co-ordination of a conference for all socialist organisations to map the working class programme and a process leading to complete co-operation, and unity
2. In 1993 there was a call to implement this resolution and a definition of the left as those organisations with a programme reflecting commitment to control of the means of production by the working class for the benefit of society as a whole, democracy, internationalism, anti-2000.
3. Numsa called again in 2000 and 2010 for a Conference of the Left to be convened. In 2010 the call was for a conference for all socialist organisations to map the working class programme and a process leading to complete co-operation, and unity.

The Alliance

Support for the Alliance

Before 1994

1. Numsa supports the Alliance of the ANCError! Bookmark not defined./SACPError! Bookmark not defined./Cosatu and we should build its structures at all levels.Error! Bookmark not defined.
2. The Alliance should function in term of the principles set out by the Cosatu CEC at its meeting of 5 May 1990.
3. The Alliance should work to set up independent, non-sectarian civic and rural organisations
4. Once an Interim Government of National Unity is established and the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. is part of it, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC. We should deal with the ANC as part of the Government of the day through engagement in forums such as NEF, NMC etc (1993).

After 1994

1. The 2000 Congress supported maintaining the Alliance but noted that it had failed to be a representative political centre in the arena of policy development and implementation.
2. The 2004 Congress reaffirmed the relevance of the Alliance; its unity and cohesion is in the interests of the working class and the poor, and fundamental to socio-politico-economic transformation toward the attainment of the vision of the Freedom Charter. The Congress proposed:
 - 2.1. a general auditing strategy of the activism of its membership in the structures of the Alliance and civil society to encourage the rest to participate.
 - 2.2. to campaign vigorously for the centrality of the Alliance as the political centre tasked to develop a policy framework for the government

How the Alliance should work

Before 1994

Proposals for how the Alliance should work included the following:

1. For negotiationsError! Bookmark not defined.:
 - 1.1. CosatuError! Bookmark not defined. will adopt its own position through its own structures; it retains its independence and reserves its right to put forward and publish to its members and others its own positions, outside the negotiations; the members of the negotiating team will be elected democratically by the Cosatu CEC.
 - 1.2. The Alliance Forum, in the form of Executive members of the 3 parties to the Alliance acting as mandated delegates, will formulate the position of the Alliance.
 - 1.3. The Alliance Forum would be present near the negotiationsError! Bookmark not defined. at all times to receive reports from the negotiating team and to give fresh mandates; there can be no agreement outside that mandate without a new mandate being approved by the members.
 - 1.4. The Alliance will operate on the basis of independence of the parties and on consensus.

2. Existing agreements on the procedures of the Alliance and agreed policy documents (eg. Freedom Charter) should be compiled into a written document that will be endorsed by each Alliance partner.
3. The Alliance partners will agree positions on issues of interest to each of the partners as a basis of the Alliance; these should include:
 - 3.1. basic features of the Constitution **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and particularly Worker Rights
 - 3.2. a growth path through redistribution and economic restructuring
 - 3.3. a policy on basic social infrastructure in regard to housing, education and human resource development
 - 3.4. a policy on health and welfare
 - 3.5. a policy on gender **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and all forms of discrimination
4. Programmes of action should be clearly stated after a process of consultation so that they are accepted and understood by all the Alliance partners; the Alliance will develop mass campaigns to complement and strengthen the negotiation process (1991).
5. Leadership and delegates to the Alliance must be mandated and accountable to the organisation which elected them.
6. We must strengthen the local and regional Alliance structures and establish a report back and mandating process so that decisions can be taken involving members and lower structures and not only a top down process of decision making (1993).
7. No organisation will be bound by any decision that affects its members unless that organisation has been consulted on the decision and given its backing.
8. There will be clarity on which campaigns are campaigns of the Alliance, and which are campaigns of the constituent organisations; all Alliance campaigns will be planned, organised and conducted jointly at all levels.

After 1994

Cosatu should work with our allies in the Alliance to improve its functioning as a political centre to lead a people-based movement to deepen the gains of the NDR and for social transformation.

Proposals for improving the functioning of the Alliance include that the Alliance should:

1. Formulate policy jointly, with partners participating equally and independently on matters of national, provincial and local importance. Interventions should come from all quarters of the Alliance to inform and direct policy formulation on matters of economic policy, sustainable development and all other matters of a macro political and social nature. The AN **Error! Bookmark not defined.** should not unilaterally adopt or make policy shifts in government without consulting Alliance partners and should consult with the Alliance **Error! Bookmark not defined.** on certain parliamentary appointments (appointing advisors, consultants)
2. Serve as a forum for the partners to debate and discuss their different positions, (e.g. on economic policy, privatisation, etc) and as a platform to develop common positions that would be of benefit to the people of the country as a whole.
3. Influence events in parliamentary structures at all levels
4. Agree on policies and devise a strategy and structures to ensure that political leaders and government departments implement agreed policies.
5. As spelt out by the Ekurhuleni Alliance Summit, acknowledge and respect the right to disagree and work out mechanisms to solve disagreements as soon as they emerge instead of allowing them to be unattended and fester.

6. Re-establish its deployment committees at all levels of the Alliance structures, with clearly defined procedures for managing the deployment processes.
7. Accept Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and SACP **Error! Bookmark not defined.** as part of all ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** caucuses.
8. Accept that the ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.**'s rule 25 cannot be used to discipline the leadership of its allies who are representing the mandates of their own constitutional structures even if they clash with ANC positions.
9. Form an Alliance Political Council (APC) to constantly review the political and socio-economic environments, both nationally and internationally in which the NDR has to advance and deal with joint policy formulation, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and review, deployments and governance in general. This Council should be cascaded down to provincial, regional and branch level
10. Accept **Error! Bookmark not defined.**the Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** 9th National Congress proposal to set up a PACT which must:
 - 10.1. Be negotiated not just for the Alliance but also find expression in government programmes.
 - 10.2. Collectively deal with deployment and recalling of our cadres.
 - 10.3. Be co-managed, evaluated and monitored by all Alliance partners.
 - 10.4. Help the Alliance to monitor whether government deployees are implementing the Alliance political programmes
 - 10.5. Deal with an alternative economic policy in detail
 - 10.6. Overhaul labour legislation to deal with the failure to guarantee centralized bargaining and organisational rights.
 - 10.7. **Error! Bookmark not defined.**Provide the foundation for the development state in the interest of the working class
11. Have Secretariat meetings on a frequent and regular basis to ensure that the Alliance functions effectively, with the active support of the Alliance National Office Bearers collective.
12. Ensure that the process of local government elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.** are democratised and the decisions that are taken with regard to local government elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.** are decisions taken by alliance structures.
13. Establish a mechanism to monitor implementation of the manifesto after the election
14. Resource the Alliance as the centre of transformation to develop alternatives.

Solving problems in the working of the Alliance

1. There should be a meeting of the Alliance Political Council to discuss and find a resolution to the issue of smearing our leadership.
2. The improved relations of the national alliance should be cascaded down to provincial and local levels to address the disturbing trends at provincial level suggesting that the imposition of premiers on provinces **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and the general marginalization of the alliance partners continues despite the fact that we have dislodged the 1996 class project.
3. We must intensify the call for the reconfiguration of the Alliance; it must come to an agreement on what should constitute the minimum programme of the Alliance to drive transformation, a new economic trajectory and redistribution of wealth in our country.

Assessing and reviewing the Alliance

1. Cosatu should therefore review the performance of the Alliance since 1994. This review should amongst its aims, attempt;
 - 1.1. to find ways in which the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. can be persuaded to move away from GEAR towards a consensus Error! Bookmark not defined. on macro-economic policy
 - 1.2. to investigate the development of an alternative accumulative development strategy.
2. Numsa Central Committee has a mandate from Congress to review from time to time the state of the Alliance and take the appropriate decision. Such a decision must be ratified by the National Congress.
3. This Numsa 6th National Congress therefore charges the federation with a task in its September Congress to review the performance of the Alliance since the 1994 democratic electionsError! Bookmark not defined.. This review in the Congress should amongst others, entail the following principles:-

Assessing the May 2008 Alliance Summit and October 2008 Alliance Economic Summit

1. Whilst we have made qualitative and quantitative advances since the CosatuError! Bookmark not defined. 9th National Congress wherein the relevance and centrality of the Alliance was confirmed, we continue to hear double talk from within the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. in respect of macro economic policy.
2. There remain conservatives in the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. that will fight tooth and nail to oppose the Alliance Summit agreements which are very progressive on paper. In this regard we must campaign very hard for the implementation of the Alliance agreements.

Content of the Alliance

1. In the coming period we must use as our basis of political work within the alliance the following;
 - 1.1. Reconstruction and Development Program (RDPError! Bookmark not defined.)
 - 1.2. Ekurhuleni Declaration
 - 1.3. CosatuError! Bookmark not defined.'s 2015 Plan
 - 1.4. SACPError! Bookmark not defined.'s Mid term Vision (MTV)
 - 1.5. ANCError! Bookmark not defined. 2004 manifesto
 - 1.6. 51st ANCError! Bookmark not defined. National Conference Resolutions
 - 1.7. Freedom Charter
2. We must go back to communities on service delivery issues and use this as a platform to set up organisational structures of the alliance in preparation for 2011. It cannot be that it should only be the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. that intervenes in these protests. The whole alliance must intervene in service delivery protests.
3. We should further charge the leadership of the federation to engage the ANCError! Bookmark not defined. and the SACPError! Bookmark not defined. around the Alliance Summit that centres the working class and the poor as opposed to capital as the main motive forces that should drive the agenda of transformation.

Role and Nature of the Alliance

1. Numsa must develop a discussion document on the alliance and its future, the role of national and international trade union movements in advancing development and working class unity. Terms of reference for this discussion should include, but not limited to the following.
 - 1.1. The origins and historical development of the alliance as a living organ.

- 1.2. The role and benefit of the alliance post 1994, in the present epoch and in future.
- 1.3. The alliance political activities and the internal democracy of each component.
- 1.4. The role of workers in a democratic dispensation.
- 1.5. One industry one union, one country one federation.
- 1.6. Lessons from across the world on trade union movements in alliance with political parties (ruling and not ruling) in the continent and internationally .
2. The CC agreed that the Alliance as the Strategic Political Centre shall emerge out of working class struggles and a unified Alliance Programme of Action and not by decree or written on a paper.

Working with the Alliance

1. Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** should use the Alliance to mobilise a whole range of social forces.
2. Cosatu should convene a conference of the Alliance to debate strategy and tactics to promote our economic platform.
3. If the Alliance fails to define a common programme then Cosatu should:
 - 3.1. Target specific, critical policy areas where it needs to strengthen or shift **ANCError! Bookmark not defined.** positions.
 - 3.2. Develop a programme for making progress on the strategic issues. The Federation would have to be flexible and it would have to use a variety of strategies.
 - 3.3. Attempt to build a partnership with elements in government and the **ANCError! Bookmark not defined.** on specific issues or policies.
 - 3.4. Mobilise an alliance of popular organisations in a campaign for specific policies or demands, or a campaign to resist government policies. (This is the position Numsa adopted on the choices posed by the September Commission in Chapter 3, ie paragraph 3.1.b under recommendations.)

Alliances

Principles of Alliances

1. Any alliance between organised workers and community and political organisations must be disciplined and clearly structured at local, regional and national level.
2. The purpose of any alliance is the achievement of both immediate and long-term demands through the political action and common programme of the parties to the alliance.
3. Such an alliance involves a common respect and understanding for the independent structures and mandates of the parties to such alliance and should therefore be guided by the universal principle of a united front: "March separately and strike together."
4. It is an urgent task to build a mass united front alliance of the working class in the struggle for democracy **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and socialism **Error! Bookmark not defined.**; such an alliance should be considered with any organisation which has:
 - 4.1. A commitment to a non-racial, democratic and socialist South Africa
 - 4.2. A clear programme which enjoys mass-based support among workers and their allies
 - 4.3. A proven record and history of mass mobilisation and struggle
 - 4.4. Recognised the need for workers to lead our struggle
 - 4.5. A single national mass-based constituency to which it is answerable
 - 4.6. Clearly defined structures locally, regionally and nationally.
5. We should struggle to ensure that the political and economic interests of organised workers govern the practical action of the united front and that we consistently fight for demands, organisation and action which will promote the leading role of the organised working class in the united front alliance .

1989: Unifying the working class

1. Numsa's first and foremost task is to contribute to unifying the working class and strengthening its organization. To do this we have to relate to the whole working class - whether it is employed or unemployed, in factories, small businesses or hawkers, young or old, men or women, skilled or unskilled, urban or rural, white or black.
2. We must avoid two dangers which would both delay the liberation of the working class:
 - 2.1. Confining ourselves only to trade union work.
 - 2.2. Forgetting our task of strengthening the trade unions.
3. We must develop a programme that clearly links its struggles with the broader struggles taking place in the community, the state, the ideological terrain and the economy, under the leadership of Cosatu and a vanguard Party of the Working Class, the SACP (2008) **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
4. In strengthening the organizations of the working class, we have to co-ordinate union organization with community organization. The community organization must be developed into a mass based organization that is effective at grassroots, local, regional and national level. In organizing, we must build democratic practices, avoid useless sectarian clashes and divisions and do away with numerous small organizations without any base that only accommodate activist cliques.

Tactical Alliances

1. At local and regional levels, the democratic organizations of the working class shall be free to form tactical alliances with anti-apartheid organizations of other sectors of the community, such as taxi-owners and traders. These alliances should be ad hoc alliances depending on local conditions.
2. We reject any alliance, whether tactical or strategic, with representatives of big capital, homeland opposition parties and participants in tri-cameral and other local government structures until they have shown in action that they support the principles, policy and strategy of the mass democratic movement **Error! Bookmark not defined.**
3. In our attempt to change the balance of forces, we should strive to forge alliances with a range of progressive social forces
4. In the fight against capital we must form coalitions with NGO's/Civil Society formations because the unity of the working class is very paramount at this juncture

Historical Alliances

UDF

1. The UDF was formed to achieve certain political goals in a period when the ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** could not play its full political role. The ANC is now in a position to take its rightful place in political activity, Numsa, therefore, resolves that the UDF should phase out thereby bringing to an end the Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.**/UDF alliance and the MDM.

Patriotic front

1. In 1991 Numsa resolved that a Patriotic Front of the organisations of the oppressed must be formed at local, regional and national level to campaign for Peace, Unity and a Constituent Assembly. The basis of the Patriotic Front should be that:
 - 1.1. Decisions should be based on consensus and be characterised by a culture of political tolerance.
 - 1.2. Components of the Front must commit themselves to Mass Action to remove the Apartheid Regime from power.
 - 1.3. There must be ongoing consultation between the organisations that are party to the front on all major initiatives being contemplated.

MDM

1. In 1989 Numsa supported the rebuilding of the mass democratic movement **Error! Bookmark not defined.** in the community by:
 - 1.1. Using local and regional issues to rebuild democratically elected street committees, area committees, local general councils, and regional committees.
 - 1.2. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** Forging a disciplined alliance with these democratic community structures at local, regional and national levels.
 - 1.3. Forming tactical, ad hoc alliances with anti-apartheid organizations of other sectors of the community, such as taxi-owners and traders.
 - 1.4. Opening the structures of the movement to any oppressed and exploited resident who is elected to a street committee, irrespective of political persuasion, ideology or affiliation **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Strategic and tactical assessments

Analysis of the situation after the 2008 global crisis

1. The global financial crisis underway has opened space for new international consensus, in particular the need in the short-term to put in place tight regulation and monitoring of capital and in the medium to long terms to finally defeat the neo-liberal policy paradigms (the Washington Consensus) both nationally and internationally.

2011: From a Working Class Position

1. In response to a proposition by some that we should slow down on our criticism of government policy positions now that we have a friendly President of the State, we resolved that:
 - 1.1. The working class must continue to struggle on all fronts to strengthen the Presidency and democratic government away from the interests of capital.
 - 1.2. In the immediate term, our focus has to be on struggles in relation to the New Growth Path, Nationalisation, stopping tollgates, etc through consistent media releases so as to shape the public discourse on these matters.
 - 1.3. The Numsa CEC delegates (NOB) must raise Numsa's perspective on our engagement with government and capital from a working class position.

Elections

Support for ANC

1. Numsa has supported the ANC at every election since 1994; it has agreed to set aside financial and human resources for the election campaigns and required Regions to develop properly costed regional election plans for submission to the national office; support has taken the form of:
 - 1.1. A national elections brigade, cascaded to regional and local level; Local Brigades of (about) 10 per Local are coordinated at regional level with the Regional Secretary at the centre of this electoral work.
 - 1.2. Election material published in all languages spoken in the respective regions.
 - 1.3. Fund-raising for election t-shirts.
 - 1.4. Deployment, determined by the NOBs, of comrades to Cosatu and the different provinces to participate actively in the elections campaign.
 - 1.5. A dedicated focus on the minority areas (Indian and Coloured working class areas)
 - 1.6. Numsa must deliver its membership to vote for the ANC in the first instance and therefore the Numsa living wage campaign and shopsteward elections must also be used to campaign for the ANC.

Suggested interventions

1. Cosatu must monitor all social relief funds, between now and the 1994 elections, in order to prevent political organisations from using them in order to buy a political advantage at the elections.
2. For the 1994 election, Numsa should propose to Cosatu to negotiate with employers to give workers time off for 3 days during the elections; recovery of loss of production to be discussed at plant level.
3. Because of the problems in the W Cape, the CC mandated the NOBs to discuss the programme of having rallies in that region with the regional leadership; we must do a thorough analysis of the voting patterns of the working class in the Western Cape so that an Alliance strategy for the 2011 elections can be developed.
4. We should use Cosatu, Matla Trust and IMSSA materials to teach people how to vote. We should discuss tactics which will enable us to overcome the fear that some people have about voting.
5. The process of having single elections needs to be explored to establish the pros and cons of such an exercise¹⁷

Election Manifesto

1. The 2004 manifesto must address the issue of poverty as a matter of urgency and eradicate this scourge from our society.
2. The implementation of the Freedom Charter must be at the centre of the 2009 elections manifesto.
3. We must insist that the federation takes forward the resolution for a WORKERS MANIFESTO as outlined in the PACT, a dedicated programme to put our ear to the ground and to collect demands from workers for economic transformation so that the

¹⁷ NC 2012

second decade of our democracy **Error! Bookmark not defined.** benefits the working class more than Capital.

4. We must demand that the manifesto incorporates the banning of labour brokers.

Election Challenges

Challenges exposed by the elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.** include:

1. The new ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** system of electing candidates which opened the process to manipulation under the cover of “community participation”.
2. The inability of the ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** to monitor its elected representatives; the toilet saga in ANC municipalities is a good example of this.
3. Ineffective propaganda machinery. The ANC **Error! Bookmark not defined.** and the Alliance are losing the propaganda war to the DA. Too often when the Secretary General of the ANC appears on TV he is responding in defence of the ANC. The danger with this development is that our agenda seem dictated by the agitation of the DA.

The post-election space

In 2004 Numsa resolved that:

1. Numsa and Cosatu **Error! Bookmark not defined.** should move very fast to use this political space to translate the “People’s contract” to ensure the rapid implementation of the election manifesto - job creation, meeting basic needs (access to clean water and electricity) and more social delivery (education, housing, health and transport). This should include:
 - 1.1. Land reform, restitution and redistribution, which must not be left to linger on in the hands of bureaucrats.
 - 1.2. Rural and agrarian development which must receive priority as with all other areas of development.
 - 1.3. The RDPE **Error! Bookmark not defined.** feeding scheme which should be increased and implemented consistently in needy areas.
 - 1.4. Government intervention in the reduction of food prices especially basic foodstuffs.
 - 1.5. Encouragement of employers to fund poverty relief programmes as part of their social responsibility.
 - 1.6. Engagement at all levels with, all components of capital locally and internationally to harness all these resources for the enhancement of the people’s contract to create a better life for all.
2. Numsa and Cosatu should package a programme of mobilization in defence of jobs and job creation around EPWP, PGDPs, NGDS, IDPs and job summits, focusing on projects with long term and sustainable quality job creation.
3. Government must reopen the land claims process to accommodate those that did not claim

In 2011 Numsa resolved that:

1. Post elections **Error! Bookmark not defined.** we must continue to engage with the candidates coming from our ranks so that they are not swallowed or under attack for taking principled positions.

Numsa Councillors

1. If Numsa officials/shop stewards are elected as councillors, Numsa should hold workshops to build their capacity to play a meaningful role in local government.

The Constitution and Legislation

The Constitution

1. The time has come (2009) for a National Constitutional Conference to review the performance of the South African Constitution.
2. We are satisfied that the land question, the role of the Reserve Bank in the South African economy, the eminence given to the right to property as currently embedded in the Constitution, have become serious obstacles to thoroughgoing and fundamental transformation of both South African society and its economy.
3. We call for the amendment of Section 25 of the constitution to make it absolutely clear that mineral rights are not included in property rights¹⁸
4. The South African developmental state should constitutionalise the right to work, unemployment should be made unconstitutional and that should impose on the state a duty to guarantee full employment of all citizens

Labour Relations Act

1. ANCA should be pushed to comply with a commitment to amend section 189 of LRA to make retrenchment an issue for negotiations, with the right to strike against unreasonable retrenchments.
2. Our position in the parliamentary process on labour law amendments is that.
 - 2.1. The employer should not employ scab labour during strikes / lockouts.
 - 2.2. The union must have the right to strike irrespective of the total number of workers to be retrenched .
 - 2.3. The definition of operational requirements should exclude “similar needs of an employer” because it leaves a space for employers to manoeuvre.
 - 2.4. Section 194 of the LRA must be reviewed because it disadvantages the workers and the employers are taking advantage in reviewing cases.
3. All COSATU resolutions on labour law amendments must be implemented.

Insolvency Act

1. Numsa will put pressure on Government to support an amendment to the Insolvency Act that puts workers as preferential creditors.

Traditional Courts Bill

1. We support the decision taken by COSATU at its CEC meeting to oppose the Traditional Courts Bill
2. We believe that it is important, when calling for the transformation of the judiciary, to pay particular attention to the rights of citizens living under the jurisdiction of traditional leaders and to take active steps to ensure that their rights are not compromised

¹⁸ NC 2012

-
-
3. We will include a discussion on the Traditional Courts Bill in our post congress discussion on the transformation of the judiciary in order to emerge with a clearer position as to how to engage government on the matter. Political Issues

Nationalisation

1. In 1991, Numsa resolved that the new economy must be a democratically planned socialist economy, based on the following key principles:
 - 1.1. worker control of factories, farms, banks and mines
 - 1.2. social ownership that includes nationalisation**Error! Bookmark not defined.** (without compensation) of the leading heights of the economy
 - 1.3. nationalisation**Error! Bookmark not defined.** of land.
 - 1.4. redistribution of wealth and benefit to the majority of South African citizens who are previously disadvantaged and not only to a few individuals.¹⁹
2. In 1993, Numsa supported strategic nationalisation**Error! Bookmark not defined.** in order to:
 - 2.1. Stimulate growth both nationally and within industries
 - 2.2. Enable the working class to take control of the strategic direction of the economy.
 - 2.3. Enlarge the resources available to a future democratic state
3. In 1996 our priority was to identify and defend state assets which are critical for delivery processes of basic services to the poor and to nationalise them if they are not already in state hands.
4. In 2008, in the light of the US de facto 'nationalisation' of banks and financial institutions, we resolved to campaign jointly with Ceppawu for the re-nationalisation**Error! Bookmark not defined.** of Mitall Steel, Sasol, etc..
5. In 2009 we resolved that the government should:
 - 5.1. Pass legislation that would enable the State to take over liquidated companies especially white goods manufacturers.
 - 5.2. Work with the PIC so that through its ownership it effectively nationalises particular institutions.
 - 5.3. Assist in a managerial capacity, through National Productivity Institute, in strategic companies that are in trouble financially
 - 5.4. Nationalise the whole food supply chain.
6. In 2010 we resolved to :
 - 6.1. Insist that the SAC**Error! Bookmark not defined.** must lead the campaign on nationalisation;
 - 6.2. Convene a session with the SAC**Error! Bookmark not defined.** to discuss the campaign for the re-nationalisation of Mittal and SASOL.
 - 6.3. Take the NSSC of Mittal through the demand for 40ationalization of Mittal and develop a program of mobilization and conscientising Numsa members in Mittal Steel on the Numsa 40ationalization resolution
 - 6.4. Develop a simplified pamphlet to clarify Numsa's call for the re-nationalisation of Mittal and Sasol
 - 6.5. Put timeframes for this process.
7. In the light of reports, in 2011, of guarantees from the previous administration that foreign owners of nationalized assets would be entitled to take cases to the International Tribunal, Numsa through Cosatu CEC, should demand that the government disclose to the South African public whether the previous administration entered into any such agreement.

¹⁹ NC 2012

Human Rights Council

1. Numsa and the Federation must engage the HRC to raise concerns about the unsatisfactory record of the HRC in dealing with complaints about electricity cuts, and generally, abuses and injustices committed against the poor and the working class and to ensure that it refocuses on matters affecting the poorest of the poor.

Floor Crossing

1. Floor crossing undermines the rights of the individual voter, opens doors for opportunists and tampers with the rights of minorities to be heard and represented in parliament ; parliamentary
2. Parties should maintain their seats and those who wish to cross must join the party and rise through the structures of the organisation and must earn their position.

Jacob Zuma

1. In 2005, Numsa reaffirmed its support for the Deputy President of the ANC, Cde Jacob Zuma and called on our members and their families to contribute in their numbers to the 'Friends of Jacob Zuma Trust Fund' in order to assist with Cde Zuma's legal costs and well-being..
2. In 2008 Numsa resolved to confirm its support for the President of the ANC and to do whatever is necessary and within the parameters of the constitution to ensure that his prosecution is brought to an end.

SABC

1. Numsa supports the speeding up of the Bill to transform the public broadcaster into a public institution that serves all South Africans, with a bias towards the working class.
2. In 2008, we called upon the existing board to resign with immediate effect

DSO

1. Numsa supported the decisions taken by the ANC and its allies to dissolve the DSO and integrate its personnel in the South African Police Services

Future of the Provinces

1. Cosatu at national level must champion a discussion on the future of provinces and interface through public hearings with the department of local government on this matter.
2. We believe that there must be a reduction in the number and power of provinces so that they play an administrative role, with the rest of the functions, resources and power being given to the local state as it is the closest sphere of government to the people²⁰

²⁰ NC 2012

Local Government

1. We are opposed to the privatisation of municipal services and the “efficiency model” that has been adopted to run our Local authorities. As we campaign for the ANC victory in local government elections, we must make it clear that our mandate is not for the councillors to privatise municipal services.
2. We believe that:
 - 2.1. Ward Committees should be representative of all sectors in society and should have a minimum of 10 members
 - 2.2. The stipend to ward committee members must be increased
 - 2.3. Training for ward committee members must be initiated and implemented
 - 2.4. Ward Committees and Councillors should be compelled to meet and report back to communities at least once a month.
 - 2.5. Izimbizo should be determined by the communities at times that are conducive and convenient for people to attend
 - 2.6. District municipalities should exist in rural areas with specific priorities to stimulate economic activities and infrastructure development. The administration of district municipalities should report direct to provincial government for resources and accountability purposes.²¹

Arms Deal

1. NOBs were instructed to investigate allegations that Numsa received kick-backs on the procurement arms deal and also to challenge De Lille and Terry Crawford Brown to come out in the open about the allegations; if evidence appears in the near future that individuals acted improperly on behalf of Numsa, legal steps would be taken to defend the name of the union.

Odious Debt

1. We should mobilise with other progressive political formations to scrap the “odious debt” (foreign debt) incurred by the previous government.

²¹ NC 2012

Index

- 1**
- 1996 class project 9, 22, 27
- A**
- Alliances
- Patriotic Front 31
 - Tactical 10, 31
 - The Alliance.. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34
 - UDF 31
- ANC
- 1996 class project 9, 22, 27
 - Rule25 27
 - Secretary General 22
 - Youth League 18
- B**
- Banks 12, 21, 36
- C**
- Chris Hani Institute 11
- Civil society 31
- Class struggle 12, 28
- Competitiveness and new management techniques ... 12
- Constituent assembly 15, 16, 17, 31
- Constitutional principles 17
- COPE 23
- Corruption 9
- Crime 15
- D**
- Developmental state 14, 35
- Directorate of Special Operations..... 37
- DSO 37
- E**
- Ear to the Ground Campaign 33
- Economic policy
- Alternative 27
 - Gear 8, 23, 27
 - Macro-economic 27
 - New Growth Path 32
- Economic restructuring 26
- Elections
- Local government 27, 38
 - Parliamentary 7, 33
- Environment 22
- F**
- Federations 7, 8, 11, 12, 19, 22, 28, 29, 33, 37
- Floor crossing 10, 37
- Food
- Prices..... 34
- Freedom Charter 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 23, 25, 28, 33
- Freedom Charter and Socialism 13
- Future of provinces 37
- G**
- Gear 8, 23, 27
- Government of National Unity 25
- H**
- Housing 26, 34
- Human rights 37
- Human rights commission 37
- I**
- Insolvency Act..... 35
- Interim government 15, 25
- International financial crisis 10, 32
- J**
- Jacob Zuma 37
- JZ 37
- L**
- Labour brokers 33
- Labour Relations Act..... 17, 35
- Land reform 14, 34
- Living Wage 33
- M**
- Macro-economic Research Group..... 11
- Mass Democratic Movement 9, 31
- N**
- National Democratic Revolution ... 8, 9, 11, 13, 23, 26, 27
- Nationalisation 12, 32, 36
- NDR..... 8, 9, 11, 13, 23, 26, 27
- Numsa
- Campaigns
 - Ear to the Ground 33 - Education 21
 - Membership and subscriptions 13
 - News 23
 - Office Bearers 27
 - Rules and Procedures
 - Councillors 34
- O**
- Odious debt 38
- P**
- Political settlement process 15
- Political Settlement Process 15

Polokwane	8, 23
Privatisation.....	9, 26, 38
Procurement.....	38
Productivity.....	36

R

Reconstruction and Development Programme	11, 28, 34
Reserve Bank	35
Retrenchment.....	35
Right to strike	17, 35
Right to work	35

S

SABC.....	37
SACP.....	7, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 36
General Secretary	22
SASOL.....	36
Service delivery.....	28
Service delivery protests.....	28
SMMES	30
Socialism	6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 19, 30
South African Broadcasting Corporation	37
South African Communist Party ...	7, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 36

T

TBVC states.....	15
The Left.....	8, 11, 24
Time off	33
Trade union independence	14
Trade union unity	7, 12
Trade unions.....	6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 30

U

United Democratic Front.....	31
------------------------------	----

V

Violence.....	15
---------------	----

W

Worker control	9, 12, 36
Working class consciousness.....	11
Working class leadership.....	6, 11, 13
Working class programme.....	6, 12, 14, 20, 24