



Numsa Special National Congress

December 2013

Discussion Document 3

**What should Numsa's approach be to the
2014 elections?**

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1. Background

1.1 The position of Numsa's 9th Congress

Numsa's 9th Congress in 2012 said that:

- The role of the working class in the ANC is to participate and influence the policy direction of the ANC to be in favour of the working class.
- 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.
- Numsa must ensure that its more than 300 000 members swell the ranks of the SACP

1.2 The position of Numsa's Central Committee March 2013

- Since 2008, under the leadership of the 8th National Congress, we have always had a dedicated team for ANC elections and the same teams at Local, Regional and national level must be reactivated. The same team must participate in the Cosatu and ANC elections machinery as before.
- We must call a national meeting to pull together all the challenges of provinces and determine what should constitute the programmes to reinforce our demands that have been in earlier manifestos so that we may have an input through Cosatu in the ANC Manifesto.

1.3 The position of Numsa's NEC May 2013

- Numsa has taken a conscious decision to defend the National Democratic Revolution through support for the ANC.
- We will determine our strategy of support for the ANC in the 2014 election on the following basis:
 - The response of the ANC to our working class demands
 - How our demands find expression in the ANC Manifesto
- We must confirm that the National Liberation Movement has been stripped of its revolutionary character and therefore we must now advance a clear campaign with the progressive youth movement to reject an ANC manifesto if it is embedded in the NDP
- We are clear: as the working class we are not expecting to meet our demands by any means except by our own struggle.
- We must be upfront with our ANC that it shall enjoy support of the working class and the poor if the 2014 national elections manifesto is categorical in addressing the aspirations and needs of the working class. The working class however shall not achieve this in the board rooms only but in the theatre of active and concrete struggles on the ground.

1.4 The position of Numsa's Central Committee August 2013

- If the CEC of 14th August 2013 proceeds to suspend or dismiss Comrade Vavi, Numsa must withdraw/suspend our membership from Cosatu with immediate effect and discuss the way forward for Numsa within Cosatu in the Numsa Special National Congress to be held in December 2013. At the same time we should suspend payment to the political fund and election levy.

2. Surveys of membership and shop stewards

There have been 3 surveys in the last 2 years. Each of them has contained some questions on the political views of members and shop stewards of Numsa and Cosatu and of workers in general.

2.1 Numsa Survey

This survey was conducted in 2011. It interviewed 834 Numsa members in all 9 Regions and conducted 41 focus group discussions of members and shop stewards during 2011:

- 60% said that the Alliance is the best way of serving workers' interests
- 69% said that Cosatu should continue to support the ANC; 13% said it should not
- 48% thought that life had improved for workers in the previous 5 years; 27% thought that it had stayed the same and 25% thought it had got worse

2.2 Cosatu workers survey

This survey was conducted in 2012. It interviewed 3,030 workers; just over half were members of Cosatu affiliates, with the rest a mixture of members of other unions and non-union workers.

- Two-thirds of Cosatu members said they would vote for ANC if the elections took place the next week; the figure was about the same for the Numsa members
- Support for the ANC was strongest amongst lower-income workers
 - Nearly 70% of those earning under R1,500
 - Just over 50% of those earning over R15,000
- The most common explanations for ANC support were:
 - Its policies
 - Governance
 - A lack of alternatives
 - Its efforts to achieve equality for Africans
- Just over 70% of Cosatu members said Cosatu should stay in the Alliance; the results for Numsa were very similar
- Nearly 30% of members said they were active in their ANC branch; the figure for Numsa was about 26%
- About 6% of Cosatu and Numsa members said they were active in a SACP branch
- The key things workers thought had got worse since Polokwane were:
 - Corruption (about 35%)
 - Employment creation (about 37%)
 - Failure to ban labour brokers (about 20%)

2.3 Cosatu Shop Steward Survey

This was a survey of Cosatu shop stewards, conducted in 2012. 2,051 were interviewed and completed a questionnaire. They included 346 Numsa shop stewards:

- 88% of the Numsa shopstewards were supporters of the ANC
- 57% of the Numsa shop stewards were ANC members; this was lower than most Cosatu affiliates; NUM had the most with 75% ANC members; lowest was PPAWUSA with 45%
- 6% of the Numsa shop stewards were members of SACP; this was one of the lowest; the top was SAMWU with 13%.
- 90% of the Cosatu shop stewards said they would vote for the ANC if there was an election at that time
- If Cosatu were to form a labour party and contest the election:
 - 65% of all the shop stewards said they would vote for it
 - 72% of the Numsa shop stewards said they would vote for it; this was the second highest behind Satawu 74%; Sactwu was the lowest with 50%)

3. What is our assessment of the 2009 election manifesto?

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 The need for an assessment

- COSATU's 2015 Plan says that we must look at the ANC 2009 Election Manifesto and compare it with what has actually happened. It calls this a "Balance Sheet".
- This 'Balance Sheet' should then be the basis for Cosatu to produce an electoral platform as a federation
- The 2015 Plan also further called on the 2009 and 2012 National Congresses to adopt programmes for future general elections and local government elections.
- This did not take place in either of those congresses.
- Unless we make this comparison between promise and reality, our members will be treated as nothing more than voting cattle for the ANC.

3.1.2 What kind of an assessment?

- We summarise key commitments in the manifesto and give a brief description of what has actually happened "in practice".

3.1.2 What do we cover?

- The 2009 Manifesto identified the following five priority areas of the ANC government in the next five years:
 - Creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods
 - Education
 - Health
 - Crime
 - Rural development, including land reform, and food production and security.
- This document examines briefly each of those 5 priorities. It then looks at some of the other commitments in the manifesto.

3.1.3 What evidence do we use for what happened "in practice"?

- When we look at what has happened "in practice", we are looking at what actually happened from the point of view of the working class and the poor. We ask whether the working class and the poor have benefited.
- In order to discover whether or not the working class and the poor have benefited we look in two main places:
 - Statistics from Stats SA: they tell us numbers – numbers of unemployed; numbers of houses etc
 - Resolutions and reports from Numsa and Cosatu constitutional structures since the 9th Numsa Congress in 2012: they tell us what our members and our shop stewards experience in reality.

3.1.4 On the ANC itself

- It is also important to make an assessment of the ANC itself, as a political organisation, as well as of the Alliance.
- You will find that in Discussion Document 1 on The Alliance.

3.3 Create Work and sustainable livelihoods

3.3.1 Macro-economic policy

Manifesto

"The creation and retention of decent work and sustainable livelihoods will be the primary focus of all economic policies of the ANC government".

"We need to ensure that the majority of our people benefit meaningfully from economic growth.... over the next 5 years, the macro-economic policy will decisively address the most significant obstacles that limit the pace of employment creation and poverty eradication and will intervene in favour of a more sustainable and inclusive growth for all South Africans."

In practice

- Numsa has consistently criticised the ANC for focusing its economic policy on interest rates instead of job creation. If interest rates were lower there would be more money available to invest in manufacturing. We have called for the Reserve Bank to reduce interest rates in order to create jobs. But we still have the same policy of high interest rates.
- We have said clearly that we will not make significant progress on decent jobs if we leave the Minerals, Energy, Finance complex in the hands of private capitalists; the ANC leadership has made sure that the policy of the organisation is against nationalisation.
- The result is that since 1994 the South African economy has massively deindustrialised with huge job losses in manufacturing:
 - In 2008 there were 340,000 people employed in the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries;
 - By 2011 it had gone down to 325,000

3.3.2 Build the manufacturing sector

Manifesto

“Government will take active measures through an appropriate social package, to avert or minimize job losses and cushion the poor from the economic down turn by strengthening the manufacturing sector, saving and growing jobs in the clothing and textile sector, strengthening the automobile and components sector, expanding the food and beverage industry and other sectors.”

In practice

- Numsa believes that the best way to build a strong manufacturing sector is to nationalise the commanding heights of the economy; the ANC in government has rejected this.
- Between 2009 and 2012 271,000 jobs were lost in the manufacturing sector
- Between 2008 and 2012 manufacturing jobs dropped from 15% to 13% of all jobs
- Manufacturing declined from 17% of GDP in 2007 to 15% in 2010.

3.3.3 Decent work

Manifesto

“The creation and retention of decent work and sustainable livelihoods will be the primary focus of all economic policies of the ANC government.... Decent work is the foundation of the fight against poverty and inequality and its promotion should be the corner-stone of all our efforts. Decent work embraces both the need for more jobs and for better quality jobs.”

In practice:

- The number of unemployed people has gone up. In these unemployment figures we include what are called “discouraged work seekers” – people who have given up looking for work:
 - In May 2008 there were 5.1 million unemployed people in South Africa.
 - In May 2013 there were 7 million unemployed people.
 - The number of unemployed people has gone up by nearly 2 million
- The number of people with jobs has not gone up:
 - In May 2008 there were 13.7 million people with jobs
 - In May 2013 there were still 13.7 million people with jobs.
 - There has been no increase in the number of jobs.
- The rate at which the economy is growing will not create enough jobs:
 - The economy is growing now at 2.5% per year; it is expected to grow by 2.7% in 2013, 3.5% in 2014 and 3.8% in 2015
 - The Development Bank of South Africa says that we need a growth rate of 10% or more to meet the New Growth Path's target of 5-million jobs by 2020.

- Those who have jobs earn very poor wages. For example, in 2010:
 - Half of South African workers earned less than R2 800 a month.
 - On average, 75% of South African workers earned R1 939
 - 90% of South African workers earned an average R3 327 a month.
 - African workers earn 23% of what white workers earn, and women earn 77% of what men earn
 - The bottom 5% of South African workers are paid less than R570 a month
- The Freedom Charter calls for a forty-hour week, but most workers work much longer hours. For example, in 2012:
 - 85% of workers were working for more than 40 hours a week.
 - 30% of workers (3.4 million workers) work for more than 45 hours a week
- Workers continue to have insecure jobs without proper benefits. For example in 2012:
 - 35% (4.7 million workers) were contract workers or had short-term jobs
 - 50% (5.7 million workers) have no access to a pension or retirement fund
 - 33% (4.4 million workers) do not have access to paid annual leave.

3.3.4 Labour brokers

Manifesto

“In order to avoid exploitation of workers and ensure decent work for all workers as well as to protect the employment relationship,[we will] introduce laws to regulate contract work, subcontracting and out-sourcing, address the problem of labour broking and prohibit certain abusive practices.

In practice

- Numsa and Cosatu have fought a campaign to ban labour brokers, but we have only been partly successful:
 - Labour brokers are now only able to employ a worker for 3 months; after that they become an employee of the company where they work
 - Labour brokers have not been banned.
- The government has brought forward a proposal for a “youth wage subsidy”, designed to make it cheaper for employers to employ young people than older people. We have fought against this, so far successfully. But:
 - The ANC has adopted the NDP which clearly supports a youth wage subsidy.
 - The government has just introduced into parliament the Employment Tax Incentive Bill which would have the same effect.
 - If this law is passed, at least 3.7 million workers are vulnerable to being replaced by workers who are subsidised by the tax incentive.

3.3.5 Fiscal and Monetary Policies

Manifesto

“Our fiscal and monetary policy mandates including interest rates and exchange rates need to take into account employment considerations, economic growth and other developmental imperatives.”

In practice

- The government’s neo-liberal economic policy has led them to remove the foreign exchange controls which limited the amount of money that could be taken out of the country. The result has been that:
 - Companies registered overseas and exported their profits
 - Interest rates are high, which limits investment in production
 - The Rand has been high, which has devastated the manufacturing sector
 - We have become the slaves of the ratings agencies

- In 1994 South Africa's foreign debt was R25 billion; today it is R135 billion
- The government has introduced the New Growth Path. It contains nothing on key issues like:
 - Re-introduction of exchange controls
 - Management of capital flows through taxes
 - Regulation of the financial sector
 - Progressive taxation
 - Targets for local procurement in public expenditure and requirements for local procurement by the private sector
 - An active and direct role of the state in critical value chains.
- In fact the opposite has happened:
 - Foreign exchange controls have been relaxed
 - The Public Investment Corporation (PIC), which contains workers' funds, has been encouraged to invest overseas, when we need the investment to create jobs in South Africa,

3.3.6 Industrial Policy

Manifesto

The Manifesto commits the government to a “well resourced and strengthened state-led industrial policy programme....supporting investment in the productive sectors, especially manufacturing and agricultural production....targeting labour-intensive production sectors and encouraging activities that have high employment opportunities....ensuring that the mining and agriculture sectors contribute to the beneficiation programmes,

In practice

- Whilst we don't agree with everything it does, we appreciate the work of the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI):
 - It has adopted a beneficiation strategy and identified five priority minerals: manganese, iron ore, coal, platinum and titanium.
 - In international trade negotiations, it has insisted on a better deal for developing countries and South Africa in particular.
 - It has regulated the export of scrap metal, even if we believe that it should have been banned, not just regulated
 - It has prioritised South Africa production by designating goods that must be manufactured locally
- But the beneficiation strategy has big gaps. These crucial elements are missing:
 - Developmental pricing as a tool to stimulate beneficiation locally,
 - Export taxes on raw minerals.
 - The role of the state in being directly involved in some of the productive processes.
 - A state-owned mining company.
- So the government strategy is not interventionist. This compromises the whole drive for broadbased industrialisation in South Africa and the Southern African region.

3.3.7 Public Transport

Manifesto

“As South Africa moves into the 2010 World Cup, government will continue to roll out a public transport strategy, starting with the host cities, which addresses the needs of working people.”

In practice

- We appreciate the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit systems in Johannesburg and Cape Town; it is a step forward to providing safe, decent transport for the working class and the poor

- We have fought, and continue to fight, against the e-tolling system that has recently been signed into law by the President
- We were opposed to the massive resources devoted to the Gautrain, which is a public transport system for the middle class and the wealthy.

3.4 Education

3.4.1 Improve quality of schooling

Manifesto

“Improve the quality of schooling, particularly performance in mathematics, science, technology and language development.”

In practice

- The inferior education system coming from the apartheid era has not improved much to date. Public schools in townships and rural areas are still neglected and not adequately resourced in terms of infrastructure development when compared to white schools.
- The gap between township and Model C schools is widening. 70% of matric exam passes come from just 11% of schools, the former white, coloured, and Asian schools.
- Our education system fails to produce much needed skills in areas of manufacturing and technology.
- We are failing to provide quality education:
 - 12-year olds in South Africa perform three times less well in reading than 11-year olds in Russia
 - 16-year olds in South Africa perform three times less well in maths than 14-year olds in Cyprus.
 - Only 3% of the children who enter the schooling system eventually complete with higher grade maths
 - 15% of grade 3 learners pass both numeracy and literacy
 - 60% of children are pushed out of the schooling system before they reach grade 12.

3.4.2 Ensure basic infrastructure

Manifesto:

“Ensure that all schools and health facilities have access to basic infrastructure such as water and electricity by 2014.”

In practice

- Schools lack basic educational equipment:
 - 93% have no libraries or libraries are not stocked
 - 88% have no laboratories, or laboratories are not stocked
 - 81% have no computers or more than 100 learners share a computer.
- Schools lack basic infrastructure:
 - 42% depend on boreholes, rainwater or have no access to water on or near site
 - 61% have no arrangement for disposal of sewage
 - 21% have no toilets on site or have more than 50 learners per toilet; 36% of the toilets that do exist are pit latrines
 - 16% have no electricity
 - 41% have no fencing or the fence is in poor condition

3.4.3 Increase no-fee schools

Manifesto

“The ANC is committed to a free and compulsory education for all children. As the immediate step it will ensure that at least 60% of schools are no-fee schools.”

In practice

- This has been a success
 - In 2007 20% of learners aged 5 years and above did not pay fees.
 - By 2011, this figure had increased to 56%.

3.4.4 Liberate from illiteracy

Manifesto

Ensure that South Africa is completely liberated from illiteracy by 2014.

In practice

- There has been little change in writing since 2009:
 - In 2009 976,000 women and 600,000 men were unable to write their own name
 - In 2012 the number of women had gone up to 1,006,000 women and the number of men had gone down to 493,000¹.
- There has also been little change in reading:
 - In 2009 1,205,000 men and 1,650,000 women were unable to read
 - In 2012 the number of men had gone down to 1,053,000 and the number of women to 1,590,000.

3.4.5 Improve tertiary education

Manifesto:

“Encourage students from working class and poor communities to go to tertiary institutions by reviewing and improving the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.”

In practice

- The government has recently announce the establishment of two new universities – Mpumalanga and Northern Cape
- The enrolment in tertiary institutions still reflects our apartheid heritage:
 - In 2009 62.2% of students were African; in 2012 this had increased very slightly to 62.7%; Africans are 80% of the population of the country
 - In 2009 22.1% of students were white; in 2012 that had gone up to 23.2%; whites are only 9% of the population of the country

3.4.6 Extend school feeding schemes

Manifesto

“Extending school feeding schemes to all poor primary and high schools.”

In practice

- There has been progress:
 - In 2009 66% of learners benefited from the feeding scheme
 - In 2011 this number had improved to 74%.

¹ HHS 2009 and 2012

3.5 Health

3.5.1 Improve the quality of health care services

Manifesto

The ANC government will aim to reduce inequalities in our health system, improve quality of care and public facilities, and boost our human resources and step up the fight against HIV and AIDS and other diseases.

In practice

- Numsa's 9th Congress said:
 - We need action now. We voted in 1994 but to date we still hear different ministers giving us promises about improved service delivery but we see nothing.
 - Black Township hospitals and other public hospitals/clinics especially those used by the working class and the poor remain congested with huge shortages of medicines, ambulances (especially in rural areas) and medical professionals like nurses and doctors
 - Most clinics close at night and this denies access to health by the poor.
 - Sick people are made to queue outside the premises (often in the cold) in the early hours of the morning waiting for clinics to open.
 - Services in hospitals are poor and there is a shortage of staff

3.5.2 Improve people's health

Manifesto

"Improve the health status of the population and achieve the health-related Millennium Development Goals: 4, 5 and 6 which are: reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and combating TB, malaria and other communicable diseases."

In practice

- We have made some progress with child mortality but we still have a very long way to go:
 - In 2008 63 out of every 1,000 children died in the first 5 years of their lives.
 - In 2012 the number was down to 54.
 - But In China, for example, only 16 out of every 1000 babies die in their first year.
- HIV / Aids:
 - There are 1000 AIDS-related deaths per day
 - 1,450 people are becoming HIV infected each day
 - 70% of the case load in the public health system is now taken up by HIV/ AIDS cases, crowding out the capacity to treat other medical conditions.
 - While we seem unable to treat more than half the 800 000 needing anti-retroviral treatment, that number is going to rise to 5.5 million within five years.

3.5.3 Introduce National Health Insurance (NHI)

Manifesto:

"Introduction of the National Health Insurance System (NHI) system, which will be phased in over the next five years. The principles of NHI will include the following:

- NHI will be publicly funded and publicly administered and will provide the right of every South African with access to quality health care, which will be free at the point of delivery. People will have a choice of which service provider to use within a district.
- The social solidarity principle will be applied and those who are eligible to contribute will be required to do so, according to their ability to pay, but access to health care will not be according to payment.
- Private doctors working in other health facilities, in group practices and hospitals, will be encouraged to participate in the NHI system."

In practice

- The Green Paper on NHI was published on 12th August 2011
- Implementation of NHI is part of the Ten-Point Programme and a priority of Government and will be implemented gradually in 3 phases over a 14 year period
- NHI pilot programme started in 11 districts in April 2012
- Numsa's 9th Congress said that the introduction of the first phase of NHI in improving infrastructure in public hospitals and clinics is a positive step and that implementation should take place before the end of year 2013.
- Cosatu's 11th Congress said that:
 - COSATU welcomes the unambiguous reaffirmation of the cornerstone and essence of the NHI as providing access to health care as a human right and based on the principles of universal coverage for all citizens of South Africa. It is encouraging to see the inclusion of a strong focus on primary health care and the designation of hospitals in the Green Paper.
 - Cosatu is totally opposed to the proposal to introduce a "multi-payer" system, under which private medical schemes will be allowed to charge the government for a proportion of the treatment they deliver to their clients. This flies in the face of the ANC's commitment to "create a publicly administered and publicly funded National Health Insurance Fund, which will be a *single-payer* fund that receives funds, pool resources and purchase services on behalf of the entire population." The move towards a "multi-payer" system, smuggled into the Green paper by the Treasury, threatens to undermine the whole basis of the NHI and allow the discredited private medical schemes to continue to rip off their clients and even to be subsidised by the tax-payers."

3.5.4 Implement a new drug policy

Manifesto

The existing national drug policy and strategy will be reviewed so as to support effective implementation of the NHI....Government will also conduct the feasibility study for the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

In practice

- In May 2013 cabinet approved a process to find new technology and investor partners in the Ketlaphela project, which aims to establish a government-controlled and fully integrated pharmaceutical company, focusing on the local manufacture of antiretrovirals (ARVs)
- Cosatu 11th Congress said: Although the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company is a step in the right direction... the new Ketlaphela Company is not 100% state-owned. This means that profit making will cripple the capacity of the company to provide medicines on a mass scale at affordable prices to public facilities and to the people in general. COSATU should therefore continue to call for a 100% state-owned pharmaceutical company.

3.6 Crime and corruption

3.6.1 Fight against corruption

Manifesto

"Step up measures in the fight against corruption within society, the state and private sector, including measures to review the tendering system to ensure politicians do not tamper with the adjudication of tenders. Measures will also be taken to ensure transparent process of the tendering system as well as ensuring much stronger accountability of the public servants involved in tendering process."

In practice

- Cosatu 11th Congress said: “Neither of these commitments has been followed up by the ANC NEC or government with the necessary urgency....The Organisational Renewal NGC resolution only proposes an internal mechanism to discipline members found guilty of corruption, but no measures to effectively combat the roots of corruption which has become so endemic, such as abuse of tenders, shady BEE deals linked to access to the state etc. While it is welcome that the resolution proposes dismissal of “members found guilty of corruption and abuse of power” it doesn’t suggest the necessary mechanisms to give either the state or the party real bite when it comes to acting against corruption.”

3.7 Rural Development

3.7.1 Land redistribution

Manifesto

“ANC government will work to intensify the land reform programme, so as to ensure that more land is in the hands of the rural poor. Government will provide the rural poor with technical skills and financial resources to productively use the land and to create sustainable livelihoods....Government will review the appropriateness of the existing land redistribution programme, introduce measures aimed at speeding up the pace of land reform and redistribution and promote land ownership by South Africans.”

In practice

- The date for redistributing 30% of agricultural land has shifted from the “first five years of the programme” to 2014. To date only 7% of actual land has been distributed.
- Black people own between 13% and 16% of agricultural land.
- More than 70% of the land distributed is not being used productively. An ANC discussion paper prepared for the organisation’s policy conference in June 2012 admits that “currently most of the farms redistributed are struggling financially, faced with huge debts, poor infrastructure, lack of adequate support, conflicts within the large group projects, poor skills development and numerous other problems”.
- Cosatu has called for state ownership of all land in the country; then the state can decide who to lease that land to and for what purpose.

3.7.2 Food for all

Manifesto

“In the next five years, government will also introduce a “food for all” programme to procure and distribute basic foods at affordable prices to poor households and communities. Government will consider appropriate institutional approach to implement to this programme.”

In practice

- The “food for all” campaign was launched at the end of 2011
- In 2010, 44% of South African workers were living on less than R10 a day; that was barely enough to buy a loaf of bread which cost R7.50 in 2010.
- In 2009 19.6% of people did not have enough food; in 2012 that had gone up to 21.5%

3.8 Housing

3.8.1 Transform cities and towns

Manifesto

“Our national housing programme is not just about building houses but also about transforming our cities and towns and building cohesive and non-racial communities. In order to contribute to the end of the apartheid spatial arrangements, government will roll out housing programmes closer to places of work and amenities.”

In practice

- Numsa's 9th Congress said:
 - Townships are underdeveloped and there is a general lack of service delivery
 - There is poor infrastructural planning and development by the local state in our townships
 - There is also a lack of sufficient recreational facilities like soccer fields and other sportsfields

3.8.2 Access to housing for all

Manifesto

"The ANC government will continue to increase access to secure and decent housing for all through its newly adopted "Breaking New Ground" Strategy. Key elements of this strategy will include the following:

- Accelerate the delivery of housing as well as improving the quality of subsidized housing;
- Continue the programme to convert hostels into family units;
- Increase access to secure and decent housing for all by strengthening partnerships with financial institutions and the private sector and increasing their role;
- Accelerate the delivery of new rental housing, provide support for housing co-operatives and ensure that provincial and local government allocate land for this purpose
- Encourage people to build their houses based on their own plans and choices and provide people with building skills;
- Spearhead a programme for the allocation of building materials to rural communities for purposes of self-building and provide people with building skills; and
- Ensure all qualifying military veterans receive adequate housing."

In practice

- We have welcomed the announcement by the president on the housing subsidy for workers earning between R3,500 and R15,000
- Numsa's 9th Congress said:
 - There is no proper allocation of RDP houses and corruption is rife.
 - The slow building of RDP houses is worrying. We are not sure whether it is a lack of funds or lack of political will from government. We would like the building of the 'rent to buy' scheme (as in the JHB metro where there is not enough space or land) to be cascaded to other regions.
- More people are living in shacks:
 - In 2009 13.4% of households lived in informal dwellings
 - By 2012 this had gone up to 14.1%

3.9 Water and sanitation

3.9.1 Free basic water

Manifesto:

"The ANC government will work with municipalities to ensure the continued implementation and strengthening of free basic water to the poor and the vulnerable."

In practice

- Numsa's 9th Congress said:
 - Delivery of basic services such as sanitation, refuse removal and grass cutting remains a challenge
 - There are blockages of water and sewerage and dirty water running in the street due to pipe bursts

3.9.2 Universal access to water and sanitation

Manifesto

“The ANC government will ensure that there is universal access to water and sanitation by 2014 and that municipalities provide the best quality water to our people, especially the poor.”

In practice

- There has been very little improvement in provision of piped water:
 - In 2009 89.6% of households had access to piped or tap water
 - In 2012 that went up to 90.8%
- In the poorest province there has been improvement but the level is still very low:
 - In the Eastern Cape in 2009 74.7% had access to piped or tap water
 - By 2012 that went up to 79%

3.9.3 Sanitation

Manifesto

“Introduce the provision of proper sanitation systems in the rural areas.”

In practice

- There has been a small improvement:
 - In 2009 6.4% of households either had no toilet or were using a bucket toilet
 - In 2012 that went down to 5.3%
- In the poorest province there has been improvement but the level is still very low:
 - In the Eastern Cape in 2009 the figure was 19.1%
 - By 2012 that had gone down to 13.4%

4. How do we solve the problem of failure to put the manifesto into practice?

4.1 Background

- It is clear that there is a big problem with election manifestos. They are filled with promises, many of which fail to materialise. Elections can very easily be based on commitments which are never fulfilled in practice.
- Cosatu has tried in the past to help to solve this problem by deploying some of its leaders onto the candidate lists of the ANC; some of those leaders have become Ministers in the ANC governments.
- The experience of this strategy has been that the Cosatu leaders very quickly forget where they have come from. They join the rest of the leadership of the ANC in implementing policies which fail to prioritise the working class and the poor.
- Cosatu has now supported the election of some of its leaders onto the ANC National Executive Committee. Numsa has been doubtful of this strategy. History will tell us whether it has had any success.
- The SACP did a survey of the electoral experience of communist parties around the world and came to the conclusion that: “electoral politics within capitalist dominated societies is an extremely difficult terrain for principled communist parties. Generally, left electoral successes in these cases involve one or another variant of broad left fronts, alliances and coalitions in which CPs are one component. The electoral terrain also often provokes serious strains (sometimes splits) within CPs – between cadres within legislatures and those more active on the mass terrain.”

- Numsa’s 9th Congress resolved that “elected leaders should not be allowed to serve on boards of companies.... as this will compromise their role as leaders serving the people and the working class.

4.2 Questions

We know that “as the working class we are not expecting to meet our demands by any means except by our own struggle”. But, while we continue with that struggle we are faced with questions when it comes to elections:

- How do we stop this seemingly endless cycle of promises and disappointments
- How do we bring the actions of the government under our control so that they meet our needs as the working class and the poor?

5. What do we know of the ANC 2014 manifesto?

The content of the ANC 2014 election manifesto will become clearer as we get closer to the election itself. Delegates to the Special Congress will probably have more information than we have at the moment. What we know now is:

- ANC is holding manifesto forums between 14 September and 18 October “to provide an opportunity for the ANC to interact with our people on progress made and challenges confronted in creating a South Africa that is better today than it was in 1994.”
- Comrade Jeff Radebe, ANC NEC Head of Policy has said:
 - "The NDP will create full employment. It has been accepted by the majority of Parliament which is why it will feature prominently in our manifesto."
 - "The manifesto will focus on the great strides made since democracy, and the great challenges we face ahead, especially in the implementation of the NDP.

6. What are the options?

6.1 What should NUMSA’s approach be to the coming elections?

6.2 What are the bottom line demands which we require from any political party in order to support them in an election and how do we mobilise the working class to the streets to achieve those demands?

6.3 How would we ensure that any manifesto we would like to support will actually be put into practice?