

The Resolutions of SAFTU Inaugural National Congress held on the 21- 23 April 2017, at Birchwood Hotel and Conference Centre

1. The founding Affiliates of SAFTU

The following unions are the founders of the South African Federation of Trade Union – SAFTU

	Name of the Union	Full Names of the Union	Membership
1	APSA	Academic and Professional Staff Association	1 500
2	CWAWU	Chemical Wood and Allied Workers Union	578
3	DEMAWUSA	Democratic Municipal Workers Union of South Africa	1 324
4	DEPACU	Democratic Postal and Communication Workers Union	3 600
5	DETAWU	Democratised Transport, Logistics And Allied Workers Union	10 000
6	FAWU	Food And Allied Workers Union	124 540
7	FUWO	Finance Union of Workers	210
8	ICTU	Information Communication and Technology Union	8 742
9	MATUSA	Municipal and Allied Trade Union of South Africa	4 000
10	MWASA	Media Workers Association of South Africa	5 000
11	NTM	National Transport Movement	52 250
12	NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa	340 687
13	NUPSAW	National Union of Public Service And Allied Workers	30 169
14	PRISAWU	Private Schools and Allied Workers Union	544
15	SACOSWU	South African Correctional Services Workers Union	2 291
16	SACSU	South African Civil Servants Union	3 600
17	SAICWU	South African Industrial Commercial and Allied Workers Union	4 250
18	SALIPSWU	South African Liberated Public Sector Workers Union	8 813
19	SAPU	South African Police Union	76 525
20	SASWU	South African Security Workers Union	342
21	TASWU	Tiriso Transport and Security Workers Union	5 900
22	THOR	Transport Action Retail and General Workers Union	3 486
23	YNI	Young Nurses Indaba Workers Union	200
24	CSAAWU	Commercial Stevedoring Agricultural and Allied Workers Union	2 989
	TOTAL		691 540

2. Name of the Federation

The Name: the Founding National Congress unanimously endorsed South African Federation of Trade Unions as the name of the New Federation.

3. The logo of SAFTU

All the unions and the delegates unanimously adopted the logo of the Federation. The logo stands for:

- Red flag represent the blood, sweat, suffering and tribulations of workers under a capitalist system
- The worker hosting the red flag represents the industrial proletariat which forms the majority of workers in South Africa
- The white lady in red raising her fist represent white workers, women and white collar workers/professional workers
- The worker holding a hammer in red represents young workers across the economy and society
- The yellow wheel represents the economy in which workers produce its wealth yet the social surplus is appropriate by a tiny minority
- Black South African map represents our country South Africa which is part of the Africa continent whose majority citizens are the black people who were colonised and discriminated against by the apartheid system

4. The colours of SAFTU

The congress unanimously endorsed the following colours as the colours of SAFTU.

- **Red:** represents the blood, sweat, suffering and tribulations of workers
- **Black:** represents black majority whose struggles for total emancipation is intricately linked to the class exploitation and women's oppression
- **Gold:** represent the minerals wealth of our country beneath the soil

5. The Constitution of the Federation

All the unions and delegates unanimously endorsed the Constitution, which was presented by the Task Team appointed by the Congress. See attached constitution.

6. The Principles And the Character of the SAFTU

1. Independence: Unions must be independent from employers (in the private and public sector) and from political parties. This does not mean that unions are apolitical.
2. Worker control and democracy: Unions must be worker-controlled and practice democracy, accountability, and transparency and must be tolerant of different views. Within the federation affiliates must have autonomy within a principle of democratic centralism.
3. Non-racialism and non-sexism: Unions must fight for the maximum unity of all workers and reject all divisive and negative sentiment such as racism, xenophobia, tribalism and ethnicity, all of which are the product of the capitalist system which exploits divisions within the working class. We should welcome and recruit migrant workers.
4. Financial self-sufficiency and accountability and opposition, in word and deed, to business unionism, corruption, fraud and maladministration within its own ranks and in a capitalist society which is inherently corrupt, which we must fight continuously and support workers exposing corruption, e.g. PRASA and all state-owned industries, and the former Midrand municipality
5. Internationalist and anti-imperialist: Unions must place a high priority on international solidarity.
6. Socialist orientation: We are committed to fight the exploitation of workers and must be ready to engage in the transformation of our societies to counter capitalist exploitation, inequalities and poverty. We are inspired by Marxism-Leninism. We believe in Pan Africanism based on Marxist and internationalists and Marxists principles, all of which are complementary.
7. Militancy in fighting for the working class and the poor: Unions must be ready to actively campaign for change, and made links with all of the oppressed South Africans.
8. We are committed to build effective organisation and representation and organise in the most effective manner to represent workers and serve their interests.
9. We pledge our solidarity with all workers struggling for better wages and conditions of service or to save jobs and to do everything possible to save and create jobs.

Moved: FAWU

Seconded: MATUSA

7. Why SAFTU is being informed - undertaking A historic task that is bigger than ourselves?

7.1 The crisis of representation and fragmentation of trade unions and what we are doing to address it

The Workers Summit and the meeting of the unions that gathered on the 7th September 2015 correctly identified fragmentation as a huge weakness that was undermining the power of workers and their ability to defend and extend their interests. The Workers Summit also recognised that increasing levels of outsourcing, sub-contracting, and other forms of precarious employment, and our failure to adequately respond to this trend, has further contributed to the on going fragmentation of worker unity.

According to the Department of Labour, in February 2016, there were 182 unions registered in our country. Another 400 unions were waiting to be registered.

When unions are divided and fragmented it is music to the ears of employers. The Quarterly Labour Force Survey of Q4 2016 tells us that a scandalous situation exists where 62% of workers either don't get regular increases or their increases are set by the employer alone. Furthermore, only 22% of wages are set through collective bargaining and a mere 8% of wages are set through centralised bargaining structures. As we launch the new federation, only 28% of all workers belong to trade unions. This means that 72% of all workers do not belong to any union. Despite the post 1994 improvements in labour legislation and the gains in trade union rights, there has not been the massive growth in trade union membership that might have been expected. Behind the falling share of wages in GDP, behind the stagnation of wages and growing income inequalities, record breaking profits and massive CEO salaries therefore lies the continued fragmentation and relative weakness of the South African trade union movement.

Our task is to reverse this. That's why the launch of the New Federation should be seen as an important milestone in a long journey we are embarking upon to unite workers as a whole.

7.2 Building worker trust and growing a united trade union movement will mean:

- a) Consistency in our actions to represent the interest of workers.
- b) Reliability so that we become more relevant.
- c) Responsibility to act both in the best interests of members and the broader working class and society;
- d) Intimacy with workers issues

The ethos of the New Federation should be based on three central values: **dignity for all, equality for all and opportunity for all!**

Only when every leader, every activist and every member is able to act consciously, in a completely consistent manner every day, we will rebuild the trust of workers, and our class as a whole.

7.3 Embarking on a Mass Recruitment Campaign

Protocols developed to guarantee maximum cooperation amongst unions

The Protocols on maximum cooperation recruitment proposed by the Steering Committee is endorsed.

We will make concrete linkages with the Informal Sector, and with Unemployed Workers, Students and with casualised and labour brokered workers.

We shall immediately launch a recruitment campaign which must focus on the 76% of unorganised workers, but should also target COSATU affiliates because they are considered as unorganised and trapped in unions that are not independent, democratic and campaigning. Shop stewards must be capacitated to take up recruitment and service.

Unions should support each other's struggles and big unions give special material help to small unions and not just look after their own interests. No union should further expand its scope. We must encourage mergers where it makes the union more effective and makes organisational sense, but in the meantime unions in the same sector should cooperate.

There are disturbing developments in Nedlac proposing laws to ensure that all strikes must be peaceful, which ignores the problem that violence in strikes is instigated by employers who use police and private security to provoke and harass strikers.

We strongly condemn the refusal by government to recognise unions which have recruited in parastatals and the public service, which undermines the right to freedom of association. Those workers who have joined a union of own choice must be given organisational rights including stop orders. We shall declare war on the political interventions by government.

We shall discuss with all unions about how best to deliver quality service – working towards the development of a service charter.

The recruitment campaign shall seek to take forward the following key elements of the Protocols for Mass Recruitment Campaign:

(a) Service: Servicing and the engagement of members should be what distinguish our affiliates from the rest. This is the only way to keep the loyalty of members to a union. The greatest area of union cooperation above all others is to ensure that unions provide a quality service to its members, including effective representation. This is in recognition of the primary responsibility of unions to defend member's jobs and protect workers from abuse by the bosses in the workplace. We inspired by the NUMSA service charter and we shall use it develop a SAFTU Service Charter. SAFTU must develop mechanisms and systems to ensure that every union can be guided on how best to provide an effective service to members.

(b) No to Internal Poaching: We can't afford unions poaching each other's members when 72% of workers do not belong to any union. Our main task is to coordinate efforts to recruit the 72% of workers outside the unions. No union shall hide behind this cooperation and not do its own work to recruit and service its own members. Every union is obliged to service its own

members so that workers do not have to move to another sister union in search of better service.

(c) The principle of recruit, keep/service and handover shall be key component of the protocol within the federation. This will also cover extreme cases where workers will rather move out of the federation rather than to stay in a union that does not service them.

(d) Mutual cooperation and mutual respect: maximum cooperation and unity can only prevail in conditions where leaders, officials and members respect each other. There shall be no big sister and smaller brother syndrome.

(e) Genuine independent unions are naturally our allies – bring them inside the tent: Our task is not just a narrow growing of the new federation. Our responsibility is to unite the working class and therefore all workers who believe that unions must be genuinely independent. This is not the task of the Operation Centre or the Interim Leadership to perform, but is primarily a task of every union.

(f) Communication systems shall be coordinated for effective reach out. We seek to communicate with each other as leaders, we seek to communicate with our members and we seek to communicate with South Africa and the world.

(g) We shall share experiences with the nation to learn all the positives from each other for we are not in competition with each other but seek to have a reinforcing coexistence.

(h) We shall extend this cooperation to all bargaining and social dialogue structures. Whenever possible we shall coordinate our mandates and report backs to reinforce the spirit and practices of this cooperation. Where it makes sense we shall negotiate arrangements to ensure that no union in the federation is isolated or marginalised from bargaining structures regardless of their size.

(i) We shall use the LRA amendments of 2015 to ensure that the bigger and more established unions do not abuse their majority status. We shall use the courts to challenge any attempt to increase the representation threshold to keep smaller but unions with significant representation.

(j) We shall in line with the principles we have adopted expose corruption, nepotism and favouritism that seeks to reward sweetheart unions for their loyalty to the status quo.

(k) There needs to be a strategic approach. This could determine which of our Unions can best provide a bridgehead to break through the existing membership of the politically bankrupt unions, and that can attract those who are not unionised. This is a crucial issue. This strategic approach must identify a bridgehead union that can serve as the main pole of attraction and action, but we must be sensitive to smaller unions, and make sure that they are not marginalised.

(l) We have to note that there are specific conditions, circumstances and different dynamics in the public and private sectors.

7.4 Implementing a National Recruitment Campaign

In order to guarantee maximum cooperation, we will organise the unions according to the clusters below:

Sector of the Economy	Unions organising in the sector
Public Sector	APSA, NUPSAW, PAWUSA, SACOSWU, SACSU, SAPSU-SALIPSWU, SAPU, SASAWU, SASFU, SASWU, YNI
Municipal Services	DEMAWUSA, MATUSA, NUPSAW, SAPU-SALISPWU
Commercial and Services – including cleaning, security	DEPACU, DETAWU, FAWU, FUWO, ICTU, MWASA, PRISAWU, SAICWU, NUMSA, THOR, NUPSAW
Transport	DETAWU, NTM, TASWU, NUMSA, THOR
Manufacturing, Mining and Construction	CSAWU, CWAWU, FAWU, NUMSA, SAICWU,

In addition to this framework we shall embark on the following steps:

- a) Address general meetings in strategic, targeted workplaces that are informed by a Union in that particular sector
- b) The deployees and a core of organisers from specific unions must be in a position to address momentary problems that workers are confronted with, as well as putting together the report of workers plight in that particular union and the union must be in a position to respond to the plight of workers.
- c) For the unions to be able to deliver they must develop a vibrant and dynamic structure. The union must have its own operational centres to deal with the various problems workers will report on.
- d) Each local and region must respond by having a tailor made program of action to operate on the basis of this framework.
- e) There will be a build up to general through the blitz campaigns, loud hailer, and the inviting of both social and mainstream media as well as communities.
- f) Central to the campaign is to demand stop order facilities and organizational rights for each and to mount both a legal fight and embark on strike action in demanding those organizational rights.
- g) Unions who form part of the new federation will have to pull together resources to achieve these actions.

- h) The campaign recruitment trail will consciously target all the malls and turn them into centres of free slave wages. Our campaign must guarantee a right to work and the right to join the join, by all workers, regardless of their country of origin and a specialized dedicated core will lead this campaign. This core team will develop a strategy to come up with a plan to enable this action.
- i) We need core of experienced cadres who must be able to give an intensive and creative capacity building to the organisers who lead these campaigns.
- j) All unions in the New Federation who are recognized must put pressure on employers in big plants to give the union full time shop stewards and the existing full time shop stewards must be released to work in local, regional and provisional operational centres.
- k) It is compulsory for the success of this program that unions must put resources aside, i.e. visibility of the national leadership, core of organisers at various levels of the organization, transport in the form of kombis dedicated to the campaign, loud hailers, union banners utilization of community radio stations, social media, and radio.
- l) SAFTU should actively encourage unions operating in the same sector to merger and form larger unions that have more resources and that can effectively service the workers. In the meantime resources of unions operating in the same cluster should be pulled together for maximum coordination and impact.
- m) In future only unions with more than 500 members should be affiliated to the federation.
- n) A special focus on farm workers organisation and protection against on going abuses including evictions.

8. A jobs Campaign and the Economy

Congress endorses the Jobs and Economy framework to campaign against the on going job loss blood bath. This framework forms part of the Section 77 notice demands submitted to Nedlac in December 2016.

SAFTU will embark on a campaign and mobilise against socio-economic strike against:

- (a) Crisis in Education,
- (b) The proposed level of the National Minimum Wage and the proposed restrictions on Union Democracy, and
- (c) On the Jobs crisis was lodged.

In addition to its demand on unemployment, poverty and attacks on workers' constitutional right to strike, we demand:

1. The banning of labour brokers, action to resolve the health crisis, for land to be restored to its rightful owners without compensation, for the scrapping of e-tolls and toll gates and the repeal of the Employment Tax Incentive Act;

2. Workers pension funds should be invested in projects which build houses for the workers and the poor, not to finance glass office towers in Sandton;
3. We demand an urgent moratorium on farm evictions of farm workers and demands that the states restored their dignity by building better houses for dwellers, who now live in houses that are no better than pigsties and go hungry even though they are the producers of food. We resolve to mobilize a campaign to end the abuses they suffer from and the fraudulent attempt to form “co-operatives” which are just fronts for the employers;
4. We shall mobilize workers to oppose Eskom’s planned closure of five coal-powered power stations, which could produce 30-40000 job losses, fight the partial privatisation of Eskom by involving independent power producers, step up the campaign against nuclear energy and develop a position on transition to socially owned renewable energy;
5. We shall convene a Bargaining Conference to fight the attempts by the Free Market Foundation and employers to liquidate collective and centralised bargaining, and shall mobilize mass action to stop this attempt;
6. We shall resist with everything in our power a developing strategy by the state and their sweetheart unions to deny workers their right to join trade unions and condemn employers who refuse to grant union rights and the Department of Labour, which insists on a certificate from employers that they are prepared to process debit orders, and we condemn those employers in the public service who collude with COSATU unions to exclude independent unions and maintain conservative policies. We also call for amendments to Section 21 of the Labour Relations Act;
7. We demand changes to the Pensions Amendment Act and support the call for public servants to be able to use their own pensions for housing for public servants who can’t get loans because of indebtedness and don’t qualify for RDP houses;
8. GEMS should be a choice not compulsory, as it doesn’t work in favour of public servants. Medical aid is exorbitant and the National Health Insurance still a dream; we are not deserting it but need immediate measures. We created GEMS, but its board is now dominated by COSATU unions;
9. We shall tackle the health crisis, where we see long queues only to receive a panado while the minority enjoy private care. Emergencies are not attended to and indignity and even death is imposed on psychiatric patients through outsourcing. We shall demand public quality service like in Cuba;
10. The education crisis is a core issue. We shall convene an education crisis summit, which will focus on the class basis of a system which generates unemployment and poverty and creates workers who are only meant to serve the interests of the capitalists and the state is limited to what the capitalists allow them to do. SA’s education system is worse than those of many poorer countries;

11. We shall fight against dumping including food dumping, e.g. chickens and job losses linked to sugar tax;
12. We are against the use of EPWP Workers replace existing jobs. We are opposed to use of EPWP to increase casualisation of work in local government and exploitation. We call on the integration of EPWP to the local government so that the principle of “equal pay for work of equal value” could be applied;
13. Call for the full implementation of the Freedom Charter demands that says the wealth must be shared and that the mineral wealth beneath the soil and Banks must be nationalised, in particular the Reserve Bank;
14. Massive illicit cash flows must come to an end. In 2013 alone \$29 billion was illegally taken out of South Africa in illicit financial flows. In addition price transfers and a host of tax avoidance schemes that rob our economy billions of Rands yearly must come to an end;
15. Neoliberal economic policies and austerity budgets must be abandoned. During what we called the 1996 class project government expenditure was 13.5% above inflation by 2008. Today the expenditure has declined to 1.3% above inflation in the 2015/16 financial year. That does not consider the population growth of 1.7% a year. Per person then, government spending is actually going down. That is why government is reducing subsidies to the universities and even local government;
16. A more progressive taxation system that will shift the burden to those who can afford must be introduced;
17. The R150bn that the Auditor General has calculated is corruptly stolen from state coffers every year must be properly addressed;
18. Expenditure on projects that will not meet the needs of our people, including the trillion Rand nuclear programme, must be stopped;
19. The massive subsidies and bail-outs that are paid to SOE’s because of poor and unaccountable crony management must be arrested. This is not to mention the cost of state capture and the channelling of state resources into private hands in the name of private and public partnerships and other misguided consultancies.
20. Campaign for the introduction of the Service Charter in the public service so that a culture is changed towards “Batho pele” in which public servants understand that ethos must be changed to serve our people and provide them with quality service whilst exposing neoliberal programmes that are hell bent on reducing the size of the public service and doing nothing to address the huge infrastructure backlogs which all combine to put unbearable pressure on the shoulders of the remaining and fewer public servants

9. Campaigning with working class formations

In taking forward these demands we shall work with progressive civil society formations such as Outsourcing Must Fall, Fees Must Fall, Treatment Action Campaign, Equal Education, Sect 27, SAITA (SA Informal Traders Alliance), COPAC (cooperatives), SAFSC (SA Food Sovereignty Campaign), and WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising) etc.

10. Labour Market And Attacks on Centralised Bargaining

1. We will campaign to have the workers employed in the Extended Public Works Programme integrated into the local government. It is clear that increasingly these workers are being made to perform duties that are permanent in nature and that should be performed by the permanent workers, yet the EPWP workers are earning about R800 and have no benefits of any kind.
2. Farm workers alongside with all other vulnerable workers will receive special attention from SAFTU. We will fight to ensure that the collective bargaining structures and centralised bargaining structures are created as part of a campaign to standardise the conditions of farm workers.
3. We shall declare a war against any kind of farm worker abuses. We shall protect migrant workers and ensure that we organise them to form part of our unions.
4. We shall fight all the attempts by the employers including those instigated by Free Market Foundation to collapse centralised bargaining and to weaken any kind of collective bargaining. In this regard SAFTU must give full backing to the current legal battle NUMSA and others are involved in to ward off the Free Market Foundation and others attempt to collapse centralised bargaining.

11. The Political Crisis and the Economy

11.1 Why neither Zupta-economics nor Treasury neo-liberalism will work

South African workers are currently watching a devastating war unfold over the economy, guided by two factions. One is based on crony-capitalist corruption that reaches deep into the main parastatal agencies and that feeds money back into the ANC: the 'Zuptas' as they are known. The other faction is headquartered at Treasury and the SA Reserve Bank and egged on by the business media and financial markets: the 'neoliberals.' These factions are at war within the ruling party over how much to loot the state and how much to bow to international financial pressure to cut the budget, especially from credit ratings agencies. The Zuptas are voracious hyenas; the neoliberals are chopping spending especially where it hurts poor people. The national-to-provincial health budget was chopped by 13% (after inflation) last year, so no wonder the Life Esidemeni massacre and similar tragedies are unfolding.

Because of growing anger at inequality and as a counter to the EFF the Zuma clique now mouth a left rhetoric at times, particularly the recent sudden conversion to 'radical economic transformation' and verbal attacks on "white monopoly capital".

However, this rhetoric is a smokescreen. The reality is that the Zuma clique is not using a fraction of the actual power given to the government by the Constitution and legislation for deep transformation. Instead, inequalities are widening.

11.2 The meaning of the collapse of the healthcare, education and security

Promises of a National Health Insurance (NHI) system have still to fully materialise. 12 million people experience hunger on a daily basis. Social factors are leading to worsening health outcomes. Non-communicable diseases, such as diabetes, cancer and mental illness, are increasing rapidly, but the health system is unprepared either to prevent or provide treatment

It is shameful that South Africa has the most corrupt and worst managed education system in Africa. Of every 100 children who enter the education system at grade 0 only 50 complete matric and of these only 14 qualify for tertiary education. This explains the desperation of young people who demand that #FeesMustFall – a higher education degree is almost the only chance of employment.

11.3 The continuing AIDS epidemic

Initially Jacob Zuma was heralded for putting an end to the AIDS denialism of former President Thabo Mbeki. However, progress on AIDS has slowed down, and we now risk losing ground. The AIDS epidemic continues to cause up to 300 deaths a day, and most of these deaths occur as a result of Tuberculosis – a historic disease of the poor. According to official statistics 33 063 people died of TB in 2015, the largest cause of death in South Africa. However the real figures are actually much higher because in many cases the cause of death is not reported.

As worryingly is our failure to halt new HIV infections. The SA National AIDS Council (SANAC) estimates that 283 young women are infected with HIV *every day*.

11.4 Drugs and youth

Youth unemployment in particular has led to an epidemic of despair. This has given rise to a growing substance abuse epidemic (e.g. the use of Nyaope), crime, and violence between young men and violence by men against girls and women. According to a report by Soul City 'South Africa has a serious drug usage problem, reported in literature as being twice that of the world norm.' 'For every 100 people, 15 have a drug problem and for every 100 Rands in circulation, 25 Rands are linked to the substance abuse problem.' (Christian Addiction Support, 2016).

Shockingly, the suicide rate for children aged 10-14 years old has more than doubled over the last fifteen years. In 2009 there were 18 deaths by suicide per day in 2009. Young men are 5 times more likely to commit suicide than women.

11.5 Total chaos in our roads and the numbers of people who perish

The progress in improved life expectancy that has resulted from activism on AIDS, has not been matched by figures on other causes of death, particularly deaths and injuries due to "non-natural" causes, violence in particular. These are rising and are again a symptom of the instability and despair in our communities.

In 2015 an average of 140 people died every day, mainly as a result of violence and road deaths.

Our response should be to advance the following demands:

1. Reimposition of exchange controls, lower interest rates, audit SA's 'Odious Debt', control illicit capital flows and trade
2. Adoption of industrial policy aimed at import substitution, sectoral re-balancing, social needs, eco-sustainability
3. Increase state social spending, paid for by higher corporate taxes, cross-subsidisation and more domestic borrowing (And loose-money 'Quantitative Easing', too, if necessary)
4. Reorient infrastructure to meet unmet basic needs, and expand/maintain/improve energy grid, sanitation, public transport, clinics, schools, recreational facilities, internet
5. Adoption of 'Million Climate Jobs' strategies to generate employment for a genuinely green 'Just Transition'
6. The Nedlac agreement on the National Minimum Wage is not an answer to the crisis
 - The report from the Task Team provides many safeguards for the employers, including the relaxation of implementation dates in some sectors, and the exclusion of some sectors by the Minister if deemed necessary. The fact that EPWP workers, and those mainly young workers on learnerships are excluded is also a cause of serious concern.
 - There are many other aspects of the arrangements surrounding the implementation of the NMW that we must discuss and give answers to the questions that our members will ask. Simply declaring that the proposed NMW is not a Living Wage will not be enough to satisfy our members. We need to develop our own critique, and link it to a campaign, rather than leave it as a contribution to a general public discussion. At the very least, the NMW discussion has laid bare the levels of starvation wages that currently exist, and the widening wage gap despite rhetoric to the contrary.
 - Almost hidden away by the NMW report is the discussion to impose ballots on calling strike action, and on sustaining it. This must be seen as being yet a further erosion of workers rights, and especially the right of unions to decide on their own matters in an open and democratic manner of their own choosing, and in line with their own traditions and practices. This is clearly designed to appease the shadowy demands of the Rating Agencies to show that the Government and its allies are prepared to undermine trade union power. We must track these developments very closely, because we know that left to themselves, the likes of FEDUSA and COSATU will agree to all manner of concessions to ensure they have a cozy relationship with Government.

11.6 Elements of a strategic working class response

1. The current crisis, which is simultaneously political, economic and social, is

rooted in the Codesa negotiated settlement, which led to the end of apartheid. The settlement conceded democratic political rights, but ensured that the economy remained firmly in the hands of white monopoly capitalism, through the property clause.

2. This led to capture of the state and the government, the ANC and its allies by monopoly capital, and to the adoption of neoliberal, free-market capitalist economic policies in their interests. This started with Gear, which was followed by the NDP. The Treasury and successive Finance Ministers were the main drivers of this process.
3. The revolution is off the rails. The mission to liberate black people, workers and women has been abandoned in favour of maintaining the status quo. as a result after two decades the society is still in broad terms still follow how the colonialism and apartheid social order. Whites are still largely well off and the poor largely in the bottom of the chain. Land largely still in the hands of the white minority, blacks largely haven no land and have no property.
4. The ANC which abandoned its own historic mission encapsulated in the Freedom Charter and its own Morogoro strategic perspective that clearly stated that to leave the current economic interests to retain their interests will not only be a shadow of liberation but will feed the roots of racial supremacy. The ANC not only abandoned this perspective but actually embraced anti working class and pro capital development perspectives that not only maintained the status quo but worsened unemployment, inequalities with poverty still widespread despite limited interventions.
5. At the same time a section of black capitalists who were excluded from the mainstream capitalist economy, colluded with Zuma, his cronies, public officials which he appointed, and the Guptas to embark on an orgy of looting of public resources and self-enrichment though the manipulation of tenders in both the state and state-owner enterprises.
6. SAFTU opposes both these factions of the ruling class and refuses to take sides to defend either the corrupt looters or the mainstream white monopoly capitalists who are both fighting each other for control of the state and government for their own selfish class interests and not those of the working class and poor majority which they both exploit. We shall never support one butcher against another.
7. The federation will oppose any attempt to resolve this crisis within the parameters of a capitalist system, which has proved that it has no solutions. It is the working class who produce the country's wealth and who are the main consumers of its commodities.
8. The only way out of the crisis has to be through a mass movement of the working-class based on a program guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism for the nationalisation of the mineral and manufacturing monopolies, the banks and the land, in line with the aspiration expressed in the Freedom Charter. This discussion will be further developed in an Ideological and Political Commission.

9. South Africa's triple crisis of poverty, unemployment and inequalities is historic and therefore centuries old. However we must state now that the underlying crisis has been greatly exacerbated by the take-over/capture of significant parts of the state apparatus by both neoliberal programmes imposed in the Constitutional Court through insertion of the Property Clause that seeks to protect the illegitimately resources accumulated through both colonial dispossession and plunder and through apartheid; through systematic implementation of neoliberal programmes from 1995 predatory elite as well as the current predatory elite programmes to drive South Africa towards the Kleptocratic capitalist order led by sections of the ANC under the leadership of President Jacob Zuma.
10. The drive towards the kleptocratic capitalist state has seen a steady deployment of corrupt and patronised individuals into the security apparatus, into key government departments (at national, provincial and local level) and into state owned enterprises. These people owe their loyalty not to the common good, but to the person who placed them in their positions.
11. Once these individuals are in strategic positions, their concern is not the welfare of our people or those dependent on the state, but with how to promote their own interests within the factional battles in the ANC. The calculated nature of this plot, and its extent, has only recently become evident, as a result of the former Public Protector's report, *State of Capture*. It is no wonder then that the former Public Protector has been subject to character assassination and attempts to discredit her.
12. SAFTU declares both of these ANC factions the enemies of the working class. We are opposed to all forms of state capture to serve the interests of the small minority at the expense of the interests of the working class and the marginalised. Accordingly we will not assist any faction but instead will oppose all forms of state capture.

11.7 We are opposed to the Nuclear Deal as a matter of principle more so because the predatory elites seeks to impose it for nefarious reasons:

There is growing evidence that parts of the nuclear deal have already been struck with Russian companies in particular.

Uncertainty about the outcome of the ANC Presidential elections later this year, and the future of the Zuma clique means they are desperate that this deal go through in 2017. This is one of the main factors motivating the Zuma clique's dismissal of Nhlanhla Nene, Pravin Gordhan, Mcebisi Jonas and with former senior officials of SARS. We are under no illusions. The Gordhan Treasury team was attempting to introduce further austerity measures, but they were also seen as an obstacle to corrupt procurement. Their replacement by a team of Zuma supporters is likely to make matters far worse, and will open the Treasury to Gupta influence and control.

Our opposition in principle to the nuclear deal is informed by the following:

- 1) The nuclear deal will be like the arms deal which was worth about R70 billion but

on a much larger scale. Billions of rands will be diverted from education, health and other social services. It is reliably estimated that by 2050 the nuclear deal will cost R90bn per annum. The same electricity output using renewable and safe and effective energy production would cost a fraction of the cost of nuclear.

- 2) The removal of Gordhan or Jonas has provoked a reaction from the already jumpy markets and the rating agencies. Junk status has been declared. The Rand will continue to experience a massive loss of value, billions will be wiped off pension funds. The economic destabilisation will lead to rising unemployment, rising food prices, rising medicine prices and be yet another (self-inflicted) blow to the economy. The looters however do not care about the rest of us.
- 3) At present, the poor and the working class simply cannot absorb any further attacks on their declining living standards without disastrous consequences. We are reaching a tipping point.

11.8 What is to be done?

We will build the strongest front possible to oppose both forms of state captures outlined in this resolution. We will build a People's United Front Against Neoliberalism and for Radical Transformation of Society, under the leadership of the working class organisations to resist the capitalist neo-colonialist state capture including liberal programmes and austerity measures.

Our demands are set out in these resolutions. To prepare for this campaign we shall embark on a massive consultative process involving workers and all working class formations in the progressive and pro working class formations to ensure that the front of organisations leave no stone unturned in defeating neoliberalism, austerity measures.

Regarding the drive towards the kleptocratic state we will ensure the People's United Front Against Neoliberalism and for Radical Transformation plays a leading role in resisting and stopping this elites programme.

Further we will implement the programme outlined below:

1. An aggressive communication strategy to educate and mobilise the masses about salient points of this report, and in particular what state capture and the nuclear build programme will actually mean for the lives of present and future working class communities and the people of South Africa in general.
2. Legal strategies coordinated by progressive lawyers whose brief will be to challenge in court all of the steps being taken outside the constitution and law.
3. A fund-raising committee to raise resources including from ordinary people to pay legal fees, mobilisation costs, the propaganda strategy, etc.
4. A political/action council as a dynamic, responsive and inclusive structure for effective coordination. Such a coordinating body should not involve the establishment of a bureaucratic structure located in air-conditioned offices far away from the people. A coordination structure such as this must be lean, flexible but representative to avoid the dominance, which can result from the

access to resources.