

13th National Congress
Consolidated Resolutions Adopted By the National Congress
And Resolutions Deferred to the CEC

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1. Political Resolutions

1.1. The Global Balance of Forces:

Noting:

- a) That it is in the interest of COSATU to maintain an objective and correct projection of the international balance of class and political forces to inform our strategies and tactics in the work of the federation.
- b) That the world crisis of the capitalist system continues, accompanied by the bankruptcy to find solutions and furthermore the crisis is leading to intense rivalries, including inter-imperialist competition amongst the big world economic powers, forcing them to adopt more reactionary and protectionist trade policies.
- c) The election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States is linked to the crisis of the system and is an expression of a dangerous right-wing turn in global politics with racism, ultra-nationalism, xenophobia and neo-fascism on the rise.
- d) That in the light of the crisis, African countries are coordinating trade and economic integration efforts, mainly with the Africa Continental Free Trade Area agreement as one initiative.
- e) That the rating agencies are increasingly used by Western imperialist countries as instruments of economic subversion of the BRICS and other emerging economies.

Recognising:

- a) The need for on-going debates around the complex and fast-changing international environment.
- b) That imperialism represents the main contradiction in the world today.
- c) Economic integration is critical for Africa and can offset the scramble for the continent's resources and strengthen inter-Africa trade and the position of the continent as well as increase beneficial and strategic partnerships.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Strengthen our analysis on the character of the international situation with the following:

- I. Appreciating the current phase in the development of world capitalism as the imperialist globalisation phase.
 - II. That amongst the main features of this phase are the following:
 - The enormous expansion and accumulation of capital;
 - That international finance capital is the main driver on the process of accumulation of capital;
 - Despite its deep crisis, capitalism has preserved the neoliberalism as the overall ideological framework for this order.
 - That the crisis of neoliberal capitalism is generating stiff working class resistance in defence of their interests and against attacks directed against it.
 - As a way of responding to this resistance, imperialism and the ruling class are forced to intensify capitalist exploitation and oppression thus creating a rightward political shift which manifests through the emergence of racist, neo-fascist, xenophobic, racist and other bigoted social and political forces.
 - III. African countries should place the natural resources of the continent such as land, minerals, marine resources and infrastructure development programs - for the benefit of their population and actively fight against illicit financial flows.
- b) Revive the call for the immediate cancellation of the African debt; the socialization of the main means of production; the drastic reduction of military expenditures, improvement of the life expectancy and elimination of social inequality and discrimination, creating dignified employment for the poor, the unemployed and the immigrants; guarantee of access to portable drinking water, the creation of safe, quality housing for working families, the nationalisation of African land; to stop the export of waste into Africa; to preserve our environment and the ecosystem to prohibit harmful waste imports; to end the cultivation of genetically modified organisms (GMO's); prevention and control of infections.
 - c) The BRICS development bank should expedite the establishment of its own rating agency to monitor economic performance and limit obstacles to growth as well as to counter the propagandistic western rating agencies with scientific economic data and analysis.
 - d) Work with the SACP in convening an international seminar on imperialism including the convening an annual workshop to discuss the international balance of forces.

1.2. National Democratic Revolution

Noting:

- a) That the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) remains our theoretical guide to practical action geared at resolving the combined class, racial and gender oppressions borne by the majority of our people, the working class in particular.
- b) That the theory of the national democratic revolution as a perspective of transition continues to be contested by different class forces that make up the progressive movement for change.
- c) The urgent need for the working class to reassert its influence and interests on both the content and trajectory of the national transformation project.

Believing that:

- a) The current trajectory of the NDR hegemonised by the class forces driving the Neoliberal perspective and narrow nationalistic interests has perpetuated the subjugation of the people in general and working class in particular.
- b) The working class remains the social class that is the primary motive force of the NDR and the only guarantor of its victory.
- c) The class forces driving the Neoliberal perspective and narrow nationalistic interests constitute a stumbling block in our struggle to re-orientate the trajectory of the democratic transition towards fundamental transformation.
- d) The National Democratic Revolution which requires inter-class alliances is still the most scientific and the shortest route to socialism.
- e) The working class, under the leadership of the federation, should continue to work hard in order to assert its hegemony in the National Democratic Revolution. In this regard, workers and working class shall be mobilise to take full responsibility for the NDR.

Resolving that:

- a) The federation must defend and pursue the NDR within a proper working class perspective and orientation different from other contending classes.
- b) The federation should develop an ideological and political programme to educate its members and the working class in general in order to highlight monopoly capital as a primary strategic adversary of the NDR.
- c) The Narrow Nationalist and petty bourgeoisie perspective of the NDR must be rejected as it continues to be a stumbling block in the progressive trajectory of the NDR. In this regard, the federation working with the SACP should develop an educational programme targeting its members and the working class as a whole to understand that the NDR is our revolutionary theory which must be regarded as a direct route to socialism.
- d) The Workers under the leadership of the federation and working class under the leadership of the SACP must continue to work very hard to assert its hegemony in the National Democratic Revolution as an integral of taking full responsibility for the NDR.
- e) The federation must vehemently reject the conservative perspective which seeks to position the NDR as a class neutral project devoid of contending class interests.

1.4.1.3. Second Phase of the NDR :

Noting that:

- a) The Mangaung resolutions on the second more radical phase of the NDR.
- b) The historical context that require the rearticulating of the NDR in more concrete terms given the strategic weaknesses imposed on it by the 1996 class project.
- c) The reorientation of the NDR as rooted in the programme of Radical Economic transformation.

Believing that:

- a) The second phase of our transition is premised on the changing trajectory of the transformation project to place majoritarianism at its centre.
- b) The second radical phase must be about the fundamental restructuring and transformation of the economic in favour of the working class.
- c) The working class continues to bear the responsibility to inform the strategic character of the second radical phase as the main motive force of its outcome.

Resolving that:

- a) The gist of the second phase should be informed by the theoretical and policy framework rooted from the policy perspective of the New Growth path as a progressive and transformative framework.
- b) The second radical phase of the NDR must favour the working class and deal with the historical legacy of the distortions of the 1996 class project and the resultant dominant neoliberal framing our macro-economic framework.
- c) The working class should be conscientised to take full responsibility for the NDR. In this regard, COSATU working with the SACP must develop an ideological training and political education as an integral part of intensifying class consciousness.

1.5.1.4. The SACP, state and popular power

Noting that:

- a) Marxism-Leninism on the question of state power argues that it is the central question of any revolution as expressed in the *State and Revolution* (1917) by Lenin, like any revolutionary political party, the SACP therefore is legitimately interested in state power hence the context of state power is important with regard to whether it is for strategic or tactical purposes.
- b) Marxist-Leninist point of view, as a central question of the revolution, the question of state power is primarily a strategic issue – normally conceived as the overall strategic objective (a bridgehead and precondition for socioeconomic transformation), and typically in the process of the ongoing struggle it is matter that is in the medium to long-term horizon.
- c) The debate within the SACP on the question of the SACP and state-power has unfortunately been posed in misguided fashion, lacking ideological content and even the consideration of the SACP's own SARS. Through this approach the discussion may be a generalisation but on the whole it is about the idea that the SACP must independently participate in elections, and in this regard some comrades genuinely hope that this is how the NDR could be rescued.
- d) The SACP has not as yet conducted a scientific study and analysis on its readiness to contest state power through an electoral platform as per its 14th congress resolution.
- e) The SACP is engaging on a discussion to reconfigure the alliance and to simultaneously work on building a broad left popular front.
- f) COSATU has a standing resolution to support and help build the SACP.

Believe that:

- a) State power sharply arises as an immediate issue at a particular moment, that's when the combination of the objective conditions and subjective capacity of the revolutionary forces and their social base are in alignment, therefore a concrete potential and possibility for the revolutionary seizure of power realistically exist.
- b) In other words, this would be a revolutionary situation, generally characterised by Lenin as when the masses of people are in historic motion – making themselves a real movement, restless, in revolt and ready for a proletarian and vanguard leadership by a revolutionary party; and when the ruling class is desperately clinging to power, is divided around its response and solutions, and no longer able to rule in the same way (*State and Revolution*, 1917). The tasks of the moment, strategy and tactics must coalesce and cohere around this strategic objective in the immediate moment.
- c) The role of the Party (the tasks of the moment, strategic and tactics) is to capitalise on this objectively revolutionary situation by mobilising, propagating revolutionary ideas, leading and using this combative subjectivity and agency of the masses to make the revolutionary ideas to become an objective reality, (to act as a catalyst to actualise its revolutionary ideas) - to make the rebellion turned into a revolution and successfully defended.

- d) Whilst the debate continue to rage, ultimately COSATU's position on the current discussions regarding the SACP taking part in elections must be guided by concrete and scientifically developed information and assessment indicating the SACP's state of readiness.
- e) Due to the shared strategic goal for socialism and Marxist-Leninist theory developed over years in building our socialist axis, for COSATU the SACP would be a natural choice in the event of a conclusive decision on contesting election is taken.
- f) The SACP has a responsibility to engage COSATU on its current position on the question of state power and popular power, and the discussions on a reconfiguration of the Alliance.

Resolve that:

- a) COSATU must theoretically engage the SACP's strategic perspective whether it seems to favour revolution over reform and the relationship between one as strategy and the other, a tactic, with the two often integrally linked. But in the current debates and context, how best can the overall long-term ideological goal of revolutionary state power (proletarian state power) for socialism be unambiguously located and articulated as central to Party strategy.
- b) COSATU should recognise and appreciate that the SACP has taken a resolution to contest State Power through electoral system and therefore engage within the context that in the struggle for socialism state power is inherent and inevitable as regarded as a necessary platform to ensure hegemony of the working class at the centre of the state which must act on its behalf in terms of ownership, control and distribution of the means of production to society.
- c) COSATU must immediately meet the SACP to encourage it to fully implement its resolution regarding consultation with working class formations which places an immediate task to engage the federation towards the support of this important resolution. In addition, COSATU should work together with the SACP in building a popular left movement through a joint political programme which largely must be about mobilising the working class around its revolutionary theory. In this regard, both COSATU and SACP must develop a joint massive ideological programme as an integral part of intensifying class consciousness.
- d) COSATU reaffirms its position to support the African National Congress (ANC) in 2019 national general elections
- e) COSATU shall also continue working with the SACP to ensure the reconfiguration of the Alliance as articulated below in resolution 1.5 . But if it all fails , the federation shall work hard to ensure the SACP's electoral victory beyond 2019 .

1.6.1.5. Radical Reconfiguration of the Alliance

Noting That:

- a) As COSATU we have in previous congresses recognised the dysfunctionality and paralysis afflicting the Alliance and the related crisis of disunity and incoherence caused by the strategic rupture around the course of the NDR and in which other components of the Alliance have become mainly useful to the ANC for election campaigns.

Believing That:

- a) The subjective weaknesses of the ANC-led Alliance, which have been aggravated by open factional battles in the ANC, degenerate and alien organisational practices unevenly afflicting the Alliance formations, and the effects of the recent period of paralysis and divisions experienced by COSATU, have eroded confidence and caused disillusionment amongst sections of the broad masses of our people.
- b) The Alliance remains relevant based on the persistent objective reality characterised by the contradictions of our society.
- c) The outcome of leadership elections at NASREC as well as at provincial level indicate the progressive diminishing of the presence of class-conscious working class leadership within the ANC leadership structures.

Resolve That:

- a) There is a need for an urgent reconfiguration of the alliance to ensure its effectiveness and effective defence against pushback of the enemy forces of the revolution
- b) The reconfiguration of the Alliance should include the fact that the Alliance has to be the political centre of power where all Alliance partners are treated as equals.
- c) COSATU and the SACP should engage the ANC on establishing a minimum quota in its leadership structures for SACP and COSATU cadres at all levels as a minimum requirement.
- d) If the radical reconfiguration of the alliance fails , COSATU , shall beyond the 2019 elections work to deepen its work to strengthen the SACP as a political insurance of the working class and mobilize for its decisive electoral victory .

1.7.1.6. 2019 National General Elections

Noting That:

- a) The electoral performance of the ANC since 1994 has been in constant decline.
- b) COSATU has a standing resolution to support the ANC in local and national elections.

Believing That:

- a) The Alliance remains relevant based on the persistent objective reality characterised by the contradictions of our society.
- b) The ANC remains relevant in the current conjuncture to the course of the workers due to its bias to the working class.

Resolve That:

- a) We will take a firm stand that as a trade union movement, going forward the election manifesto that we would rally behind and campaign for must place at the centre and reflect a clear bias to our issues and interests as part of the broader working class, rural poor and other popular strata.
- b) COSATU reaffirms its previous congress resolutions to support the ANC in the 2019 National General Elections.

1.8.1.7. Civil Society:

Noting that

- a) A gap has developed between COSATU and civil society formations due to past experiences and a previous CEC resolution on the matter.

Believing that

- b) Progressive civil society organisations have an important contribution to make towards the struggles and objectives of the working class.
- c) Rebuilding COSATU's relationship with civil society organisations is critical to broaden the support base for working class struggles.

Resolves that

- a) COSATU in line with its established criteria, should extensively audit civil society formations and consider their founding values & principles, strategic objectives and *modus operandi*,
- b) COSATU must convene a meeting of progressive and likeminded civil society organisations in order to develop a campaign and program of action on common areas of struggle, nationally and provincially. (the immediate above can replace this line)
- c) The first of such common areas of struggle should be nationally focused on the following: Implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI).

2. Socio- Economic Resolutions

2.1. Socio-Economic and macroeconomic policy crises

Nothing that:

- a) The South African economy is now plunged into a technical recession since the global recession of 2008/2009.
- b) The distressing rolling announcements by bosses of large-scale retrenchments especially in the crucial mining and manufacturing sectors, despite the fact that profit margins have remained relatively high in the economy.
- c) Monopoly profiteering which makes basic household necessities very expensive, now compounded by the volatile and declining external value of the Rand which aggravates the already high costs of living as highlighted by the drastic rise of the fuel price and other key imported commodities.
- d) The persisting and resultantly worsening crises-levels of unemployment, poverty and inequalities in which increasing millions of working age black youth and women who have no sources of income are particularly bearing the worst brunt, who are joined by new labour market entrants year after year.
- e) The persistence of the semi-colonial structure of the economic base as it continues to be heavily dependent on the minerals and resource-based sectors for export earnings amidst deindustrialisation signified by the fall in the contribution of manufacturing in the economy and in job creation since 1994.
- f) The Job submit has been rendered useless by government and no commitment has been deployed on the side of the government.
- g) Macroeconomic policies have not done justice in redressing the socio-economic problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality majority of the people face, particularly the working class.
- h) The President of the country's commitment not to retrench has been contradicted by the Deputy President statement that there will be retrenchments in order to reduce the public service salary bill.

Believing that:

- a) The sustained high frequency of industrial actions combined with the ever rising recorded service delivery protests in working class communities - from an average of 900 a year between 1997 and 2013, to 2000 a year between 2014 and

2017 - signify a potentially explosive ground-swell of discontent amongst the broader working class and other popular strata.

- b) With its relatively better levels of pay, value-addition and potential to forge backward and forward linkages to the rest of the economy, manufacturing must become the backbone of the economy and placed at the centre of government's macro and micro economic policies.
- c) The working class and the poor are bearing the worst brunt of the 1% VAT increase, reflecting the class bias of the Neoliberal policies driven by the government
- d) The domination of monopolies across several sectors and that are increasingly foreign-owned is a significant barrier of entry for new investments and undermines domestic savings and expansion through the repatriation of profits, on top of the reported tens of billions rand of illicit financial outflows out the country.
- e) The entrenched Neoliberal macroeconomic framework implemented since 1996 has overly emphasised monetary policy cuts, relatively higher interests rates and returns for those with positive net wealth as well as perpetuating the racialised inequalities and ownership patterns in our society.
- f) The Planned stimulus package which was released on 21 September 2018 should contain real economic plans to change the economic structure of the country.
- g) The envisaged Presidential Jobs Summit has been reduced to a public relations exercise on the part of business and government in the light of their announcements of job destruction and their apathetic attitude in the engagement process.
- h) There is an inverse relationship and conflict between Inflation and the level of unemployment. The more the SARB focus on the framework of keeping inflation low and stabilised, the more the call of unemployment. Objective of inflation target undermines the consumer spending potential to the level of GDP.
- i) The current conservative Macroeconomic policies seek to reverse the NDR objectives.

We therefore resolve:

- a) To call for the immediate slow down of the preparatory engagements process of the Presidential Jobs Summit until government and business demonstrate a clear commitment by putting implementable and urgent solutions on the table backed by the key decision-makers. These solutions should make a substantial impact on reducing unemployment.
- b) Demand the tabling of the government's macroeconomic policies for review as part of addressing and finding solutions to the deepening socioeconomic crises.

- c) To call for the scrapping of SARB of inflation targeting framework and thus demand the review of the constitutional mandate of the South African Reserve Bank for the benefit of employment creation
- d) To call for the nationalisation of privately owned stakes in the bank to eliminate conflict of interests and policy capture by vested finance-capital interests.
- e) To mobilise for a general strike, rolling mass actions and pickets to back our demands on the economic crisis, macroeconomic policies and the Presidential Jobs Summit.
- f) To call for a substantial and impactful fiscal stimulus package that will address the technical recession, the creation of decent jobs and economic growth similar to the Framework for South Africa's Response to the International Economic Crisis of 2009.
- g) To call for meaningful local procurement commitments by business and government to reindustrialize South Africa and create jobs.
- h) That there must be a moratorium on job losses whilst calling for the job summit.
- i) To call for an African currency on the continent and BRICS currencies that will address the negative impact of currency fluctuations and the dollarization of the world economy.
- j) To call for the meaningful local procurement commitment to ensure job creation.
- k) To call for the real beneficiation through a programme of skills exchange with the BRICS in order to ensure the development of the local manufacturing sector. The focus must be on teaching young people on how to turn minerals into value added products and not on certificates.
- l) The alliance must prepare a response to the economic crisis and retrenchments.

2.2. Implementation of the Freedom Charter:

Noting that

- a) COSATU has adopted the Freedom Charter.

Among others, the charter states that "There Shall Be Work And Security!"

"All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.”

Believing that

- a) Having adopted the Freedom Charter, COSATU has a responsibility to help ensure its implementation.
- b) We have made progress in implementing some demands of the Freedom Charter, recently such as the introduction of a National Minimum Wage.
- c) Freedom charter is a key principle documents that seek to unblock the injustice of the past.

Resolves that

- a) COSATU should take further steps that will assist in deploying speedy implementation of the historical documents.
- b) Between this Congress and the next Congress, COSATU and its affiliates should campaign for the implementation of the Freedom Charter demand of an economy wide 40-hour working week.
- c) Work security should be able to be realised.
- d) The national minimum wage must be implemented with immediate effect.

2.3. On Allocation : Spectrum

Noting that:

- a) There are serious allegations made by former councilor of ICASA Willie Currie that Ajay Gupta was part of the ICT Review Panel that came up with recommendations for Wireless Open Access Network. In these proceeding labour was not part of the ICT Review Panel.
- b) The argument advanced by business in particular MTN and Vodacom is that spectrum auctioning will intensify competition. On the contrarily the most disadvantaged networks on Spectrum auctioning which is Telkom and Cell C support the Wholesale Open Access Network.

Believing that:

- a) The Department of Telecommunication and Postal Services must clear its name on the allegations pertaining to ICT Review Panel. The Minister must continue defending implementation of WOAN. As organized labour we must continue to intensify our academic research to sharpen our engagement on this complex matter.
- b) Spectrum is the only resource available to government as land and minerals are owned and controlled by private individuals for their own selfish interests.

Resolve that:

- a) At the federation level and the affiliate (CWU) must form part of working team/s that are established to deal with modalities of the how, what and when of the spectrum allocation.
- b) Spectrum must remain the hands of government. The auctioning of spectrum will benefit multinationals ,
- c) The Whole Open Access Network (WOAN) to be administrated by the state as opposed to current proposal of an independent agency.
- d) The admin fees on WOAN for business must be proportional based on finances, and the skewed biasness on small medium businesses.
- e) We need stringent licensing conditions to compel businesses on black ownership, creating employment (quality jobs) and the women's ownership.

2.4. Broadcasting:**Noting :**

- a) Multichoice South Africa has monopoly on Television broadcasting in particular on pay channel; the recent shutting down on the ANN7/Afro View demonstrates our argument.
- b) The current funding model of the SABC is no-longer sustainable and therefore unable to deliver on its mandate.
- c) The delay on digital migration restricts the growth of SABC as a broadcaster. The public broadcaster is failing to deliver on its mandate, lack of showing national sporting codes, less local content and less on educational.
- d) The other factor is the poor signal distribution. We further note that the OpenView HD (OVHD) in now growing its customer base but at the lower scale.

Believing that:

- a) Since we have a poor regulator i.e. ICASA. The unregulated Over-the-top- media-services (OTT) platforms like Facebook provide live streaming which is a threat to job security in the industry.
- b) The public broadcaster (SABC) is expected to compete with commercial channels and on the other hand has a mandate to be a public broadcaster.

- c) The shutting down of ANN7/Afro View is political, more than business; the mainstream media will do everything in their power to shut down any dissenting voice within the media fraternity.
- d) With the new Board the Public Broadcaster is on its path towards privatization. The direct reversal of transformation in the broadcasting sector is a direct attack to South African artists (musicians, actors and producers alike). To prove that the dominance of the local content is not a regressive program, on the other side Multichoice is growing massively on the customer based on local content.

Resolving that:

- a) We need to strive for digital migration – to create a space for media diversity. And minimize monopoly within the industry.
- b) The upskilling and development of workers who might be affected by new means of broadcasting like IPTV, digital TV and internet radio.
- c) We call for de-commercialization of the public broadcaster to strive for non exclusivity of broadcasting of national events i.e. sports, parliament, labour events and other issues of national interests.
- d) The public broadcaster must remain a non commercialised entity in order to prevent retrenchment.
- e) The racialized advertising score cards must be abolished, to realize equity in all fronts.
- f) Department of Arts and Culture to increase funding of content developers.
- g) Media Developmental and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to assist the new entrants to feed SABC with quality media content.
- h) We call for a new funding model for SABC through consultation with all stakeholders.
- i) Over the top media (OTT) platforms like facebook must be regulated and taxed.

2.5. National Health Insurance:

Noting that:

- a) The country has entered the second phase (2017 – 2022) in the implementation of the NHI.
- b) Government has tabled key bills (NHI and Medical Schemes Amendment Bills) which amongst others, enable the creation of the NHI Fund and put some transitional measures aligning the existing system of medical aid schemes with the phasing-in of the NHI.
- c) The publication of the provisional findings and recommendations of the Health Market Inquiry of the Competition Commission which exposed the extreme profiteering by the private health industry at the expense of medical scheme members.

- d) In the overall, the public health sector is still characterised by poor quality of service as confirmed by the report of the Office of Health Standards and Compliance which showed some improvement in certain areas, stagnation and decline in other areas.
- e) Some companies in the private health industry have made their intentions public to oppose the NHI through the courts.
- f) Opponents of the NHI have intensified their offensive against the NHI in the media, opportunistically capitalising on poor service delivery in the public sector.
- g) The Life Esidimeni scandal which resulted in the killing of 144 mental health care users and left 1418 traumatised. Justice Moseneke ordered that each family be paid R1m for constitutional damages, R180 000 for trauma and shock, R20 000 for funeral expenses. This was against government's offer of a total amount of R200 000 per claimant.

Believing that:

- a) The NHI is one of the key transformatory programmes of the radical second phase undertaken by the ANC government.
- b) The implementation of the NHI cannot take place without resistance from the private hospital monopolies and other vested interests in the status quo.
- c) Whilst the healthcare system structurally enables the private health sector to exploit and weaken the public health sector, incompetent management of the institutions, corruption, understaffing and the outsourcing of key functions at provincial, district and institutional levels also contribute to poor service delivery in the public health sector.
- d) All health facilities including private clinics must comply with NHI standards specifically the universal access to health care.
- e) The target date of 2025 for the full implementation of the NHI must not be moved.

We therefore, resolve:

- a) Condemn the bad state of the health infrastructure in the country.
- b) To reaffirm our 12th Congress resolution that provides the broad framework of our perspective on the NHI, the transformation of the healthcare system in general and our health campaigns.
- c) To continue with the education programme for our members, popularise the NHI in the broader working class, build campaigning coalitions with progressive mass organisations
- d) Develop district level campaigns to ensure the democratisation and involvement of working class communities in hospital boards, clinic-based health committees and improvements in the management and operations of health institutions.
- e) Mobilise our members to fight against the extreme profiteering of the private health industry, rising premiums and declining benefits.
- f) Defend the implementation of the NHI against attacks and attempts to derail or undermine its implementation.
- g) Fight for the professionalization of the health workforce, including improvements in pay, benefits, other conditions of work and morale to ensure that the working class

and rural poor receive better service. Condemn all efforts by the ministry to de-professionalise some health workforce in the profession.

- h) To campaign against incompetent and corrupt management of the institutions to ensure that the public hospitals and clinics progressively improve their performance to comply with the required standards of the NHI.
- i) Campaign to support the strengthening and development of the State-owned pharmaceutical company.
- j) State buildings must adhere to occupational health standards
- k) The implementation date of 2026 must not be postponed in order to see implementation in our lifetime
- l) There should not be any retrenchments during the implementation of the NHI
- m) Congress must embrace the nursing now campaign which will enhance primary health care

2.6. The 4th Industrial Revolution & the Future of Work

Noting That:

- About 54.4% youth unemployment
- The introduction of the 4th industrial revolution is evolving at a rapid speed and we have to accept the reality that our future world of work will be dominated by robotics, automation and digitisation. According to ILO, many workers are exiting the labour market every year.
- There will be a need for different and new skills sets in the economy and the labour market.
- It is eminent that the landscape of the SETAs (Sector Education and Training Authorities) will cease to exist in their current forms as at the end of March 2020 and that time is not on our side.
- Organised labour is represented in the various SETAs.

Believing That:

- a) The future world of work will be challenging due to lesser human interventions, different skills demands and unprecedented regulatory changes. These challenges, if not addressed adequately and with the necessary urgency may give rise to large scale job losses.
- b) South Africa should take a leading stand on industrial policy development and not be guided primarily by developed economies.
- c) Many stakeholders including employers are ignorant and uncertain on the implications of the 4th industrial revolution and the impact that will have on workers and their organisations.
- d) There is a need for an explicit targeted plan to initiate and strengthen indigenous innovations to reduce South Africa's dependence on other countries for high end manufacturing

- e) It is the responsibility of the SETAs to prepare its stakeholders in their respective areas of jurisdiction for the inevitable changes that will come with the advent of the 4th industrial revolution.
- f) Government / State support and intervention is important to spur innovation in strategic emerging technologies and robotics / Artificial Intelligence (AI)
- g) The NEDLAC should be utilized effectively for negotiations to deal with targets and duration governing the introduction of automation and related technologies

Resolve That:

- a) There should be a significant improvement of infrastructure in schools/institutions in order maximize the opportunities of the 4th Industrial Revolution to learners/ children.
- b) The higher education institutions must be compelled to decolonize the curriculum in order to innovate in response and management of technologies brought about by the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- c) All Seta-Labour representatives must take the initiative to partner with all the other representatives serving in the SETAs to start playing a pivotal role in determining, developing and implementing relevant and agile training, developmental and educational programmes to assist the workers in being re-skilled, multi-skilled and up-skilled in order to help migrate and integrate into the new world work especially the youth and unemployed.
- d) SETAs in the same or similar industries must share best practices on how they successfully addressed these challenges, including the development of a data base on new diverse skills demands.
- e) A regulatory framework for the introduction of innovations related to the 4th industrial revolution should be developed and it should ensure that workers do not lose jobs.
- f) SETAs, Employers, Government and Labour must work closely in developing programmes enabling them to monitor how the future world of work will affect workers and the implementation of programmes put in place to support those that may be adversely affected.
- g) Funds must be made available for workers that could be negatively affected by the changes in the new world of work.

2.7. Protecting Public Institutions/ Infrastructure

Noting that:

- a) The right to protest is enshrined in RSA's constitution
- b) The arrogance and laxity of some of the councilors in responding to communities' concerns is the major cause for protests.
- c) The destruction of public institutions and infrastructure during service delivery protests is a criminal act

Believing that:

- a) The people reserve the right to protest
- b) The lack of service delivery in most instances is the major cause of concern by communities leading to violent protests
- c) These institutions and infrastructure are fundamental to the lives and well-being of communities;
- d) The destruction of these institutions and infrastructure should be viewed as a direct attack on the state.

Resolve that:

- a) Communities should be mobilized to lead in protecting public facilities such as schools, police stations, hospitals, clinics and other infrastructure from vandalism
- b) The destruction of these institutions and facilities should be treated as treason.

2.8. Safety of Public Servants:

Noting that:

- a) The increase in the number of attacks on the police, nurses, teachers, lecturers, emergency services personnel and other public servants in their line of duty.

Believe that:

- a) These sectors are essential in the delivery of services of the state to communities
- b) The attacks and killings of public servants compromises the ability of the state to deliver services;
- c) These attacks and killings undermine the state and the service these public servants to provide in changing the lives of our children.

Resolve that:

- a) Additional resources should be provided to protect these public servants. The security officers must be vetted.
- b) The Justice cluster must be lobbied to impose harsher sentences against those found guilty of attacking and killing public servants
- c) We need to protect public servants from employers that don't service and maintain buildings.

2.9. Jobs and co-operatives:

Noting that

- a) There is a rising trend to establish bogus co-operatives, including the conversion of current workplaces into bogus co-operatives.

Believing that

- a) Legitimate co-operatives are important forms of economic empowerment for workers.
- b) Bogus co-operatives are deliberate attempts to bypass labour legislation and to undermine collective bargaining.
- c) Bogus co-operatives encourage non-compliance and promote unfair market competition.
- d) Bogus co-operatives threaten jobs.
- e) Bogus co-operatives constitute a brutal attack on the employment security of workers in general, but particularly of women workers and their families.

Resolves:

- a) To fight a relentless battle, on all fronts, to root out bogus co-operatives.
- b) To demand that government procurement policy and procedures should explicitly exclude sourcing from bogus co-operatives.
- c) To require that all collective bargaining agreements of COSATU affiliates be amended to explicitly include clauses this prohibits sub-contracting to, and sourcing from bogus co-operatives.
- d) To require government to finalise the regulations governing co-operatives within a period of 2 months from the date of this Congress, which regulations must not undermine collective bargaining and which promotes Labour Relations Act-, Basic Conditions of Employment Act- and other employment law coverage of workers employed in co-operatives.
- e) If need be, to campaign for the amendment of the Co-operatives Act to root out bogus co-operatives.
- f) To require affiliates to embark on a program of protest and picketing at the offices of the Department of Small Business Development, in order to highlight COSATU's concerns about the abuses of bogus co-operatives, and in support of the issues listed under clauses 1 to 4 above.
- g) Call for implementation of ILO recommendation 204.

3. Resolutions Deferred to the CEC

3.1. Renewable energy: NUM

Noting That:

- a. Renewable energy is needed to reduce dependence on fossil fuels.
- b. The IPPs were established by government informed by the National Energy Act 2008 and the Electricity Regulation Act (ERA) 2006. These two acts establish the rules and the guidelines of establishment and the regulation of the IPPs.
- c. The ERA informs the development of the Integrated Resource Plan (IRP) which specify the rules and the regulations of the IPP's. The IRP was developed by the

Department of Energy (DoE) in 2010. The IRP set out the new generation capacity per technology

Further note that

- a) Eskom currently spends 77 cents per kilowatt. Meanwhile with independent power producers Eskom will spend R2.30 per kilowatt.
- b) Furthermore, government has already endorsed the implementation of independent power producers. Including the fact that Eskom employs substantial number of both permanent employees and contractors.
- c) Industrialised countries have grown their economies on the back of a strong government controlled energy sector.

Believing That:

- a) Energy mix policy is important for energy security and the main sources of energy need to play a role specifically gas, nuclear, coal and renewables.
- b) Coal is the predominant fuel source for electricity provides over 90% of the country's energy needs and therefore without the energy derived from coal, many industries would be severely crippled, and a lot of people will lose their job.
- c) The reduction in coal threatens job security
- d) The implementation of IPP will negatively affect the current jobs in coal sector.
- e) The increase on production cost per kilowatt will results in an increase of tariffs for consumers.

Further believing that

- a) IPPs can only sell energy to Eskom at prices determined by Eskom and not by selling electricity directly to consumers
- b) A state monopoly on production and distribution of electricity is a guarantor of energy security and jobs in Eskom.

Therefore resolve that:

- a) The federation must notify Nedlac of a section 77 socio-economic strike to compel government to desist from the continued implementation of IPPs in their current form and shape.
- b) There must be a review of the energy policy to ensure that renewable are owned and controlled by the state.
- c) The state must drive the renewable energy transition
- d) In reducing the share of coal in the energy mix there must be a Just transition which includes taking into account employment in the coal sector and re-skilling of workers.
- e) We reject the renewable energy in its current form as they seek to undermine jobs numbers in the country and benefit foreign companies.

3.2. The Land Question (CWU, SADTU & SACTWU)

Noting That:

- a) Our country's constitution does not expressly prohibit land expropriation without compensation.
- b) There is a debate in the country about whether or not a constitutional amendment should be made in order to set out the details of how such appropriation should be achieved.
- c) The limitations of the "willing seller, willing buyer" approach.
- d) The approach has produced disequilibrium between potential buyers and sellers.
- e) The ANC 54th Congress resolution on land redistribution.
- f) There is a previous COSATU congress resolution on the amendment of Section 25 of the constitution.
- g) The requirements for expropriation are set out in section 25(2) (a) and (b); "Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application— (a) for a public purpose or in the public interest; and (b) subject to compensation, the amount of which and the time and manner of payment of which have either been agreed to by those affected or decided or approved by a court.
- h) Section 25(3) states that compensation must be just and equitable and the factors that must be taken into account in calculating compensation.
- i) No court has authoritatively decided that expropriation of land can be done without compensation.

Believing That:

- a) Access to land is fundamental to our people and to advance the NDR.
- b) Expropriation should be done in an orderly manner and should not compromise food security and economic activity.
- c) There should be strong government intervention to support beneficiaries of land redistribution

Resolve That:**Option A (CWU): supported by NUM, LIMSA and Nehawu**

- a) There should be land expropriation without compensation.
- b) COSATU should support the view to amend Section 25 of our constitution.
- c) COSATU should campaign for any proposed changes to our country's constitution to be subjected to a national referendum.

Option B (SADTU & SACTWU)

- a) We do not support the amendment of the constitution
- b) People who occupy land for residential purposes should be given title deeds.
- c) Priority should be given to developmental purposes which entails job creation.

- d) The state should expand resources, technical knowledge as well as finances to support the agrarian revolution and provide implements to work the land.
- e) The state should take strong action against land invasions irrespective of who owns those pieces of land under the guise of expropriation without compensation.
- f) An institution should be established to monitor and evaluate how the resources and implements to facilitate the agrarian reform are being utilized.

Expropriation without compensation

- a) Some unions favour expropriation of land without compensation whilst others are of the view that this is not necessary to implement land and agrarian reform.
- b) Expropriation without compensation and amendment of section 25 to allow this principle. CWU supported by NUM, NEHAWU, LIMUSA and later SADTU. Whilst SADTU only supported option B it subsequently agreed to combine option B and A and supported Nehawu position on amending the constitution in order to provide for expropriation without compensation.
- c) Expropriation without compensation is not prohibited by the constitution. SACTWU is adamant that there is no need for amending the constitution.

This resolution has been referred to the CEC for further engagement.

4. Resolution withdrawn

4.1. The Right to Strike and the Obligations of Employers: SASBO

Believing that

1. Every worker has a right to strike and every employer has recourse to lock out. At least 48 hours' notice of the commencement of the lockout, in writing has been given to any trade union that is party to the dispute.
2. Realising that a person is bound by an agreement that require the issue in dispute to be referred to arbitration if is a dispute of right.
3. If the issues in dispute are matters of mutual interest, each party to the dispute can decide to embark on industrial action.

Noting That:

1. if a strike lasts longer than ten (10) days (protracted period), the striking force tend to become frustrated and agitated leading to division amongst the striking workforce which is further fuelled by the undermining tactics and psychological games played by the employer.
2. The realisation of the employers to frustrate the striking workers by not coming to a speedy resolution to the demands of the workers.
3. Section 150 of LRA allows the Commission to intervene during a strike that continues for a protracted period.

4. Section 76 of the Labour Relations Act, on replacement labour only makes provision for two circumstances where replacement labour is not permitted:-
 - (a) *to continue or maintain production during a protected strike if the whole or a part of the employer's service has been designated a maintenance service; or*
 - (b) *for the purpose of performing the work of any employee who is locked out, unless the lock-out is in response to a strike.*
5. For the purpose of Section 76, "take into employment" includes engaging the services of a temporary employment service or an independent contractor.

Resolve that :

1. Cosatu through Nedlac submit and influence the application of Section 67 of the Labour Relations Act, No 66 of 1995 by inserting a clause that will compel employers to pay 50% of the workers' wages during the strike should the strike be unnecessarily protracted by intransigent employers and/or the strike exceeds five (5) working days, and it is found that the workers' demands are reasonable.
2. Employers must not be allowed to use scab labour during strikes.
3. This will have to be under the confinement of the certificate that entitles the worker to embark on a protected strike action
4. The Federation should mobilise its members and the Labour constituency for possible national strike action in case Nedlac has considered the matter in order to compel employers to pay 50% of the wages of the workers who embarked on protected strike action.
5. In order to persuade employers to meet the demands of the striking workers, trade unions resort to it embedded constitutional right to strike in order to exert their collective strength in an attempt to influence the employers to settle mutual interest disputes. Regrettably the impact of strikes loses its impetus when employers employ replacement or scab labours including temporary employees or independent contractors to continue with production or operations. Such action negates the true intention of a strike resulting in striking workers becoming agitated. Employers, who can afford to continue with production or operations during a strike are not hesitant to postpone the period of the strike action indefinitely and are reluctant to reopen negotiations with the striking workers in order to reach amicable settlements. Therefore it is imperative that the Federation direct Nedlac to consider amendments to Section 76 of the Labour Relations Act by broadening its scope in placing an absolute prohibition/limitation on the use of replacement labour during any protected strike, including engaging the services of temporary employment services or independent contractors.

5. Organisational Resolutions

5.1. Building COSATU Organisational Machinery (Organisational Renewal):

Congress Noting that:

- a) The 12th National Congress decision to implement a programme of Organisational renewal- which includes the proposal such an introduction of EXCO.
 - b) Establishment of standing committees and substructures based on practical experience with a view to co-ordinate our common activities and to guide implementation of our resolutions (even though these structures suffer poor attendance and participation by affiliates) such as Political Commissions, Socio-economic commission, Organisers Forums and Campaigns Committee.
 - c) The current configuration of the organisational mechanism of the federation, in most instances the implementation of resolutions tend to be voluntary on the part of affiliates.
 - d) The constitutional structure (CEC and PECs) generally lacks the mechanism to enforce implementation of resolutions of the federation by the centre and there are no vehicles for involvement of affiliates in implementation of such decisions.
 - e) The success and or failure of the federation is largely dependent on the affiliates (both objectively and subjectively) rather than on the synergic impact of an integrated and systematic work of the centre in conjunction with affiliates through working structures.
- a) Both the Federation and its Affiliates' reliable income is from membership subscription fees.
 - b) On commitment towards financial self-sufficiency and organisational self-reliance both the Federation and some of its Affiliates have established means of secondary income such as proceeds from investment companies.
 - c) There exist forms of workers that present different forms of challenges with regards to subscriptions fees of certain Affiliates, especially seasonal and non-permanent, atypical or casualised.
 - d) Affiliates pay for all activities that are convened by the Federation, at times including some incidentals and those that were never even budgeted for.
 - e) There is no established formula or strategy of intervention and/or intervention on the part of the Federation in dealing with financial and organisational problems flowing from these forms or patterns of membership; at best the affected Affiliate becomes a victim of ridicule and possible alternatives for its managed or somewhat decent demise or withering away through either a merger or takeover, a practice which in our view is synonymous with Capitalist tendencies to stifle competition and market share.

Further noting that:

- a) Under Capitalism we might unwittingly, at the absence of other references, fall into a trap of borrowing certain Capitalist concepts and bow to spontaneity as well.

- b) The 6th and 12th National Congresses reviewed progress on mergers and adopted resolution on demarcation and pouching which were never implemented
- c) Since 2007 there are many developments caused by proliferation of trade unions and new unions formed within the scope of existing COSATU affiliates.
- d) Challenges of the extension of scopes of organising by COSATU affiliates which undermined the policy on pouching and failure to enforce the policy
- e) Fragmentation of trade unions undermines solidarity even to unions organising in the same industry or sector
- f) COSATU policy requires the Federation to work towards uniting the working class.
- g) COSATU Locals are the basic units of the federation.
- h) There is a need to capacitate local office bearers.
- i) The PECs should review performance of locals earlier for immediate interventions.
- j) COSATU Locals are the basic units of the federation.
- k) There is a need to capacitate local office bearers.
- l) The ever changing international and internal balance of forces
- m) The aggressiveness of the capitalist class to entrench its hegemony in all spheres of society
- n) The reality of challenging global economic situation
- o) That COSATU has in the recent past been faced with serious organisational challenges which also affected the financial resources of the federation
- p) That over the decades during the struggle against apartheid and after freedom the mass democratic movement inclusive of COSATU has benefited from international funding organisations
- q) The ideological independence of COSATU is threatened by new agenda of international funding organisations whose modus operandi is a departure from the historic role they have played in fighting apartheid and helping build strong independent unions The ever changing international and internal balance of forces
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- v) The ideological independence of COSATU is threatened by new agenda of international funding organisations whose modus operandi is a departure from the historic role they have played in fighting apartheid and helping build strong independent unions

Therefore the Congress resolves to:

- a) Establish CEC Commissions to deal with strategic priorities defined by resolutions. These commissions will be configured in a manner that aligns

certain related priority areas and accordingly become umbrella bodies to which existing substructures such as NGC, IRC etc belong and report.

- b) The CEC Commissions must each be composed by at least one COSATU NOB, one affiliate NOB and one supporting COSATU and affiliate official according to the specialised area of work
- c) These commissions will submit their reports to the CEC and their work will be guided by Secretariat as a center which co-ordinates and oversees the implementation of federations programmes.
 - Organisation and Campaigns: amongst other things, this commission will plan, coordinate and drive the campaigns of the federation and support the General Secretary in building relations with other organisations around the campaigns. In addition, it would deal with organisational issues such as the recruitment strategy, membership data, mergers, constitutional matters, scope of organisation of affiliates, etc. The work and deliberations of the proposed National Organisers Forum will be considered by this commission.
 - Bargaining and Workplace Transformation: amongst other things, this commission will deal with and coordinate the implementation of the federation's overarching bargaining strategy, employment equity and the transformation of the Apartheid workplace, the implementation of the four NEDLAC accords, labour market matters, etc. The JMC would be one of the committees belonging to this commission and other similar committees may be created.
 - Education and Gender: amongst other things, this commission will plan and coordinate the federation's trade union education programme, including ideological and political training. Thus, it would have to establish structured relations, joint and coordinated programmes with the Chris Hani Institute and DITSELA. It will also oversee the work of the NGC and coordinate the federation's engagement with external structures such as PWCSA, Gender Commission, etc.

5.2. Resolution on the affiliation fees formula

Therefore Resolve That:

- a) A feasibility study be conducted on an appropriate and equitable but effective and sustainable formula on Affiliation fees.

5.3. Review of Scopes, Implementation of Mergers and Strengthening of Policy on pouching:

We therefore resolve to:

- a) That the federation must undertake a thorough process of organisational review process of the scopes and demarcations of different industries and sectors, progress report must be presented in the next Central Committee
- b) Build strong unions on the shop floor to curb the emergence of splinter unions.
- c) The CEC to develop tighter mechanisms, modalities, measures and expedite implementation of the resolution on mergers in order to strengthen the organisational capacity of unions operating in the same scope. This will minimise the challenges of pouching amongst affiliates.
- d) Where poaching has taken place, poached members should be returned to the relevant union

5.4. The future of COSATU:

Resolves that

- a) The main task of COSATU at all its structures and all its affiliates in the period between this Congress and the next COSATU Ordinary Congress is to implement concrete steps to unite the working class, in particular the trade union movement and progressive movements.
- b) COSATU should implement concrete steps within time frame from the date of this Congress to commence the implementation of the task set out in “Resolve”.

5.5. Building of Local Leadership:

Resolving that:

- a) The Federation in the provinces should develop and implement an intensive induction programme for locals.
- b) A standard programmes monitoring and evaluation system should be established and implemented by the COSATU PECs in as far as the locals are concerned.
- c) COSATU in collaboration with the SACP should revive the Socialist Forums and the Chris Hani Brigade with the view of producing ideologically rich leaders.
- d) Reaffirm 2003 congress resolution including 2002 local summit

5.6. Defending the ideological independence of COSATU and self- funding of activities:

Therefore Resolve that:

- a) Affiliates of COSATU must take an urgent matter of interest the programme of action to re-assert COSATU as the driving force in our country and internationally
- b) COSATU through its affiliates must adopt a programme to fight against a capitalist invasion of our ideological realm
- c) COSATU and its affiliates must be vigilant and put in place mechanisms that will ensure that those organisations that fund our activities do not set the agenda for us

- d) COSATU must maintain strategic relations with some international organisations that fund our programmes and that such funding is at COSATU terms and must not temper with the ideological trajectory of the federation and its affiliates
- e) COSATU and its affiliates must adopt a mechanism to self-fund international programmes of COSATU in order to minimise and eliminate the threat of funder agency capture of the federation
- f) With full understanding of the implications of self-funding, it is a necessary safety mechanism to defend the federations ideological independence from international lobby groups
- g) Was removed from the composite resolution
- h) COSATU develops a comprehensive self-funding mechanism to ensure independence and worker control. This must include the involvement of former leaders who must be enrolled for this task.
- i) Debit affiliates a minimum of 20c per member per month
- j) The former leaders of the Federation and Affiliates must be encouraged to contribute towards the financial well being of the federation on a monthly basis and that a debit order facility for this purpose must be in place
- k) Must have a caucus with sympathetic former leaders but not creating a structure

6. International Resolutions

6.1. BRICS Development Bank:

Noting that:

- a) That the current downgrading of the economy in SA by rating agencies will perpetuate job losses, poverty and inequalities.
- b) The grading agencies' are obsessed with destroying emerging economies

Believing that:

- a) That such is controlled by monopoly capital.
- b) That rating institutions are manipulating the economy.
- c) That BRICS with a potential to counter imperial forces to balance and cushion the drop in the economy.
- d) The new BRICS block is a threat to IMF and the World Bank

Resolve that:

- a) That BRICS development bank needs to expedite the establishment of its own rating agency to counter the dominance of monopoly capital rating agency, that we further use our influence in the alliance to achieve such.

6.2. International affiliation :

Noting that:

- a) The debate around the international affiliation is at its peak, and affiliates have different views on the matter. A number of affiliates of COSATU have affiliated to WFTU,

Believing that:

- a) Should the matter not be handled with care and sensitivity it has a potential of derailing the federation from its primary objectives.

Resolving that:

- a) COSATU should have dual affiliation.
- b) Affiliates that had directly affiliated to any of the international bodies, should withdraw and allow a federation to affiliate on behalf of all affiliates.

6.3. Swaziland :

Noting that:

- a) The character of the royal regime in Swaziland has not changed. It remains an undemocratic, oppressive, semi-feudal outpost of capitalist exploitation, with strong ties to western imperialism.
- b) The position of working people under these conditions has gotten worse over the years.

Believing that:

- a) The struggle of the Swazi people is facing serious constraints, which require the political support of progressives worldwide.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm our previous congress resolutions on Swaziland.
- b) Develop a comprehensive solidarity programme of support for the democratic political and trade union forces in Swaziland.

- c) Fight against the recognition of the sham Swaziland elections which are undemocratic and are neither based on the will of the people nor follows both SADC and the AU guidelines and protocols on Free and Fair elections.
- d) Intensify the campaign for the international isolation of Swaziland including directing our boycott at companies and individuals whose business interest in Swaziland promote Mswati's dictatorship

6.4. Palestine :

Noting:

- a) The deterioration of the political situation in Palestine.
- b) The Israeli Zionist colonial occupation is facing numerous contradictions including stiff internal resistance from a growing pro-Palestinian Jewish voice.
- c) Over the years, the pro-Palestinian solidarity movement has consolidated its position worldwide and maintains a strong presence in many countries.
- d) The significance of the South African government withdrawal of its Ambassador from Tel-Aviv.

Believing:

- a) That the struggle of the Palestinian people requires intensified efforts to isolate the reactionary right-wing Zionist regime.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm the 11th and 12th congress resolutions on Palestine on the two-state solution with an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital; the dismantling of the apartheid wall and an end to illegal settlements expansion; the right of return of all Palestinian refugees and the release of all political prisoners.
- b) Develop a new comprehensive measure that strengthens the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions campaign.
- c) Build strong trade union relations with the Palestinian trade unions and their federations.
- d) Call upon our government to promote free movement of Palestinians into South Africa by issuing visas to Palestinians.
- e) Call for the implementation of ANC 54th National Conference resolutions on international solidarity with Palestine.
- f) Wage trade union struggles calling for US President Trump to immediately rescind his decision to recognise Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and his decision to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.
- g) Undertake within 12 months, an international solidarity visit by a delegation of COSATU to visit Palestine to deepen our understanding on the struggle of the Palestinians.

6.5. Venezuela

Noting that:

- a) Venezuela is facing a renewed US-led anti-Bolivarian onslaught aiming to overthrow the government through economic destabilisation.
- b) The Bolivarian revolution remains an important international model which has in many respects transformed the lives of Venezuelan people.

Believing:

- a) That the counter-revolutionary overthrow of the Bolivarian revolution will be a serious setback for the international struggle against imperialism.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm the 11th and 12th congress resolutions on Venezuela
- b) Condemn the recent attempts at the assassination the president of the Bolivarian Revolution Nicolas Maduro.
- c) Condemn the economic blockade and isolation of Venezuela and the induced economic crisis by the US and opposition.
- d) Visit Venezuela in the year 2020 to strengthen relations with the progressive trade union movement and the people.

6.6. Cuba

Noting:

- a) That the Cuban revolution remains on a correct course and the internal process of improving the socialist system.
- b) The reversal of significant gains by US President Donal Trump on the prospects for the lifting of the economic blockade against Cuba.
- c) The blockade remains effectively in place and normalisation has brought no qualitative change in the US imperialist aggression on Cuba.

Believing that:

- a) There is no qualitative change in the US foreign policy of imperialist aggression against the people of Cuba since Obama and to note the strengthening of measures enhancing the US economic blockade against Cuba.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm our 11th and 12th congress resolutions calling on an end to the Cuban blockade and to restore the sovereignty of Cuba over Guantanamo territory.
- b) Strengthen our international solidarity campaigns and the relations with Cuban CTC and its affiliates.

6.7. Western Sahara

Noting:

- a) That the political stalemate on the referendum for self-determination remains in place.
- b) Morocco refuses to adhere to internationally supported UN decision on the referendum.
- c) The deteriorating human rights situation in the occupied territories.
- d) The negative development with the readmission of Morocco to the AU.

Believing:

- a) That the AU readmission of Morocco as a member state harms the struggle of the Saharawis for self-determination.

We therefore resolve to:

- a) Reiterate all our previous resolutions on the referendum for self-determination of Western Sahara
- b) Initiate through a detailed program, a campaign of boycott and sanctions against Morocco colonial occupation.
- c) Support the international call for the UN permanent presence and monitoring of Human Rights abuses in the Moroccan occupied territories of Western Sahara.
- d) Build a broader continental support for the Saharawi people and for their right to self-determination, freedom from colonialism and human dignity.
- e) Strengthen relations with POLISARIO and UGTSARIO.
- f) Have an annual delegation to the refugee camps and liberated zones.