

Declaration of the 4th Central Committee held in Kempton Park, Esselen Park on the 17 – 20 September

We the delegates, meeting at this important 4th Central Committee, having deliberated for four days, emerge from the gathering with this declaration capturing key decisions. The purpose of the Central Committee was to fulfil the directive of the 9th National Conference, which includes a debate about the relationship between NDR and socialism. The Declaration must be read in conjunction with the resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee, take place at an important juncture in our ongoing National Democratic Revolution. It occurs a few months after the ANC Policy Conference and the 12th Congress of the South African Communist Party. It takes place in a period where there are intense debates about the trajectory of our Revolution and what is possible in the current global world order. It is a period marked by resurgence of popular mobilisation across the length and breadth of country around service delivery and wages and working conditions. Mass mobilisation signifies both the rising confidence of the working class and dissatisfaction with the pace of social change.

We were confronted by very difficult and complex issues and emerge united around the decisions and resolutions of the Central Committee. We appreciate the mandate of our 9th National Congress, which provide the basis for conclusions arrived at this Central Committee. Delegates at the Congress gave us a mandate to spearhead a new development agenda based on people's needs, build a vibrant organisation and intensify workers struggles on all fronts.

We remain convinced that despite progress recorded in the last thirteen years, the capitalist class gained the most in economic terms. Workers have to contend with poor quality jobs, poverty and unemployment and millions of workers do not enjoy the fundamental rights enshrined in our labour laws. While the Constitution is while progressive, the substantive realisation of the rights it embodies remains a promise on paper. The country's economic policy, including the budget, is not based on the promises of the Constitution. Were that the case the budget would be substantially larger than it currently is.

In recent years, South Africa's rate of economic growth is higher than in any comparable period. However, without a clear redistribution policy, development strategy to transform the colonial economy, and employment creating industrial policy, growth has not substantially benefited the poor. This calls to question a one-sided approach to increase the rate of growth without a development policy aimed at transforming the historical patterns of accumulation. We argue that the growth target in ASGISA, modest as it is, will not change the conditions of the poor unless accompanied by a job creating industrial policy and commitment to redistribute far more than in the last 13 years.

In this vein we are encouraged by recent development in the ANC Policy Conference and the tabling of the industrial policy framework by the government. This represents a basis upon which we can fashion a new people-centred and people-

driven development policy. In this regard, we believe that all policies must be subordinated to the development imperatives facing our society and call for the review of the Macro-Economic Policy Framework

COSATU's membership has increased in the last year from the recruitment campaign and affiliation of new unions. We have set ourselves a target to double our membership by 2015. To do this we must redouble our efforts to step up the recruitment campaign, provide better service to our members and take up workers' struggles on all fronts. The Constitutional Court Ruling that the Defence Force Regulations that bar SASFU from affiliating to COSATU are legitimate disappoints us. We will spare no effort to change these regulations, as we believe all workers must belong to COSATU.

The Central Committee took place against the biggest wave of industrial action our country has ever seen since the democratic breakthrough. These were not wildcat strikes but legal strikes after negotiations with employers collapsed. The strikes were important in asserting workers' power and building the unity of the working class across skill, occupational and gender divide. These strikes were triggered by the realisation that the bosses have enjoyed a bonanza of high profits and high pay while workers incomes have virtually stagnated.

The public service strike, the biggest this year, not only highlighted wages and working conditions but also raised serious issues around the quality of public service. The working class is no longer prepared to sacrifice all for the benefits of bosses while they work harder but getting poorer.

We are concerned that collective bargaining system covers a small but significant portion of the labour force. Even with the system of extensions, which is undermined by exemptions to employers, millions of workers remain outside the bargaining system. These workers face the arbitrary power of the racist managerial authority and are therefore vulnerable to abuse. Further, we note that we are still far from achieving our goal of centralised bargaining in many sectors of our economy.

Coming to this Central Committee we are aware of debate on the relationship between the NDR and socialism. We reaffirm our belief that the NDR is the shortest route to socialism and the best way to advance the struggle to socialism is to deepen and radicalise the current path of the NDR. The NDR is far from fulfilling its objectives to transform power and property relations in favour of the masses of our people.

We are further concerned by police brutality during strikes and condemn these apartheid-era police tactics. We call on the Ministry of Safety and Security to ensure proper crowd control training for police. Our sympathy goes to the comrades who were victims of this naked police brutality.

This is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts and not to drop our guard. In light of the contestation on the direction of the NDR and the world order decisive working class action is necessary.

We stand at the threshold as we prepare for the ANC Conference and engage and struggle on a number of fronts. We face the challenge to change economic policy in

favour of the workers to ensure that the next seven years of the second decade of freedom bring substantial benefits to workers and their families. We hereby commit to remain steadfast, determined to take the struggle to new heights. We are conscious that we are in a long struggle for change, and the coming ANC conference is but a milestone in that struggle. We are also aware that power concedes nothing without struggle and that our power comes from disciplined, united and strong organisation.

We delegates from 21 affiliates gathered in the Central Committee hereby resolve:

1. We assessed the strength of the organisation measured against our 2015 Plan and the 9th Congress Resolutions. Against this background, we reaffirm the need for a systematic Organisation Development and Organisational Renewal programme which in the first instance seek to improve levels of representation in all sectors, so that we double our members to 4 million. We are encouraged by progress in all these fronts within the federation and in many of our unions but call on the federation and unions to redouble efforts to build strong and vibrant unions.
2. The priority of our recruitment campaign is to draw in the masses of rural, casualised and sub-contracted workers and to champion their interests. We recommit to the programme of organisational renewal to strengthen the organisation and improve service to members. To that end, we must translate the gains of the recent strikes into more members across all sectors of the economy. We will also step up our efforts to unify the working class to realise our age-old aspiration of one industry-one-union, one-country-one-federation.
3. To support efforts to restructure our social security system including the retirement fund system. This process must be guided by the principle of universal coverage and state constitutional obligation to provide social security. In this regard we also reiterate our demand for a universal Basic Income Grant to plug the existing gaps in the social security network but more importantly as means to give hope to the hopeless.
4. To agitate for changes in our labour laws to close loopholes exploited by employers to deny workers their rights. In addition, we will challenge recent interpretations that fundamentally alter the architecture of our labour laws, including the interpretation of 'operational requirements in Fry's Metals and Rustenburg Platinum Cases. We will further advocate, at the minimum, for the adoption of the Minimum Service Agreement between government and public sector unions; and to call for a review of the LRA on this score. We will challenge all provisions, interpretations and practices that undermine the right to strike.
5. To defend and support the progressive thrust of the ANC Policy conference on organisational and policy issues. In this endeavour we aim to ensure collective leadership, involvement of members, the alliance and ANC in policy formulations, the return to the goals of the Freedom Charter and the RDP. We will embark on a mass campaign to involve our members in the policy debate between October and November. This will include Socialist Forums, local meetings and shop stewards council. We will engage with ANC structures and

other progressive formations to popularise our views and to mobilise their support.

6. To intensify the struggle to intensify for gender emancipation our organisations and Society in general.
7. The Alliance must truly become the vehicle and political centre under the ANC leadership. To that end it must drive policy formulation and implementation; direct deployment and hold cadres accountable; and mobilise our people as their own liberators. The alliance machinery must be reinforced to ensure that it discharges this responsibility and a Protocol governing alliance relations must be developed. In addition, an Alliance Electoral Pact or Programme for transformation should be developed to reach agreement on policies required for achieving the goals of social transformation, employment creation and eradication of poverty.
8. We remain committed to the Jobs and Poverty Campaign and will execute the mandate from the 9th National Congress and the recent Jobs and Poverty Summit. We are concerned by the recent spate of interest rate hikes, which we believe are anti growth and employment creation.
9. The SABC Board nomination process should be changed to include reserved seats for stakeholders like labour and the broader working class and civil society. We are concerned at the repeated exclusions of nominees from these sectors and believe the current proposed list is too heavily biased toward people with business links. Further to engage the public broadcaster on the deteriorating quality of news and to ensure fair coverage of labour issues and the development of more worker friendly content.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Emergency Resolution on SABC Board Nominations

This Fourth Central Committee noting:

1. The absence of working class representatives on the final short-list of candidates for the Board of the SABC submitted to the President by the parliament.
2. The selection names flies in the face of the Broadcasting Act, which stipulates that "the members of the Board must, when viewed collectively:
 - (a) Be persons who are suited to serve on the Board by virtue of their qualifications, expertise and experience in the fields of broadcasting policy and technology, broadcasting regulation, media law, frequency planning, business practice and finance, marketing, journalism, entertainment and education, social and labour issues;
 - (b) Be persons who are committed to fairness, freedom of expression, the right of the public to be informed, and openness and accountability on the part of those holding public office;
 - (c) Represent a broad cross-section of the population of the Republic;
 - (d) Be persons who are committed to the objects and principles as enunciated in the Charter of the Corporation."
3. There is a clear preponderance of figures from the world of BEE business, while there are none from the trade unions, the ANC's Alliance partners and wider civil society.
4. COSATU has been consistently calling on the SABC to increase and improve its coverage of labour and working-class issues, including a daily labour news slot and a weekly TV current affairs programme on labour and the working class, produced by a dedicated SABC labour desk.
5. We have also demanded a working-class perspective on the news, on such issues as poverty, development, HIV/AIDS and other developmental challenges facing our country and an end to the monopoly on commentary from business and neo-liberal spokespeople.
6. That the funding of the SABC relies upon more heavily upon advertising and in part on government funding. This tends to undermine the independence of the public broadcaster

Believing:

1. The names being put forward to the President clearly contravene the obligation to include people with expertise and experience in social and labour issues and those who represent a broad cross-section of the population of the Republic.
2. That in order to achieve these goals we need a Board that contains people from the labour and broader working class constituency who understand the problems of working people. The portfolio committee however have rejected candidates who fall into that category. This rejection has been continuous in that the President has rejected all previous COSATU nominees.
3. That the public broadcaster should remain independent of the state and big business.

Therefore this Fourth Central Committee resolves:

1. The Congress of South African Trade Unions rejects the proposed shortlist of candidates to the SABC Board as narrowly based, partisan and completely inadequate to meet the requirements of the public broadcaster and to seek an immediate review of the shortlist.
2. To call for the acceptance of the original submission by the ANC Study Group on Communications which included working class representatives.
3. COSATU therefore calls for an urgent meeting of the Alliance leadership, so that we can raise the issue before the President accepts the names submitted.
4. COSATU also calls for regular consultation between SABC management and the representative unions within the SABC amongst others in relation to the composition of the Board.
5. COSATU further calls for the direct representation of labour on the SABC Board to ensure that the voice of the working class is fully and properly represented.
6. COSATU calls for a review of the funding system for the SABC in order to protect the integrity and independence of the public broadcaster.

Resolution of the COSATU Fourth Central Committee on Contextualisation of the 9th National Congress

This Fourth Central Committee noting:

1. That the principal task is to situate this Fourth Central Committee in the context of determining strategies to pursue and implement the resolutions of the 9th National Congress. More specifically, we seek to confront the challenge to maximise the political space and further tilt the balance of forces in favour of the working class and a progressive agenda.
2. The fluidity of the period in which we conduct this contextual analysis, with many signs that we have an opportune moment to influence the policy and leadership direction of the ANC. We must not overemphasise the opportunities nor must we pretend that we are making no progress in challenging and the status quo and forcing left policy shifts. The openings in the political space are a product of resolute mass struggles and resilience in the face of momentous challenges. They are not the product of goodwill but reflect both the pressing need to change the material conditions of our people and our people's refusal to bow down. Ultimately it is our mass power and organisation that will guarantee our success.
3. The need to strengthen the capacity of the Federation to implement and monitor all resolutions and ensure constant contact with our mass base. In addition, we need to link with all progressive forces within and outside the Alliance to galvanise them into a mass movement for change.

Believing:

1. We are engaged in protracted struggle to deepen the NDR and building blocks for socialism. The forthcoming ANC 52nd national conference is an important moment in that long struggle for radical change. As such, we require foresight and committed leaders and a mobilised base to pursue the struggle to its logical conclusion.
2. We confront the task to defend and consolidate the progressive thrust of ANC Policy Conference resolutions. Simultaneously we must further grasp the progressive policies emanating from the state and maximise the benefits for the working class. There is convergence in the Alliance on critical challenges facing our NDR in the contemporary period. We must work hard to consolidate this convergence into a coherence Alliance-driven programme for change.
3. Still, there are areas of disagreement that we must confront as part of building consensus within Alliance. To that end, we must challenge policies that worsen the conditions of the working class and articulate specific demands including on state owned enterprises, basic services and labour laws that the ANC must take

on board. As a basis we must use the criteria elaborated in the Congress Resolution to measure progress on this front

4. Ultimately it is through struggle and disciplined organisation that we will attain many of our aspirations. Still we need a leadership collective committed to a progressive programme of change.
5. The failure to implement our resolutions for example to encourage COSATU members to join the ANC undermines the spirit of the Congress. Presently the ANC total membership is around 500 000 while COSATU boasts 1.8 million members.

Therefore this Fourth Central Committee resolves:

1. To reaffirm resolutions that the Alliance must be the centre that develops policy is responsible for deployment of cadres and hold comrade accountable. Leadership accountability rests on active participation by members and therefore members must be empowered with information and should be actively involved in the development of policy.
2. The Alliance must build a Policy Institute to develop and monitor implementation of Alliance policy decisions. The ANC must also develop internal policy capacity and to that end implement its 51st National Conference resolution to build a Policy Institute.
3. The Alliance programme/pact articulating key areas of intervention and policy instrument must be developed. In this vein, COSATU must develop specific proposals that must be in the Pact to take forward many of our demands, the Freedom Charter and the RDP.
4. The disproportionate influence of government officials and leaders in ANC decision-making structure undermines the centrality of the organisation in driving transformation. A mechanism should be found to address these issues at local, regional, provincial and national level.
5. To ensure that at least half of COSATU members (900 000) become active ANC and SACP members. To that end, we must undertake an audit to determine how many of our members and leaders are active in ANC structures, and report must be tabled in COSATU constitutional structures, starting in the forthcoming CEC. This must be combined with the intensification of political education to deepen the class-consciousness of our members. In return members of the ANC and the SACP should join COSATU unions.
6. Between October and December embark on a mass campaign including convening socialist forums, locals meeting and shop steward councils to debate COSATU's proposals to the ANC Conference. We must invite members of the Alliance and other progressive formations to these meetings. We must discuss with the SACP so that the Red October campaign is used as part of building momentum towards the ANC 52nd National Conference. We must also encourage ANC members inside COSATU to reactive their participation in branches.

7. In addition we must use our internal media to discuss and popularise progressive policy proposals, including producing pamphlets and leaflets to disseminate information to our members and the community.
8. Notwithstanding the hostility of the mass commercial media we must intensify our engagement in the public discourse.
9. COSATU's internal organisational capacity must be strengthened and internal democracy enhanced to ensure among others, that leaders do not undermine decisions of constitutional structures.
10. The Alliance Secretariat should meet between October and November to discuss proposals emanating from the CC and 9th Congress around the reconfiguration of the Alliance and the Alliance Pact.
11. We must double our efforts to campaign for a change in the electoral system at provincial and national level to include a constituency element. In that vein we must also lobby for the termination of the floor-crossing legislation.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on the Leadership Question

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. That the 9th Congress resolution instructed the Central Committee to *“enter into a principle debate and resolve on a programme that must unite the liberation movement and identify leadership which can best pursue a programme in the interest of the working class”*.
2. Business and government leaders dominate that at this stage the ANC’s NEC.
3. The COSATU discussion paper on leadership challenges.
4. That ordinarily in line with the Alliance protocols COSATU has no right to directly nominate leadership of other Alliance formations.
5. That all components of the Alliance accept that the Alliance is a weapon in the hands of our people to effect fundamental transformation.
6. That the Alliance at this stage is not the political centre that drives transformation and deployment of cadres.
7. That the ANC has no independent instrument to effectively monitor compliance of government with policy directives of its constitutional structures or monitor progress effectively.
8. That this has led to a situation where those in the executive basically monitor their own performance and defend their shifts.
9. That COSATU and the SACP, together with many formations of the working class, have reached the conclusion that, in economic terms, the bourgeoisie made more gains from democracy; if measured by the restoration of profitability, possibilities for exploiting international markets and reduction of corporate taxes.
10. That in the Alliance, these realities have led to intensive contestation over the ultimate aims and the extent of progress of the NDR.
11. That the working-class character of the revolution is under constant challenge, with intense debate over economic policy in particular.
12. That some in the liberation movement believe that they have arrived at their final destination. Possibilities now exist for them to accumulate and to be rich, especially if they can mobilise state support under the banner of BEE.
13. That the presentation by the SACP under the theme the “Revolution is on Trial” noted the creeping dangers and threats of palace politics and concluded that; “the single biggest causality of palace politics has been the increasing hollowing out of some of the dearest values that have built this movement of ours: open and frank comradely debates, service to the people without expectation of personal reward, loyalty to the movement without using one’s position to advance individual motives”.

14. That the essence of the presentation of the SACP to the Central Committee, among others, warned of a leadership style in our movement that is intolerant of dissenting views, that reinforces its power and control through state and other forms of patronage, is tolerant, if not encouraging of the conflation of individual private capital accumulation with public responsibilities, and seeks to substitute movement power for state power.
15. The very difficult and poisoned environment inside the ANC in particular and in our Alliance in general, as manifested through, amongst other things, the ANC 2005 NGC and beyond.
16. Further noting that our ascendancy to state power was an absolute necessity, but did not contain sufficient conditions to drive a working class led, socialist orientated NDR. This is so because the reality of seeking to deepen and consolidate a socialist orientated NDR depends on the nature of class struggles and the balance of forces in that society.
17. That the ANC leadership during the Central Committee expressed their views, on the decision of COSATU to identify leaders for the ANC or other Alliance partners as irregular and departing from tradition and protocols.

Believing:

1. That we should jealously guard, the unity and cohesion of the ANC, the Alliance and the entire congress movement.
2. That by virtue of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the members of COSATU are also members and supporters of the of the ANC, as well as the fact that the ANC is the leader of the Alliance and the ruling party, all have enormous relevance and impact on the realisation or otherwise of the aspirations of the South African working class.
3. That the working class has a vested interest in who leads the ANC and what policy direction the ANC and the state develop in pursuance of its historic mission (the implementation of the Freedom Charter and the NDR) to its logical conclusion.
4. That the ANC NEC is not sufficiently representative of its core constituency.
5. That the Alliance should serve as a political centre, deploy cadres and defend the gains of the revolution, drive a thorough going and radical transformation our society.
6. That the second decade of freedom must truly benefit the intended beneficiaries of the NDR and in particular the primary motive force, the working class and the poor.
7. That this environment is not static, but rather a subject of intense contestation and the task of the working class is to recapture the ANC as a progressive and radical liberation movement.

Therefore this Fourth Central Committee resolves:

1. That those nominated and finally elected on NEC of the ANC should be committed to building the unity and cohesion of the liberation movement around the Freedom Charter vision, and are cadres who have the following attributes;
 - 1.1. A commitment to a radical NDR and thorough-going transformation of society
 - 1.2. A proven commitment to the Alliance and asserting the hegemonic position of the working class as a primary motive force
 - 1.3. Are committed to the unity of the ANC, the Alliance and the democratic movement,
 - 1.4. Are committed to make this decade truly a decade of workers and the poor and galvanise the progressive forces of the liberation movement and working with progressive elements of civil society
 - 1.5. Have an anti imperialist and internationalist character
 - 1.6. Have a struggle record and are politically experienced
2. To ensure, that deployed cadres from the federation in no way impact on the character and independent profile of the federation.
3. To insist that elected leaders are not allowed to serve on boards of companies (strive for economic empowerment), as this will compromise their role as leaders serving the people and the working class.
4. To ensure, that regular and structured accountability of elected leaders of COSATU, to political and public office are enforced.
5. To convene a mid-term Alliance review of the work of government and the performance of deployees to political and public office.

Further this Central Committee resolves:

6. To seek to contribute, in a non-sectarian manner, to the ANC's nomination and election process and outcome through COSATU cadres who are directly involved in ANC structures in preparation for its 52nd National Congress to be held in December 2007 in Limpopo.
 - 6.1. The Central Committee identify and recommends to its cadres who are in ANC structures (not nominate) the following candidates for the top six position of the ANC NEC:
 - **President: Jacob Zuma**
 - **Deputy President:** Kgalema Motlanthe
 - **National Chairperson:** Nkosazana Zuma or another women meeting the set criteria or Makhenkesi Stofile
 - **Secretary General:** Gwede Mantashe
 - **Deputy Secretary General:** Baleka Mbethe
 - **Treasurer General:** Matthew Phosa

7. Additional Members to the ANC NEC

- 7.1. That Central Committee mandate the CEC of COSATU to draw up and recommend a list of additional members (including leaders from COSATU who are active ANC members) to serve on the ANC NEC.
- 7.2. That the CEC be mandated to manage together with Alliance partners the potential problems that might arise as a consequence of the 9th Congress resolution on the leadership question in the ANC.
- 7.3. COSATU supports the quota system in order to ensure that women are properly represented in all leadership structures of the movement. We support generally the need to have the leadership reflective of its constituency and the demographics of our country.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on key challenges facing COSATU and the working class

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. Progressive gains since 1994 include the right to vote, progressive labour laws, the progressive Constitution and the democratic institutions.
2. However when the gains are measured in relation to the demands of the Freedom Charter, they fall far short.
3. Challenges in relation to the Constitution include the property clause that prevents full access to the land, minerals, etc.
4. The working class has made limited achievements. But the majority of gains have accrued to capital. Major beneficiaries of the transition have been white capital and the parasitic black bourgeoisie. The one-sided elitist focus on BEE programmes has set us back.
5. Some gains which were made post 1994 lost momentum with advent of Gear. From 1994-1995 people e.g. through RDP committees were able to say what they wanted. However this voice of communities was weakened with the adoption of Gear in 1996 with brutal fiscal cutbacks that had a devastating impact on communities.
6. The Alliance has not had a common view on the NDR and its relationship to capitalism.
7. There has been a vulgarisation of Marxism by those who want to delay the advance to socialism.
8. The 1996 class project goes back to long before Gear - we need to analyse how it was imposed, to prevent a repetition; and its foundation - what it is and how to deal with it.
9. The working class is characterised as the primary motive force of the NDR. But we can only exercise this role if we address our weaknesses.
10. We need to address the role of the middle strata, patriotic bourgeoisie, etc. - including those elements that are betraying the cause of the working class. We need to clarify how we locate the role of these strata, and how to assert our hegemony.
11. We need to clearly define and characterise the transition, and distinguish working class led transition from others. The transition cannot be forever.
12. We have not succeeded in changing the colonial nature of the economy. Economic relations are not promoting decent work, or addressing the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

13. Our trade policy has not protected our industries. The perception is that some of them have been sacrificed to retain relationships with key countries.
14. Progressive labour laws have been passed like employment equity, health and safety, etc. but these laws have not been fully implemented. The Department of Labour has failed in this regard. We must also strengthen our implementation capacity as labour.
15. The community of farm workers has been excluded from benefits of the transition. Existence of legal protection has not proven to be adequate in protecting rights of farm workers and their families residing on the farms. We need aggressive programmes to promote the rights of farm workers.
16. We need to look more critically at the extent to which service delivery has succeeded, including problems in the provision of electricity and water, and shortcomings in housing policy (“Instead of matchbox houses we are now living in half matchboxes”). We are not catering for the very poor, or addressing income poverty.
17. At a national level, key policy debates have not happened within the ANC but in government structures. At a local level, ANC branches have been aligned with local wards, and become a transmission belt; this opens us up to opportunistic forces opposing us.
18. Branches are not taking forward Alliance decisions. There is a worrying lack of capacity amongst leadership.
19. There are organisations with working class elements, which promote the agenda of capital.
20. There has been a problematic culture of crosscutting relationships between government and business enterprises e.g. Elephant consortium. Some in the leadership are using policies to make themselves rich e.g. 2010 and Gautrain.
21. Moral degeneration in society at large is linked to the wholesale promotion of capitalist values.
22. The power of the financial sector is being used to undermine some shop stewards’ and leadership integrity.
23. Some Federation leaders are trying to achieve recognition, in a way, which undermines the interests of members.
24. There has been a deliberate upsurge in conspiratorial politics to influence democratic processes, undermine congresses etc. Elements within our ranks are threatening to destroy the revolution. Factions in the Alliance undermine the role of COSATU. Divisions are also undermining our strength in relation to employers. However, there has never been absolute unity - and we should not exaggerate the extent of divisions. We need to develop strategies and reclaim our ability to deal with differences.

Therefore the Central Committee resolves:

1. We have an overriding challenge to articulate our programme, and build consciousness on a working class agenda for transformation. We need to take forward the proposals from the SACP and COSATU bilateral to contest all sites of power to assert working class hegemony.
2. The key challenge remains to advance a developmental agenda, which addresses the key issues facing the working class. To this end we need to intensify the jobs and poverty campaign, and the campaign for an Alliance Pact.
3. A new developmental strategy cannot succeed without an appropriate macro-economic policy, including fiscal, monetary, industrial and trade policies. We must campaign for these policies, as part of the Pact.
4. On monetary policy, we must campaign against current policies of the Reserve Bank, call for amendments to its mandate and ensure broad representation.
5. We need to develop strategies on a range of areas to use the leverage, and economic power of the Federation, to assert national programmes e.g. on health care to advance movement towards the National Health Insurance and on democratisation of retirement funds.
6. It is also important to build a counter-hegemonic bloc internationally. Campaigns should be intensified to isolate the IMF, World Bank, G8 etc. in terms of the inappropriate economic policies, which they continue to advance.
7. We need to go back to basics, build workplace organisation, proper mandating procedures and revive the report back culture. We need to re-look at the September Commission and Organisational Review proposals on these issues
8. A proper balance must be created between our political campaigns and organisational work. We must put a time frame for implementation of all our organisational resolutions and ensure that affiliates comply e.g. the resolution on Cartels and super unions. Resolutions on the role of COSATU in disciplining affiliates must be implemented. There is a need develop a much more closer collaboration between public sector and private sector unions, e.g. in fighting job losses.
9. The next CEC must devote substantial time to assessing implementation of our organisational and socio-economic resolutions.
10. We need to finalise a code of conduct to protect our leaders, and ensure they conduct themselves with integrity. This and other strategies are required to overcome cracks in the Federation and the Alliance.
11. We need to communicate more effectively with our membership, and popularise our decisions, including through compiling simplified documents reflecting on positions of COSATU. We need an "ear to the ground campaign" to reconnect with members and the broader community, and combat social distance, which is emerging even within the shop stewards. We must implement our resolution to provide resources for locals and extend advantages of IT to them.
12. We need to be strong at the level of workplaces, and need to ensure proper servicing of members.

13. We must embark on programmes to ensure effective solidarity action across the Trade union movement. We must also develop a strategy to promote trade union organisation in the entire SADC region.
14. We must campaign for implementation of progressive legislation, particularly labour legislation, and fight to protect our gains. A particular focus is required on a major initiative to transform the living and working conditions of our people living on the farms.
15. We need to develop a strategy to revive the MDM, and ensure that all sectors are organised, including rural communities. We need a strategy to address particularly vulnerable, and difficult to organize, sectors such as the ageing population and the unemployed.
16. We must advance our relationships with other organisations, including the churches, and community-based organisations.
17. We need to engage with the upsurge of independent sporadic community struggles - and link these struggles to the broader NDR. If we don't do this, it will lead to a vacuum, which could be occupied by counter-revolutionary elements.
18. We need to take forward our campaign for the working class to recapture the soul of the ANC, and to defend progressive policies of the ANC. Workers need to reclaim the ANC at the level of branches.
19. We have a responsibility to unite all democratic forces, including those who have different interests. We must avoid irresponsibly that disintegrate unity.
20. We need a programme to deepen working class consciousness. We need to start study groups at all levels of our organisation, in the Alliance, and the broad democratic movement. Socialist forums should involve everyone, including community organisations activists. We need to implement our previous resolutions to assist in setting up working areas Party units.
21. We need to engage more aggressively with the media, including the SABC, and establish our own forms of communication, including print media.

Appendix

Challenges facing working class identified by COSATU bilateral with SACP

At the recent bilateral with the SACP we identified the following daunting challenges facing working class formations:

1. Building a counter-hegemonic bloc to the agenda of monopoly capital. This should be translated into a challenge to the dominant discourse and the fight for policy shifts in areas of fiscal and monetary policy, social development and employment and industrial strategies.
2. Building unity of the liberation movement around the Freedom Charter vision. We must avoid endless, vague and abstract debate, which channel energy

towards proving who has the correct reading of classic or historic texts. Rather, debate must focus on how the contemporary trajectory lives up to the vision of the movement and the concrete steps to attain our long-standing goals in the current conjuncture.

3. While asserting the hegemonic position of the working class as a primary motive force, a key question is how to maintain the historic bloc of forces around a vision of society that addresses class, gender and racial contradictions. It is pointless to achieve recognition of the working class as a primary motive force when policy disproportionately favours the elite. In that context, the working class must articulate a vision that will draw the broadest section of people, particularly the middle strata. To that extent the vision should demonstrate that there is a common cause between the working class and the black middle strata and to an extent the emerging black bourgeoisie to fight for the radical transformation of our society. This can take the form of campaigns like the financial sector campaign, agrarian reforms and breaking the stranglehold of white monopoly capital.
4. The Alliance must form a centre to drive transformation and policy development. In this context we need to fight for a qualitative shift in the functioning of the Alliance. If Alliance means strategic coming together of independent formations, then this must be reflected in the manner in which government policy is set and driven. Furthermore, the ANC ought to be empowered to drive policy rather than tailing behind government.
5. Galvanise a progressive movement made up of the liberation movement working with progressive elements of civil society. In this regard the aim would be to marshal social forces to buttress a progressive state in a way that tilts power in favour of the working class. As such mass mobilisation will be important to counter the power of capital, defend the revolution and expand the envelope of the possible.
6. The ANC remains an important progressive formation for the working class. The challenge is how we retain its progressive posture and working class leadership under the current conditions of intense contestation. As ANC members we need to defend the progressive strand in ANC policy and its continued bias towards the working class. This will require an examination of how the ANC is affected by current developments and in what way it reflects working class bias in its policy and leadership structures. Without doubt we know that leadership contests can either place an organisation on a higher growth path or lead to paralysis and disintegration. For that reason, as we approach the ANC conference we need to exercise maximum caution not to destroy the movement due to narrow factionalist positions. Neither should we allow a sense of paralysis or helplessness to creep in as we tackle leadership questions. We must shift debate from personalities to what collective will take the ANC forward and retain its progressive working-class bias.
7. The SACP will debate how it positions itself in the political landscape. COSATU does not have views at the moment and will have to grapple with the implications of whatever decision the Party arrives at, in particular in relation to whether the SACP should stand on its own for elections. However, we remain

unshaken in our belief that a strong Party rooted among workers is our insurance to advance the struggle towards socialism. It is from this context that we have called on the SACP to unite the left and convene a conference of the left.

8. The Alliance has to build a coherent international policy and progressive movement. This should be consistent with our vision of building a humane and just international order. To that end the minimum platform of such a vision is to challenge the tyranny of neo-liberalism, decolonisation, and democratisation across the globe. We have to fight for a fair and just international trading regime.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on Strategic Vision of the Alliance Pact Proposals

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. That the RDP was the Alliance's programme in 1994 – the question is how does the Alliance Pact differ in its content and implementation?
2. The debates on the Alliance Pact will expose the extent to which there is a consensus in the Alliance on the NDR.
3. The need for specific role the Alliance Pact would have in contributing to our stated objectives of deepening and radicalising the NDR and how it relates to the Freedom Charter.
4. There may be international experiences that are positive or negative that we may draw on to bolster our Pact proposals.
5. The Alliance has not been able to play any role in the formulation of the country's economic policies. The ANC itself has been largely sidelined. Economic policies including the disastrous 1996 Gear project are driven by government ministers and officials, their advisors from business and universities and pressure from international capital.
6. That one of the good examples of this problem is that while the trade unions are demanding the re-nationalisation of Mittal, the government is trying to persuade Tata to become a rival private company.

Therefore this Fourth Central Committee resolves:

1. That the Alliance Pact must be an integral part and certainly not an alternative to our campaigns against unemployment, poverty and inequality and the struggle for socialism. We should not place all our eggs in the Pact basket as this could weaken and even liquidate our organisations.
2. The Alliance Pact is necessary because, despite the major gains we made since 1994 in the areas of political freedom and human rights, the economic transformation process has stalled and the majority of the people are still suffering from poverty while an elite and minority have reaped all the benefits.

3. The Pact must be much more far reaching than the kind of “consultation” we have experienced in NEDLAC, Millennium Labour Council and the President’s Working Group none of which gives the Alliance any role.
4. The Alliance Pact is no different from a People’s Contract, which was a slogan and a pledge of the ANC in the 2004 election campaign.
5. Negotiations and discussions on the Pact must be combined with mass mobilisation of membership and broader civil society. At the end the Alliance Pact must reflect the demands of the people including on service delivery. We shall not seek crumbs from the master’s table but building working class power from below so that we impose working class hegemony.
6. To in addition to the Alliance structures, involve the important civil society formations like SACC, SANGOCO in drawing up and campaigning for the Pact. Regular reports must be given to all structures on the progress of achieving these goals.
7. The Alliance Pact will set out the country’s strategic policy objectives, provide the basis for Alliance elections manifesto and be used as a mechanisms to hold the candidates and other deployed cadres accountable.
8. To demand that the Alliance deployees who fail to implement the Alliance Pact must be recalled. There will be no tolerance for Alliance leaders who try to undermine the implementation of the Pact.
9. That the policies arising from the Pact should be specific, clear and simple to understand. These policies should aim for a full implementation of the demands of the Freedom Charter and set measurable targets and timeframes for delivery of quality service to our people. The objectives of the Pact must be quite clear to avoid vague and general policy statements that leave room for revision and reinterpretation.
10. To maintain the independence of the trade union movement and community organisations which should remain mobilised and organisationally strong. Social Accords that limits trade union’s freedom to amount to class suicide and must be avoided. We shall continue to campaign for a living wage and better conditions for members. There can be no question of the Pact limiting the right to strike or weakening the labour laws.
11. To maintain COSATU as a revolutionary trade union Federation that takes up both shop floor and community issues. COSATU see the Pact as attempt to address all the three interrelated contradictions that the NDR seeks to resolve. This will happen in a manner that is continuous until we lay a basis for a socialist country. The Pact will not be a shopping list and would be different to the kind of agreements trade unions negotiate every day with employers.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on the Building Blocks for an Alliance Pact and the Detailed Proposals

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. The Ninth National Congress resolutions on the Alliance calling for:
 - a. The review of its structure and operations to enable all alliance partners to meaningfully participate in the pursuit of the NDR and social transformation
 - b. The development of a structured, enforceable Alliance Pact that would be binding on all parties
 - c. Agreements on deployments and quotas for representation of Alliance partners at all levels with each retaining the power to recall representatives.
2. That the omission of agreements on Alliance-driven implementation and oversight programmes and mechanisms ensured the basis for non-compliance with RDP objectives and targets.

Believing

1. That the current over-centralisation of power in government undermines accountability to the electorate and should be countered by strengthening the Alliance as the political centre to determine policy as well as provide oversight to ensure policy implementation.
2. That a commitment to the full implementation of the Freedom Charter constitutes the minimum basis for our vision towards realising the goals of the NDR.

Therefore this Fourth Central Committee Resolve:

1. To reiterate our call for the development of an Alliance pact through a consultation process involving rank and file membership, general mass participation, participation of other progressive civil society formations as well as convening appropriate forums such as a conference of the left.
2. To convene a bilateral meeting with the ANC ahead of the December conference to seek support for the development of an Alliance Pact, which would form the basis for the Alliance manifesto for the 2009 elections.
3. To launch a mass-based campaign to popularise demands for the Alliance Pact, with linkages with other progressive civil society organisations.
4. To ensure the introduction of mechanisms (in addition to the Alliance Pact) that reflects the Alliance as the political centre for deployment, governance, policy formulation and implementation.

5. The enforcement of the Alliance Pact is paramount to ensure accountability of the leadership to the electorate; it must therefore contain minimum prescribed targets for assessment and compel the release of necessary resources to meet delivery targets.
6. The nature and content of the pact should be the Freedom Charter that constitute the basis for addressing poverty and inequality, containing agreements on minimum policy areas of fiscal and monetary policy, public corporations and public ownership, trade and industrial policy, labour market policy, social protection and basic needs, public service, land and rural development, mainstreaming gender as interlinked with class and race factors, and transformation of the judiciary and access to the courts.
7. The pact should regulate the relationship between the ANC and Alliance partners as well as the relationship between Alliance partners and the Government. The pact should also clarify that in accordance with the objectives of the NDR the type of developmental state that we seek to achieve is a National Democratic State.
8. That the CEC develop guidelines on deployment policy and protocols with detailed criteria in respect of quotas for representation of women, youth and working class as well as appropriate restrictions on numbers of comrades serving in both the State and business. The CEC should determine and propose quotas for deployment of Alliance partner representatives to Parliament and the various legislatures and councils, with individual Alliance organisations having the right to recall deployees.
9. To call for the establishment of Alliance deployment committees to determine the composition of Cabinet, provincial executive councils and mayoral committees.
10. To support quotas of 50/50 on gender representation in legislatures with the proviso that the emphasis be on real transformation of gender relations as opposed to focusing merely on balancing representation in a tokenist manner. Lists should be developed in consultation within relevant structures and constituencies to ensure support.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on a Framework for an Alliance Governance and Election Pact: A Congress Perspective

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. The Alliance is made up of three independent organisations (ANC, SACP and COSATU) glued together by the struggle to achieve the objectives of the NDR.
2. COSATU has always believed that the Alliance can be strengthened through an Alliance programme, hence the rejection of a notion of the reconstruction accord in the early 1990s in favour of the RDP.
3. However, post-1994 and 1996 in particular, the Alliance has not been functioning the way it should, with the government leaders, increasingly sidelining Alliance, including the ANC, in relation to issues of policy development and governance.
4. The Alliance becomes functional and effective only during elections campaigns; and in between elections, the Alliance meetings are held, in the main, to manage crises.
5. In situations where the Alliance met and agreed upon a programme, it is never fully implemented e.g. the declaration of the Ekurhuleni 1 and 2 Alliance Summits.
6. COSATU takes resolutions to build and strengthen the Alliance but fail to implement them, for instance a resolution on swelling the ranks of the ANC. This has resulted in the ANC increasingly drifting away from its historical positions, particularly on the transformation of the economy, and in lower structures of the ANC being weak and only becoming vibrant during elections and conferences.
7. The internal problems of the Federation, including tendencies bordering on factionalism, also contribute to the weak state of the Alliance.
8. The 9th National Congress resolved that Alliance must enter into some pact that would enable the Alliance to influence governance.
9. At the heart of the notion of the pact is the resolve to strengthen and unify the Alliance and work toward turning the second decade of democracy into a decade for the working class.

Therefore this Central Committee Resolves:

1. To accept the correctness and relevance of the 9th COSATU National Congress resolution on Alliance and governance Pact.
2. The Alliance must be reconfigured along the lines of the 'Framework for an Alliance Governance and Elections Pact' discussion document.
3. COSATU must ensure the implementation of Ekurhuleni 1 and 2 Alliance Summits declaration as they set the framework for the engagement with the ANC.

4. The federation must consider the structures for coordinating and mandating processes in such a way that takes members on board.
5. An urgent Alliance Summit must be convened after this CC to engage the concept and content of the Alliance Pact. The elements of the pact must include the common vision within the Alliance on the NDR
6. In the event the notion of the pact fails, COSATU should convene a Special Central Executive Committee to map the way forward.
7. The concept of the pact must be understood in the context of the implementation of the COSATU 2015, the ANC 2014 Plan and the SACP Medium Term Vision (MTV). Accordingly:
 - a) COSATU and its affiliates must do an audit to determine how many leaders are active in the ANC and Party structures. This issue must be a standing item on the agenda of all affiliates' meetings. However, this must not be read to say workers must belong to the ANC or SACP before joining the COSATU unions and must only serve to provide information and encourage leaders to implement resolutions of the National Congresses. Further that the issue must be handled in a way that would not divide the unions.
 - b) To implement the congress resolution on swelling the ranks, all affiliates must identify members in all wards and put a plan in place to coordinate their participation in the ANC and SACP.
 - c) Affiliates must do more to educate their members politically to understand the challenges of the conjuncture and why there is a need for an alliance pact.
 - d) COSATU must implement the 9th NC resolution on commissioning a study to determine the support for socialism amongst workers in SA.
 - e) The federation must revive the popular movement for transformation, and this must include mobilisation of issue-based social movements with a progressive agenda, to ensure that the transformation project benefits the working class.

COSATU Fourth Central Committee Resolution on a Framework for an Alliance Pact: Implementation, Mobilization, Process and Potential Problems.

This Fourth Central Committee, noting:

1. The Alliance was central in drafting and popularising both the Freedom Charter and the RDP, yet post 1994 it had to live with a painful reality of being sidelined in the process of policy formulation and had no role in policy implementation and monitoring.
2. Individual Alliance partners have over a period time developed their individual organisational capacity on Policy Development.
3. The Alliance does not have the political authority to keep government accountable.
4. The Alliance only functions as a mobilising tool only during election campaigns and are used as a safety valve during crisis moments.
5. The Alliance has failed to resolve the debate on the political centre.
6. The Alliance does not have clearly defined and known protocols.
7. There is a clear distinction between the Pact and the Social Accord

Believing that:

1. The Contents of the Freedom Charter remains relevant as a reflection of the aspiration of our people.
2. The ANC is not a be-all and end-all of the Alliance and have neither the right nor power on its own to reject the 'Pact'.
3. The Content and Direction of the NDR should be determined by the masses themselves.
4. The Alliance Pact in this context should be seen as an instrument of struggle to be placed on the hands of the masses.
5. The content of the Pact should reflect the working class interest.
6. The Alliance should be reconfigured such that it remains as a political centre to direct the NDR.

Therefore this Central Committee Resolves:

1. The Central Committee reaffirms the existing resolutions of the Federation on the functioning and centrality of the Alliance in pursuing the National Democratic Revolution.
2. The Alliance should develop a policy development institute, which will play a central role to inform policy development in government. This would draw and tap from each partners already existing resources.
3. The Content of the Pact shall be based on and guided by the Freedom Charter, critical aspects of the RDP and all the relevant economic policies of the Federation including the Alliance Ekurhuleni 1 and 2 resolutions.
4. The Alliance should be reconfigured to reflect the following:
 - a) To have it's structures functioning coherently at all levels and to interface with each Alliance partner.
 - b) To have the Alliance bestowed with the authority of being the Political Centre, which can decide on matters of deployment, recall and the overall strategic direction of the NDR.
 - c) To have an annual Alliance Summit used as a mechanism for progress assessment and evaluation, accountability and to identify areas requiring support and intervention.
 - d) The Alliance Ten-a-Sides will be responsible for monitoring implementation of the pact and the Programme of Mass Mobilisation. This will call for consistency in attending meetings by all leaders without exception and to implement all decisions with equal commitment.
 - e) The Alliance Secretariat shall be given the resources and authority to manage the operational processes of implementing the Alliance Pact and other aspects of the Alliance Programme.
 - f) To have the masses remaining a central feature that drives and informs its programmes. This will include a consistent programme to mobilise society behind its programme.
 - g) Developing Joint Protocols on how to manage its issues. In this regard the CEC will further elaborate on the content of such protocols, which will be tabled in the first Alliance meeting.
5. Immediately after this congress the CEC will be convened to deal with the following:
 - a) Finalising the process of conceptualising the Pact. This will include developing an implementation schedule for all the processes regarding the pact and commissioning a research on the experiences of other national

liberation struggles with regard to pacts and the relationship between the national liberation movements and the bourgeois.

- b) Finalise the process to develop an Alliance Protocols. This would include such things as deployments and recall, communication, managing differences, discipline, leadership, managing multi mandates and membership, organisational cooperation, opportunistic use of Alliance structures, etc.
 - c) Mobilisation of structures of the Federation and engage other Alliance partners and civil society, including the intelligentsia and the progressive intellectuals with a view to have them inform and own the content of the Pact.
 - d) Setting up a media Campaign to communicate its message about the pact. This will include utilising its own internal machinery and engaging the other external media. This will include Mass Workshops through affiliates and provinces on the content of the Pact.
6. 2008 will be the year to finalise both content and processes on the Pact. This include bilateral between COSATU and the SACP, and with other alliance partners.
 7. The principle of a pact should find expression in the ANC January 8th Statement and in the 2009 election manifesto developed jointly by the Alliance.
 8. Under no circumstances should the mobilising capacity and the struggle for socialism be compromised by the Pact.
 9. The mobilisation process for a Pact will in itself be such that it acts as an early warning signal for the acceptance or rejection of the proposals. In Case any critical and strategic partner including the ANC rejects the Proposal, a determination will be made at that point informed by the obtaining material conditions.

The Resolution of the COSATU Special Central Executive Committee held on 13 September 2007 – Adopted by the Fourth Central Committee

The Special CEC noted that:

1. The COSATU President swears that he handed over to the SACP General Secretary an amount of R500 000 in cash, which he claims to have received as a donation for the SACP from a businessman, Charles Kasinja Modise.
2. The SACP General Secretary is equally adamant that he did not receive such an amount of money or any other amount in the fashion alleged by the COSATU President.
3. The SACP established a task team to get to the bottom of these claims and counter claims.
4. The task team will present its report to the SACP's Politburo on Saturday, September 15, 2007, which will make a public announcement on the findings of the task team the next day, Sunday September 16, 2007.
5. The police have launched an investigation that may result in charges being laid against whomever they deem has a case to answer.
6. COSATU's good name and image keeps on being associated with this controversy because of the coincidence that the person who appears to be destined to be a witness for either Charles Kasinja Modise or the state happens to be our President, who in his capacity as a member of the SACP Central Committee and Politburo at the time of the alleged incident, allegedly received the money and allegedly handed it over to the SACP General Secretary, who is the leader of the working class vanguard political party.
7. COSATU and its members hold the SACP and its leadership in the highest esteem and regard. Equally COSATU members hold the COSATU leadership in high esteem and regard.
8. We are aware of the implications not only to the President but also to the Federation as a whole if these allegations he has made were to be proven to have been false or, worst of all, to have formed part of the general onslaught against the left forces in general and the SACP in particular. No such conclusions have been reached now – either by the SACP or the police.
9. The anxiety this whole saga has caused in our ranks and in the public discourse.
10. The whole matter is divisive and is a threat to COSATU's internal unity and cohesion.

Therefore the Special CEC resolved to:

1. Commend the way the COSATU National Office Bearers have handled the matter, and in particular to express support for the public statement they issued on August 24, 2007.

2. Criticise how the whole saga has been handled and condemn in particular the public mud-slinging and insults that have been traded between all those who went public on a matter that should have been handled internally a long time ago.
3. In particular we remain critical of:
 - a) The Young Communist League, who sought to prescribe to the Federation what action it must take against its President. All formations of the Alliance should at all times respect each other's independence from one another.
 - b) The COSATU President's handling of the matter, in particular the public statements that he made through radio, television and the print media. This includes his declaration that he will no longer make himself available for leadership positions in the Federation or his union. This announcement in the middle of this controversy was unfortunate, the more so because it was never raised in the CEC.
 - c) The COSATU President's utterances at the FAWU Congress wherein he accused all and sundry of lack of leadership. At no stage did the President ever share his views on this matter with the CEC and other structures of the Federation that he presides over.
 - d) The COSATU President's issuing public statements without taking the NOBs' collective into his confidence. This contravenes the spirit of the discussions that took place at the November 2006 CEC. This discussion was necessitated by the divisions that emerged in the run up to the 9th National Congress leading to the CEC establishing a Commission to investigate the reasons behind these divisions.
 - e) The behaviour of the President and how he handled the matter is in breach of the November and February CEC resolutions, which, whilst placing the responsibility on all members of the CEC and the NOBs' collective, place even more responsibility on the shoulders of the President and the General Secretary to lead the Federation to heal the rifts that emerged in the run-up to the Congress and foster maximum unity in the Federation. The CEC is to be convened in a special session after this Central Committee, or the November 2007 CEC will act to address this as a specific matter.
 - f) Whilst the COSATU provincial structures have every right to discuss and hold views on any matter including on national issues, it is wrong for any province to make public pronouncements that are seen to be in contradiction with positions that COSATU at national level has already provided leadership on. There can be no circumstances justifying any province to make public pronouncements that are critical of the national leadership of the Federation, including its President. These criticisms are only fair and correct if raised within the structures of the Federation. COSATU NOBs should draft a protocol to govern this matter in the Federation for discussion in the November 2007 CEC.

4. The President and all the other NOBs will forthwith no longer make any public comments on this matter and will respect the due processes of the SACP and the law.
5. We condemn the use of media, in particular the culture that is bedevilling the Federation and the congress movement as whole, where individuals use the media to misrepresent discussions happening in the constitutional structures. Those who relate to the media in this fashion who are members of the CEC are urged to desist from doing so.
6. Respect the SACP internal process to investigate the claims and counter claims that have been made. These are internal processes of the SACP that are best handled by the SACP itself.
7. Following the release of the task team report, the COSATU NOBs will seek audience with the SACP Politburo and the NOBs to get a briefing of its contents. Should the contents of the report warrant a further discussion on the matter by the Federation, the NOBs will advise the leadership of the unions who shall be convened during the Central Committee to be held from 17-20 September 2007.
8. COSATU will, in accordance with point 5 above, as well as any consideration that may be necessitated by the report of the SACP, call a special CEC to consider these matters and take appropriate action where necessary.
9. Call on the COSATU leadership gathered as the Central Committee, whilst it is true that they are a higher structure than the CEC, and may discuss any matter affecting the Federation, to allow the CEC to handle this matter.