

Draft COSATU Workers Charter

Prepared for discussion in COSATU - January 1992

Introduction

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This draft needs to be discussed by affiliates in preparation for the March CEC. This CEC should amend and/or endorse as a draft for COSATU to present to the Worker's Summit in May.

Note: A final draft would not include the present numbering (e.g. 1.1.1., 1.3. etc) and would be written better. Comrades should concentrate on commenting on the content.

1. Preamble

We the working people/ workers declare:

- 1.1. South African workers are exploited and oppressed. Every day we face the ravages of capitalism - poverty, low wages, unemployment, bad working and living conditions. The blame for these ills must be laid firmly at the door of the capitalists and the present government.
- 1.2. Together with all other democratic forces we must strive to end this system and establish a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.
- 1.3. Our future lies in the achievement of socialism/ a social system which is free from exploitation and oppression and where workers, who constitute the majority, play a leading role. We must be able to play a key and creative role in shaping our workplace, political and economic environments. In this way we will be able to fully develop our potential as human beings.
- 1.4. We can only achieve this by being well organised and united.

2. Trade union rights

- 2.1. All workers shall have the right to form and join trade unions and organise workers freely. They shall have the right to stop order facilities, recognition of shop stewards, access by officials to work places and access to information.
- 2.2. There shall be the right to bargain collectively/together on all social and economic

issues that affect workers. This shall include the right to determine the appropriate level of bargaining and the right to participate in work place decision making.

- 2.3. Trade unions/ worker organisations shall have the right to fair and equal access to the courts.
- 2.4. Workers should have control over institutions such as the training boards, labour courts, the National Manpower Commission which affect their lives. All legislation which affects trade unions shall require the consent of the majority in the trade union movement.
- 2.5. The right to strike**
 - 2.5.1. The right to strike is a fundamental right and workers shall have the right to strike on all socio, economic or political issues. Even a State of Emergency shall not prevent workers from striking.
 - 2.5.2. During strikes workers shall have the right to picket, to strike funds, to call boycotts or to hold sympathy strikes. Scabs shall be outlawed.
 - 2.5.3. There shall be no victimisation by employers or other sources as a result of strike action.

3. Role of trade unions

- 3.1. Trade unions shall be independent from the state, employers or political parties. They shall be democratically controlled by their own members.
- 3.2. Trade unions shall strive towards building in practice the principle of unity - at industry, federation and international levels.

4. Working and living conditions

4.1. Living wage

- 4.1.1. Every worker shall have the right to a living wage which shall provide for a decent standard of living for all.
- 4.1.2. There shall be a right to adequate housing which shall be the state's responsibility to ensure.
- 4.1.3. There shall be a right to a living pension and retirement benefits, medical care, full parental rights, child care and public transport.
- 4.1.4. There shall be a maximum 40 hour week.

4.2. Right to leisure

There shall be a right to leisure and recreational facilities. Workers shall have

adequate rest and leisure to give us an opportunity to develop our talents and skills in areas unrelated to our specific jobs. This shall encourage the all-round development of workers. Attention shall be given to overcoming male stereotypes which stunt and prevent the all-round development of both men and women.

4.3. Right to a job

Every adult person shall have a right and duty to work. A new state shall, as a matter of priority, work to create economic conditions in which jobs are available to all.

4.4. Unemployment

There shall be a living social security/ unemployment benefit until such time as there is full employment.

4.5. Migrant, forced and child labour

4.5.1. Migrant labour shall be phased out or in cases where it is unavoidable, provision shall be made for family accommodation during any period of service exceeding three months.

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4.6. Women

4.6.1. The constitution shall recognise the fundamental equality between men and women in marriage, employment and in society.

4.6.2. Marriage laws shall give women equal rights before marriage, in marriage and in the dissolution of marriage.

4.6.3. Rape, battery, abuse and harassment of women shall be outlawed.

4.6.4. Domestic work shall be shared equally.

4.6.5. It shall be the duty of the state, political parties, trade unions and all other mass and social organisations to ensure women's participation at leadership and other levels. Measures, including educational campaigns shall be embarked upon to combat all forms of male chauvinism.

4.5. Discrimination and affirmative action

4.5.1. Any form of discrimination based on race, colour, sex, creed, religion, physical disability, marital status or nationality shall be prohibited.

4.5.2. The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate racial, gender, rural/urban and other forms of discrimination and social and economic inequalities that has resulted from apartheid.

4.5.3. Special attention shall be paid to redressing the oppressive situation faced by farm and domestic workers and those trapped in the Bantustans.

4.5.4. There shall be equal pay for work of equal value.

4.6. Education and training

4.6.1. All workers shall have the right to education, training and skills upgrading? Education and training shall empower workers to control the economy. Trade unions shall play a central role in human resource development.

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4.7.1. Workers shall have the right to work and live in a healthy environment. The state shall have a responsibility to implement suitable environmental policies.

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5.1. There shall be one person one vote in a unitary South Africa.

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- 6.1. Wealth shall be redistributed to benefit the people as a whole. The white capitalist monopoly of ownership and managerial control shall be done away with. Forms of collective ownership shall be introduced.
- 6.2. The state shall play a central role in the redistribution of wealth using weapons such as nationalisation. It shall use its resources and power to promote economic growth and job creation.
- 6.3. The economy shall work within a system of democratic planning by the state, involving workers, civics and other organs of civil society. Trade unions shall play a central role in economic planning.
- 6.4. There shall be active participation in the planning and running of enterprises by workers.
- 6.5. There shall be redistribution of land.

7. International rights

- 7.1. Internationally set standards shall be ratified and implemented by the state.
- 7.2. There shall be South African and African worker solidarity. Trade unions and worker rights shall be guaranteed throughout Southern Africa to prevent employers and governments exploiting lower labour standards in certain countries.
- 7.3. There shall be freedom of movement, residence and employment throughout Southern Africa.
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CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR PRESS CIRCULATION
- FOR DISCUSSION

THE CAPE TOWN
TRADE UNION

Draft Charter and Programme
for Peace, Democracy and
Economic Reconstruction

All South Africans are deeply concerned at the breakdown of negotiations, at rising violence, the sharply deteriorating economy, increasing unemployment, spiralling food prices and the other serious socio-economic problems which increase prospects of confrontation and conflict. In an attempt to break this cycle of conflict the undersigned organisations commit themselves to the actions set out below. We actively seek the support of all South Africans of goodwill to support these actions.

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1. Curbing Violence

We commit the resources at our disposal to ensure that:

- 1.1 effective peace committees are established in all communities where our members are present, throughout the country;
- 1.2 effective mechanisms exist on the ground to monitor the behaviour of both the security agencies and political organisations, and in particular the investigation and prosecutions of crimes of violence;
- 1.3 recommendations of the Goldstone Commission including those relating to hostels, security forces, dangerous weapons and mass demonstrations as well as the actions of political organisations are implemented without delay;

- Page 2 -

1.4 the provisions of the Peace Accord relating to the governments establishment of special criminal courts, police reporting officers, effective adherence by all signatories and the adequate provision of infrastructure and resources are implemented.

2. Combatting Poverty

Through representative institutions such as the economic and housing forums, we will seek to urgently establish or expand:

- 2.1 job creation programmes that offer employment and marketable skills to retrenchees and the unemployed;
- 2.2 programmes that deliver food and other drought relief to the communities who need it;
- 2.3 housing and hostel upgrading programmes that offer secure shelter together with related services;
- 2.4 a programme for the provision of electricity for all;
- 2.5 a national forum to address unacceptably high food inflation;
- 2.6 programmes to create a viable system of education and training for all;

- Page 3 -

2.7 an open and inclusive approach at both national and industry level, to economic restructuring and to agreeing to an economic strategy which will deliver high and sustainable levels of growth and development. To this end, to seek to avoid unilateral economic restructuring and to seek consensus between government, labour and business in this regard.

3. NMC and Labour Rights

We commit ourselves urgently to finalize the NMC restructuring and therein to resolve the extension of trade union rights to farm, domestic and public sector workers.

4. Political transition

None of the above can succeed unless progress is also made in the transition to democracy. Whilst it is the role of the political organisations to craft new political dispensations, four pre-requisites for progress seem clear to us:

4.1 the need to move as speedily as possible to political settlement based on elections on a one person one vote of equal value for a united South Africa;

4.2 Both the period of transition, and a new dispensation, must be governed by and conform to principles of democracy. Such a set of principles have already been agreed by the political organisations, and are set out in an annexure to this document;

- Page 4 -

4.3 an elected constitution making body unfettered in its capacity to agree and adopt a constitution for South Africa except by the principles annexed hereto, needs to be established, and which shall also perform the dual function of a transitional parliament. In its decision-making this body must be governed by and conform to universal norms of democracy;

4.4 effective transitional arrangements, and in particular an independent electoral commission to ensure that elections held during the transition are indeed free and fair.

We can see no reason why the four elements above should be the cause of dispute. Equally we can see no reason why all four should not be given legislative effect and be in place in a specified, short term, time-frame of six to nine months.

We commit ourselves to:

- use all peaceful means at our disposal to resolving the national impasse;
- support the right of freedom of association and expression of all groups/people in pursuing peaceful means to resolve this dispute. This includes refraining from victimization or intimidation.

We intend to seek the support of all our members - and of the broader public - for the above goals:

- by seeking their support for this document;

- Page 5 -

- by convening a broadly representative meeting or convention to be held before the end of July to give effect to this document;
- by organizing and calling on all South Africans to observe 3rd August 1992 as a day of peace, democracy and economic reconstruction.

To ensure that the provision of this document is given effect we commit ourselves to calling a broadly representative meeting by the end of September to review the actions of the parties, in giving effect to the above results achieved and to decide on such further steps as may be appropriate.

- Page 6 -

ANNEXURE

1. South Africa will be a united sovereign state in which all will enjoy a common South African citizenship.
2. South Africa will be democratic, non-racial and non-sexist.
3. The constitution shall be the supreme law.
4. There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary with appropriate checks and balances.
5. The judiciary will be independent, non racial and impartial.
6. There will be a legal system that guarantees the equality of all before the law.
7. There will be representative and accountable government embracing multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters roll and, in general, proportional representation.
8. The diversity of languages, cultures and religions will be acknowledged.
9. All will enjoy universal accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly which will be guaranteed by an entrenched and justiciable bill/charter of fundamental rights.
10. Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels.
 - * At each level there shall be democratic representation.
 - * Each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers, duties and functions that will enable each level to function effectively; such powers, duties and functions to be entrenched in the constitution.

TIMETABLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION

1.1	Peace Committees	End September
1.2	Monitoring	Early October
1.3	Implement Goldstone Recommendations	End August
1.4	Implement Peace Accord Recommendations	End August
2.1	Job Creation Programme	End August
2.2	Food and drought relief programme	End July
2.3	Housing and hostel upgrading programme via National Housing Forum launch	August
2.4	Electricity provision	Mid August
2.5	Food forum	Mid August
2.6	Viable education and training via negotiations between concerned parties	Urgently
2.7	Launch of Economic Forum	End August
3.	NMC re-structuring; farm, domestic and public sector rights	End August
4.	General Review	September

PROGRAMME OF ACTION : A DAY FOR PEACE, ECONOMIC
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEMOCRACY

SACCOLA and COSATU together with the Churches and other religious organisations call upon all the people in South Africa including those living and working in the TBVC states to observe Monday, 3rd August as a day of peace, democracy and economic reconstruction. SACCOLA and COSATU intend to organize assemblies in all the major centers of South Africa together with the Churches. In addition the Churches have also agreed to convene activities in all local Churches throughout the country. It is the intention that these assemblies and local Church activities will provide an opportunity for millions of South Africans to reflect on the problems of violence, poverty and the current political deadlock; to commit themselves and their communities to the goals of peace, economic reconstruction and democracy and to discuss practical measures to promote these three goals. During these activities South Africans will be invited to sign peace, economic reconstruction and democracy pledges. SACCOLA and COSATU have agreed to suspend normal economic activities for this day to express support for these activities. SACCOLA and COSATU call upon all employers and trade unions, in both the private and public sectors, and all other South Africans to do likewise.

SACCOLA and COSATU will use their resources to ensure that the actions of the day are conducted peacefully, and without disciplinary action.

- Page 2 -

To ensure success, the parties will establish a steering committee to address the issues of adequate resources, planning, logistics and communication, including at the workplace.

17th July 1992

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DRAFT JOINT COMMITMENTS

SACCOLA and COSATU have today agreed on a charter and programme aimed at curbing violence, combatting poverty through a programme of economic reconstruction, and to act to bring about progress to end the political impasse.

A series of commitments and proposed joint actions are set out in the attached draft charter. It is the intention of the parties to commence with these actions immediately. On the 3rd August SACCOLA and COSATU are planning to organize together with the Churches a day of peace, democracy and economic reconstruction. These activities are to be convened by the Churches. SACCOLA and COSATU have also agreed to meet towards the end of September to review the concrete progress that has been achieved by that date.

SACCOLA undertakes that there will be no disciplinary action against workers employed at SACCOLA member establishments for not attending work on the day of the peace, democracy and economic reconstruction and COSATU will suspend its planned general strike until the review of progress scheduled for September 1992. However, COSATU will continue with the programme of peaceful rolling mass action, in accordance with its own goals and policy.

- Page 2 -

These undertakings are given in the spirit and assumptions underlying the charter and programme for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction.

17th July 1992

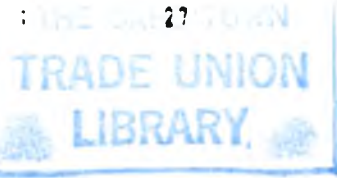
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	General Review	September

Cosatu Conference

SENT BY: COSATU H/O

1-7-92 17:01



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Summary of conclusions of COSATU Living Wage Conference 30 June 1992

1. Background

- 1.1. COSATU in conjunction with the Alliance decided on a scenario that by the end of June, we would have in an interim government which would allow us to go for elections for a Constituent Assembly in December 1992. This has not happened.
- 1.2. Instead CODESA 2 has deadlocked on fundamental issues. The CODESA process also had a number of weaknesses i.e. that it was not a site of struggle, it excluded the masses, was too technical, long and unco-ordinated. It has now lost credibility.
- 1.3. The crisis facing our country is not only that talks have been broken off. High food prices, homelessness, starvation, low wage increases have all contributed to anger, militancy and resistance among our people. There can be demoralisation, if there is no decisive leadership.
- 1.4. Our challenge is to channel the anger and resistance in the direction where we can confront the government and compel them to move along the road of democracy and peace.

2. Approach to political negotiations

- 2.1. We must drive our energies to remove the De Klerk government and defeat its agenda. This should be done through mass action and building the broadest possible coalitions and unity locally and internationally to isolate De Klerk.
- 2.2. Through our actions, we must force De Klerk to come back to the negotiating table agreeing to negotiate a speedy transition to democracy. This includes agreeing that:
 - The Constituent Assembly will be sovereign and decisions are by a two thirds majority. There should be no veto rights for minority parties.
 - There will be elections for a sovereign Constituent Assembly by December for a undivided South Africa. The elections should be on a one-person one-vote basis.
- 2.3. COSATU believes that protracted negotiations are being used by the regime to delay our transition to democracy.

SENT BY COSATU HQ

1-7-92 17:02

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If we demand that the government must go, we need to have effective, well structured interim mechanisms to level the playing field so that there can be free and fair elections.

We need interim mechanisms to monitor and control media, electoral process, finances and the security forces. We should not be locked in long negotiations on how to achieve this.

- 2.4. We need to further consider constructive international participation in this process. If we are strong enough on the ground, we can set the agenda for international participation.
- 2.5. We need further to ensure that:
 - * Restructuring at local government and economic level is halted, since this is also part of levelling the playing field. No actions should be taken which will restrict the powers of a democratically elected constituent assembly.
 - * All people, including migrant workers, who have been in SA for five years must be able to vote.
- 2.5. The current structure of negotiations has outlived its purpose. We want a new kind of negotiations process which is simpler, has clearer time frames and is controlled and guided by the masses. There should not be a long drawn out process.
- 2.6. Violence
 - 2.6.1. We should not see the end of violence as the pre-condition to re-entering negotiations. Rather we must "impose peace on De Klerk". Through our mass actions we must force the De Klerk government to agree to the demands identified by the ANC including:
 - * The immediate closure of hostels which are flashpoints of violence.
 - * Ban on dangerous weapons
 - * Prosecute and convict war lords
 - * End covert operations
 - * Allow international monitoring
 - * No indemnity for those involved in violence.
 - 2.6.2. The campaign against violence should also include:
 - * Building a broad coalition against death squads and corruption.
 - * Taking up legal actions to put on prominent members of the security forces who are implicated in the violence on trial.
 - 2.6.3. We need to discuss further how effective monitoring and control of the security forces by local and international forces can be achieved.

2.6.4. It was agreed that we need to give notice that we are reviewing our participation in the structures of the Peace Accord. Comrades active in the dispute resolution committees should meet and make recommendations to be discussed at the next EXCO. A decision must be made by the end of July.

2.6.5. It was further agreed that we need to openly canvas for the building of disciplined defence units.

3. Our approach to economic negotiations

3.1. Our negotiations on VAT, food prices, in the NENF etc are not "delivering the goods" and are often caught up in "process discussions". At the same time the government and business continue with their unilateral restructuring.

3.2. It was agreed that the same principles which drive our political negotiations should drive our economic negotiations. We must put our demands on the table, and if there is no speedy delivery, deadlock, break them off and resort to mass action.

3.3. We need to intensify our campaign against unilateral restructuring of all sections of the economy including the public sector - telecommunications, municipalities etc.

3.4. The task forces need to consider in more detail proposals to end retrenchments.

4. Issues for mass action

The major focuses for mass action are:

- * Majority rule
- * No to corruption and murder
- * An end to the violence.
- * A moratorium on retrenchments
- * No more unilateral restructuring.
- * Lower food prices
- * Above inflation wage increases.
- * Workers rights for all workers.

The achievement of genuine democracy, rests with the resolution of all these problems.

5. The general strike

It was agreed that:

5.1. The general strike will begin on 3 August 1992.

5.2. It will last from between three and seven days.

5.3. The form of the general strike has to be finalised. Suggestions for affiliates to consider include a combination of the following:

- Occupation of factories, mines, shops etc during some days or all days of the action.
 - Occupation of government buildings. Students should be included in this action.
 - Transport e.g. buses and trucks to block roads.
 - Occupation of city centres.
- 5.4. The issues for the general strike are interrelated to industrial action issues. They do not have to be "linked". Industrial action could occur at the same time.
- 5.6. It was agreed that affiliates would go back, discuss these options and that a final decision would be made at a one day CEC on 10 July. A detailed programme should be adopted at the CEC.
- 5.7. In addition, the COSATU NOB's would embark on a consultation process with the students, civics, small business, Patriotic Front etc. The proposal will also be taken to the Tripartite Alliance Conference on 3 July.
- 5.8. Other points made in discussion
- 5.8.1. The general strike should be seen as a "big bang" within our campaign of rolling mass action.
- 5.8.2. NUMSA are aiming to start their national strike on 22nd July.
- 5.8.3. A special EXCO should be held after the action to assess and plan further.
6. **Co-ordination of living wage struggles**
It was agreed that:
- 6.1. We need to co-ordinate to ensure that major strikes on wages, centralised bargaining etc should start at more or less the same time. Affiliates facing this situation should meet and co-ordinate.
- 6.2. We need to move towards all unions adopting common demands. We won May Day, since all unions pushed at the same time. We need to do the same for other issues.
- 6.3. COSATU and affiliates have a responsibility to embark on solidarity actions. Where workers are on strike, joint strike committees and other solidarity actions need to be considered.
- 6.4. We need to call on the ANC to stand behind our wage, retrenchment and other economic struggles.
7. **Food prices, VAT and the drought**

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- 7.1. It was agreed that we need to force food employers (manufacturers and retailers) into a forum to negotiate lowering of food prices with us. SACCAWU, FAWU and the VCC need to take the lead in this regard.

If employers do not want to go into this forum, we need to consider boycotts or occupations.

- 7.2. To ensure that drought relief, reaches affected communities, we must assist in the building of local organisation especially in rural areas and on farms. Farmers affected by the drought must not retrench workers.

8. Solidarity actions

- 8.1. The meeting pledged their support for the NEHAWU and MWASA strikes and agreed that:

- * COSATU should commit resources to ensuring bail money.
- * COSATU should assist in the negotiations, if needed.
- * Affiliates should consider financial donations and collections. SACCAWU reported that they had decided to donate R1000 and make collections.
- * The community needs to be informed of the plight of hospital workers.

- 8.2. The meeting noted that a special meeting had been called by the public sector for Thursday 2 July. It was mandated to consider further ideas for solidarity e.g. mass pickets and occupations and inform other affiliates.

- 8.3. TGWU called for assistance from other affiliates re cleaner and security guards. Contracting workers wages need to be raised, so that bosses do not see any advantage in contracting out. A letter has been sent by TGWU to other affiliates and they are expecting a written response.

9. PAYE and Fund for a Democratic South Africa

It was agreed to propose to ANC and other allies, that a fund for a Democratic South Africa is set up and COSATU, ANC etc take the first step of defiance on PAYE issue and deposit our money in this fund. We then call on all other employers to do the same.

10. Mobilisation

- 10.1. A number of changes were proposed to the letter to employers. This will be circulated as soon as possible.

- 10.2. Local and general meetings

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A more detailed programme will be identified at the CEC. It was recommended that there should be regional shop steward councils on 11 and 12 July and mass rallies on following weekends.

11. Building Alliances

It was agreed that the COSATU NOB's need to proceed with the following initiatives and that it should be discussed further at the CEC:

- 11.1. Meetings with other unions, Patriotic Front, civics, education bodies, sport bodies etc.
- 11.2. An initiative between churches, business and labour which could include a Day of Peace, a Charter for Peace and Democracy and a joint public campaign.

12. Co-ordination

It was agreed that:

- 12.1. Action councils to carry out the mass action, should be considered by the alliance at regional and locals.
- 12.2. An Operations Team should be set up at Head Office consisting of NOB's, Head office staff and comrades from affiliates.

Call to all COSATU members !

***Mobilise for unprecedented mass action
Let us sweep De Klerk out of power!***

Notice to all COSATU structures on outcome of Living Wage Conference

The COSATU Living Wage Conference on 30 June discussed:

1. The present situation

We agreed the time has come to sweep de Klerk out of power. The De Klerk regime is the major obstacle to peace and democracy in our country. It is:

- * Killing our people - the Boipatong massacre being the latest horrific deed.
- * Refusing to lower food prices and take VAT off basics - leaving people to starve.
- * Refusing to grant worker rights - and refusing to negotiate with hospital workers striking against starvation wages.
- * Unilaterally restructuring the economy.

2. Our approach to political negotiations

We said:

- 2.1. We must put all energies into getting rid of the De Klerk regime. The end of the Nationalist Party government will be a big step towards peace and freedom in this country.
- 2.2. Our allies should not start negotiations with the regime until De Klerk agrees on majority rule and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of they year. No veto's for minorities!
- 2.3. We need effective interim mechanisms in place to monitor and control the media, security forces, finances and electoral process so that there can be free and fair elections. International forces must be constructively involved in this process.
- 2.4. We do not want to go back to a CODESA-type negotiations. We want a more open and mass controlled process.

3. Our approach to economic negotiations

We said:

- 3.1. We are sick and tired of sitting in meetings with the government and business which produce no results. The government says it believes in "consultation"

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and "consensus" yet it continues to unilaterally restructure the economy, refuses to lower food prices and take VAT off basics and delay giving rights to farm workers.

- 3.2. We must intensify mass action around our demands and deadlock with the government and the bosses if they do not deliver the goods.

The Living Wage Conference decided:

4. To take mass action around the following issues:
- * Majority rule
 - * An end to corruption and death squads.
 - * An end to the violence.
 - * A moratorium on retrenchments
 - * No more unilateral restructuring.
 - * Lower food prices
 - * Above inflation wage increases.
 - * Workers rights for all workers.

The achievement of genuine democracy, rests with the resolution of all these problems.

5. That the forms of mass action should be:

5.1. Rolling mass action

We need to intensify our marches, occupations of government buildings, pickets etc. We need to link local and affiliate struggles to our national demands.

5.2. The general strike

We agreed that if our demands were not met, we must begin a general strike on 3 August 1992. We did not finalise for how long it should be and what form it should take. The meeting suggested that it last from between three and seven days and it could take a combination of the following forms:

- * Occupation of factories, mines, shops etc during some days or all days of the action.
- * Occupation of government buildings. Students should be included in this action.
- * Transport e.g. buses and trucks to block roads.
- * Occupation of city centres.

Discuss in your affiliates and locals how long the strike should be and what form it should take!

A decision will be finalised after consultation with the Tripartite Alliance and other allies on 10 July.

5.3. No more PAYE to the government

We must not stop action after the general strike. If our demands have not been

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met, we must implement the Congress decision on PAYE. We must demand that employers do not pay PAYE to the government, but to a "Fund for a Democratic South Africa".

This fund will be kept in reserve for use by a democratic government. COSATU will stop paying PAYE for its employees and be the first organisation to put money into the PAYE fund.

5.4. Solidarity action for striking workers

The Conference expressed their support for the NEHAWU and MWASA strikes and called on all affiliates to consider solidarity actions.

6. The Living Wage Conference agreed to mobilise our members through:

6.1. Delivering letters to employers

Attached is a letter to employers, endorsed by the Conference. Shop stewards and workers must go together to deliver this letter. You could discuss whether all factories in one local or in one affiliate, should deliver the letter on the same day. You must insist on a response from your employer.

Surely, any democratic and peace loving employer should agree to our protests against government corruption and misuse of all our taxes and the need to achieve a democratic government as soon as possible.

6.2. Meetings

All locals must hold local general meetings to tell workers about our programme of mass action. Rallies should be organised closer to the general strike. COSATU leadership send that they will make themselves available to address local general meetings and rallies. Contact your COSATU region in this regard.

6.3. Building alliances

It was agreed that we need to mobilise all forces in the community who are seeking peace and democracy behind us. We need to build alliances with school students, small business, teachers, other unions, political parties, sports organisations etc.

TRADE UNION
LIBRARY AND
EDUCATION CENTRE

Summary of Conclusions of COSATU Central Executive Committee 10 July 1992

1. Introduction

The CEC confined its discussions to the programme of mass action and the NEHAWU strike. The following decisions were taken:

PROCESSED

2. Objectives of our mass action

The objectives of our action is to achieve:

- 1.1. Elections on a one person, one vote basis for a Constituent Assembly by December 1992.
- 1.2. Decisive steps to stop the violence including control of the security forces, closure of hostels, ban on dangerous weapons etc.
- 1.3. Unlocking of the economic negotiations process so that unilateral restructuring can stop and we can deliver jobs, low food prices, houses etc to our people.

3. Methods of struggle

To achieve these objectives we need to take "unprecedented steps" including:

- 3.1. Rolling and ongoing mass action to defeat De Klerk's agenda. We should not fool ourselves or our members that a general strike on its own, will bring the government back to the negotiating table on our terms.
- 3.2. Building the broadest possible coalitions and alliances with all possible forces for change including the business community.
- 3.3. Greatly enhanced levels of co-ordination within the Alliance and with our close allies such as civics and education sector. Action councils should be built at national, regional and local levels.

In line with 3.1. above, the meeting endorsed and finalised phases of our mass action i.e.

4. Phase two: Powerful national offensive

4.1 There should be a strong emphasis on sectoral, regional, local and affiliate actions including:

- * Occupations of government buildings from 15 July.
- * A focus on violence on 22nd of July - second anniversary of the Sebokeng Massacre.

4.2. COSATU need to focus on:

- * Living wage marches

- * Industrial actions e.g. strikes.
- * Delivering of letters to employers on specified dates.
- * Meetings with employers at regional and sectoral level.

4.3. We also need to put a great deal of resources and energy into mobilising for the general strike through the Regional Congresses, joint shop steward meetings, local general meetings etc.

4.4. The campaign against the SABC should be launched in this period.

5. Phase 3: Seven days of action for peace and democracy

It was agreed that this should include:

5.1. Monday August 3 and Tuesday August 4

Complete withdrawal of labour - stay at home with local rallies, meetings, pickets, demonstrations and occupations. The rallies and meetings should mobilise for activities planned for the rest of the week.

5.2. Wednesday August 5

Occupation of cities and towns. This should include blockades, marches, pickets, demonstrations etc. This is not a call for a complete stay away.

5.3. Thursday August 6 and Friday August 7

Sectoral actions. For trade unions this should include factory demonstrations and occupations, to be decided by affiliates.

5.4. Saturday August 8

Assessment of actions and further planning. This should be done at local, regional and national level.

5.5. Sunday August 9

Celebration of National Women's Day.
Religious activities in consultation with the churches.

5.6. International focus

Father Huddelston is convening a major conference of anti-apartheid organisations in the forthcoming week. It was recommended that a message should be taken to that meeting suggesting that our international allies consider the following actions to take place during this week:

- * Marches by anti-apartheid movements on South African embassies.
- * Trade unions to consider stopping communication, landing rights etc.

6. Phase Four: Post -week of unprecedented action

6.1. March on Union Buildings and attempt at occupation and sit in/camp in for at least 24 hours. This action to include high profile leadership and led by Mandela.

- 6.2. As soon as possible after the general strike, a conference is held, where the decision is taken to stop paying PAYE and the "Fund for a Democratic South Africa" is set up. All forces in society should be invited to this conference. COSATU and other democratic forces must implement the decision immediately.
- 6.3. Workers then need to campaign for their employers to send their PAYE deductions to the Fund. This could include a "national go-slow".
- 6.4. If the SABC has not met our demands, the boycott against selected products which are advertised on SABC should begin.
- 6.5. Marches and industrial disputes would continue e.g. CWIU strike on centralised bargaining.
- 6.6. The need for solidarity action as well as action by other components of the Alliance, to fight mass dismissals that may occur, was stressed.
7. **Initiatives with business**
 - 7.1. Business support for our demands, would substantially strengthen the campaign for peace and democracy. It would also be "unprecedented".
 - 7.2. It was agreed that negotiations that COSATU NOB's have started with business should continue and should include a meeting on 17 July, to be attended by one person per affiliate and representatives from all the business chambers.
 - 7.3. Our demand to business is that they should shut down their factories on 3rd and 4th August and support our programme of action.
8. **The Tripartite Alliance and other allies**
 - 8.1. The need to work closely and develop a common programme of action with the Alliance and close allies including civics, churches, education sector was stressed.
 - 8.2. It was agreed to propose an Alliance Summit on 20 July to finalise the programme of action.
 - 8.3. It was agreed to meet with sports and other organisations to establish a broader consensus on what the democratic movement should say about the Olympic games and sporting tours.
9. **Re-opening of the negotiations process**
 - 9.1. We all agree that the political negotiations process should not be re-opened unless De Klerk has agreed to majority rule, takes decisive steps to end the violence and unlocks economic negotiations so that they can deliver meaningful results to the people.

- 9.2. It was agreed that we need to give more thought, to how the negotiations process (once our demands are met) should be structured to achieve the above within the a specified time frame - of the end of the year.
- 9.3. The political task force was asked to prepare and circulate more detailed proposals for further discussion.

10. NEHAWU solidarity

The NEHAWU comrades reported on the recent developments in the hospital strike including a intransigent approach of management, distribution of false pamphlets and other attempts to ferment violence and division.

NEHAWU's demand at present is negotiations over reinstatement of 8 000 dismissed workers in the Transvaal and OPS, but the TPA is refusing to meet them.

It was agreed that:

- 10.1. Unions, especially in sectors which deliver medicines or unprepared food to hospitals, need to approach management and indicate that they are considering solidarity action if pressure is not put on TPA to negotiate in good faith with NEHAWU. NEHAWU to draw up a list of companies who deliver to hospitals.
- 10.2. If the dispute is not settled in the course of next week, the following actions should proceed:
- 10.2.1. Marches and blockading of hospitals next Saturday - 18 July (to involve communities).
- 10.2.2. Stoppages (extended lunch time) and factory demonstrations on one day in the week starting 22nd July. This to be discussed at Regional Congresses.
- 10.2.3. Action by public sector unions.
- 10.3. It was felt that we needed to discuss solidarity with MWASA.



COSATU

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

Head Office
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Fleetside, Johannesburg
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Fax: 011-835-1472
The COSATU Building

July 14, 1992

URGENT!!! URGENT!!!

TO: ALL GENERAL SECRETARIES
ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

FR: THE SECRETARIAT

Dear Comrades,

RECONCILIATION BETWEEN SACCOLA / COSATU

This is a report of the negotiations with SACCOLA around our political, economic and demands around violence.

As can be seen from the report that they prepared to support these demands and back that with a one (1) day shutdown of all factories, mines, shops, on August 3rd.

This means we have negotiated our proposals for a two day stay away and their offer of a one (1) day shutdown.

COSATU is calling an urgent caucus of affiliates at 4:00pm - 6:00pm today to start discussing this proposal.

In addition the NOR's propose as agreed at the special CEC held on the 10th July 1992, another meeting with SACCOLA and COSATU has been scheduled for Friday 17th July 1992 at 10:00 am.

We therefore suggesting that COSATU be represented by the EXCO including one (1) representative per each COSATU region.

The programme will be as follows:

1. 9:00 am : Caucus on our approach to SACCOLA proposals at COSATU Head Office.
2. 10:00 am - 13:00 pm : Meeting with SACCOLA at Anglo - American.
3. 14:00 pm - 17:00 pm : Special EXCO to review discussion and prepare for Alliance Summit on Monday 20 July 1992.

Regards

MATTROU

Mathopelo Matloko
(for the Secretariat)

Region: ...
 District: ...
 Branch: ...
 Name: ...
 Address: ...
 Phone: ...
 Fax: ...



ADDENDUM
**INITIATIVE WITH EMPLOYERS FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND
ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION**

1. **Employers will agree to ensuring that the following happens:**
 - 1.1. On the violence:
 - * Establishment of peace committees by the end of September 1992.
 - * Monitoring of security forces to start at beginning of October 1992.
 - * Recommendations from the Goldstone Commission re:
 - * Hostels
 - * Carrying of dangerous weapons in public
 - * End of covert operationsto be implemented by end of August.
 - * Establishment of special criminal courts as agreed in the Peace Accord to be set up by the end of August.
 - 1.2. On ending poverty:
 - * To have joint proposal for creating jobs by the end of August.
 - * To have a proper structure for poverty and drought relief by the end of July.
 - * The National Housing Forum should be launched in August.
 - * To develop a programme to provide electricity and other social services by mid-August.
 - * A meeting to discuss high food prices by mid-August.
 - * That there should be no unilateral restructuring and that all such issues should be discussed in the national economic negotiating forum - which should be publicly launched in August.
 - * Processes to give rights to farm, domestic and public sector workers should be finalised by the end of August.
 - 1.3. On striking workers
 - * To intervene to resolve the SABC, Toyota and hospital disputes.
 - 1.4. On the political deadlock employers agreed that there should be
 - * A speedy transition to democracy
 - * Elections on a one person one vote basis in a united South Africa.
 - * A constituent assembly and interim government mechanisms.
 - 1.5. On mass action employers agreed to:
 - * Use peaceful means to resolve the political deadlock
 - * Support the right of freedom of association - i.e. for peaceful mass action.
 - * To convene a broad convention before the end of July, for all

organisations to support what would be agreed upon between COSATU and SACCOLA.

- * To hold a one-day shut down on 3rd August

1.6. On the one day work stoppage:

- * This would be adhered to by all employers who are part of SACCOLA. No workers, whose bosses are members of SACCOLA would be dismissed.
- * The public sector must be part of the shut down.
- * Employers who are not part of SACCOLA would be called upon to participate in the shut down. Any dismissals would be taken up by SACCOLA and COSATU.

2. COSATU would agree to:

2.1. On the mass action:

- * Participate in the voluntary shut down on 3 August 1992 and not to organise any stay away in this week.
- * Suspend our general strike action for two months to allow for negotiations of the issues in the draft Charter. If no progress has been made by the end of September, we still reserve our right to call for a general strike.

It is understood that COSATU's campaign of rolling mass action will continue including occupations of government buildings, cities and towns.

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Proposal from Alliance Campaign's Committee to
Alliance Summit
13 May 1992
Programme of Action

1. Our Approach - Freedom now!

1. In this period our emphasis should be on getting rid of the De Klerk regime and putting power in the hands of the people in the shortest possible time - freedom now!
 - 1.1. We believe that a co-ordinated and comprehensive programme of action of the alliance is needed to achieve the transfer of power to the people and the last two steps to our freedom ie.
 - 1.1.1 The achievement of an interim government and thus the end of Nationalist Party rule.
 - 1.1.2. Democratic elections for a new constitution.
 - 1.2. The achievement of above will be the key to unlocking many of our other demands eg. end to unilateral restructuring, worker rights, an end to the violence etc.
 - 1.3. To achieve an interim government and an overwhelming majority in the elections, we suggest that the following is necessary:
 - 1.3.1. Unprecedented mass action if our "bottom lines" are not met.
(Note: We have not considered what these bottom lines should be - this we understand is to be discussed under other agenda items of the Alliance Summit.)
 - 1.3.2. A highly well organised and dynamic election campaign which, while driven by the Alliance, is as inclusive as possible.
 - 1.3.3. Enhanced participation of our members in the negotiations process. On the one hand, we should not underestimate the capacity of our people to take action to achieve their freedom. But on the other, we should not take the masses for granted.

The mobilisation of the masses for support and action can't be a process which is switched on and off; where the people are only called upon where there is a deadlock or problems.

Uppermost in our minds must be our people's impatience for freedom and the fact that our demands have been for an interim government by mid-year and

elections by year-end.

- 1.3.4. Concerted efforts to resolve some of the burning socio-economic problems of our people including the effects of the drought, high food prices, violence.

If we are to succeed in making negotiations a "terrain of struggle", we need to see negotiations, mass action and the election campaign as interconnected strands of our programme of action.

This document will now turn to look at how these can be accomplished.

2. Programme of mass action - our focus

- 2.1. The most important focus of our programme of action is the removal of obstacles in the shortest possible time for an interim government and democratic elections for a constituent assembly.
- 2.2. However, the achievement of these demands does not mean, we should not continue to struggle for the achievement of the following other important demands:
 - 2.2.1. Ensuring the implementation of CODESA decisions within agreed time frames.
 - 2.2.2. Other obstacles in the negotiations process such as Bop and Ciskei and the release of political prisoners.
 - 2.2.3. State sponsored violence.
 - 2.2.4. Exposing the government attempts to catch votes e.g. through drought and poverty relief.
 - 2.2.3. Resolution of burning socio-economic issues such as high food prices, the effect of VAT and drought relief. There is a possibility that food prices will continue to rocket as we have to rely on imported food as a result of the drought.
- 2.3. Irrespective of the outcome of CODESA 2, we need to enormously enhance the report back and mandating process of negotiations and begin thorough preparations for a decisive victory in the election.

3. Implementation of programme of action - time table

3.1.1. CODESA 2

If the outcome of CODESA 2 does not meet our "bottom lines", the ANC/Alliance gives the government a deadline of four weeks (15 June 1992). We

need to indicate that if there is no progress by this date, we will be considering breaking off negotiations or other appropriate mass action.

3.1.2. Report back and consultation process

The ANC/Alliance embarks on a process of report backs and consultation to consider renewing its mandate in relation to the obstacles placed by the government in the negotiations process and on what should occur if the deadline is not met. This should include seeking a mandate on mass action.

3.1.3. This process should include local and regional forums including shop steward councils, general councils, local mass meetings and utilising June 16th and June 26th events.

3.1.4. Deadline: Monday 15 June

The leadership to meet to evaluate the government's response and progress towards achieving our demands. Our response should be reported to June 16th activities.

3.1.5. Tuesday June 16th

The ANC Youth League has begun to organise June 16th events under the slogan of "Youth action for the vote, peace and democracy". This needs to be linked to our response and overall programme of action

3.1.6. Friday June 26th

Ongoing preparation and activities for Freedom Day and the following weekend again need to be our overall programme of action.

3.1.7. Consultative conferences

This build up should culminate at the beginning of July in the holding of:

* Firstly, a special ANC conference (suggested dates - 4 -5 July).

This conference should be larger enough to ensure adequate local and regional representation as well as representation from components of the Alliance.

* A broader forum involving the patriotic forces, civics, other components of the mass democratic movement (suggested dates: 10 - 12 July). The exact composition of such a conference can be decided at a later date.

The agenda of these events should be to review progress and decide on appropriate action.

3.1.8. Mass action from Monday 20 July

Depending on the outcome of the above process, we should target the third week of July for unprecedented and sustained mass action until our demands are met.

The form of this action should also be subject to consultation. We need to

consider various forms of simultaneous action e.g. strikes, marches and occupations.

4. The election campaign

We can't stress sufficiently, the vital significance of decisively winning the elections. Our people have never voted before and a large amount of work is going to be needed to ensure success. All sectors of the democratic movement need to be mobilised to ensure an ANC-led victory. The above timetable must also be regarded as an integral build up to electioneering.

The significance of the election campaign has been detailed in other documents. Here, we have merely identified some principles and then the preparatory steps that need to be taken.

4.1. Principles to guide our election campaign

4.1.1. An integrated approach

We need to gear up our whole movement to task of winning the elections. This includes integrating our organisational work, recruitment, local and regional campaigns etc.

4.1.2. An inclusive approach

We need to embark on an inclusive process which involves civics, churches, students, the CODESA patriotic forces, small businesses etc. We need to build and provide leadership to a broad coalition committed to a common election campaign.

4.1.3. A democratic process

The decisions about the election platform, national and regional lists needs to be a democratic and participatory process within the Alliance as well as with other allies.

4.2 Preparatory steps

In order to decisively win the elections, thorough preparation is essential.

4.2.1. Sensitising and educating the mass of our people to the issue of elections. This involves telling people to exercise their democratic right and how to do so.

4.2.2. Information gathering: This includes the identification of constituencies to be targeted including people's fears and expectations.

4.2.3. Taking up of "bread and butter" local and regional issues: The ANC alliance needs to be active in all the struggles affecting our people. We need to integrate

an election campaign with campaigns against state restructuring, food prices, local government etc.

- 4.2.4. Development of our organisational capacity through intensive training of cadres. We need to equip our activists not only to manage the election campaign and contribute to strategising.
- 4.2.5. Widespread discussion and a democratic process to decide on an election platform. The ANC policy conference at the end of May is an important part of this process.
- 4.2.6. A democratic process to decide who should be on national and regional lists.
- 4.2.7. Appropriate and effective electoral structures embracing the Alliance and other allies need to be set up urgently.

5. Resources

To ensure that such a programme succeeds, adequate resources need to be deployed. This includes personnel and financial resources to regions for report back and mandating processes, media, adequate training of cadres and embarking on socio-economic campaigns.

Addendum A: Methods of mobilisation

Below are a number of suggestions to improve our mobilisation for the programme of action identified above:

1. Reportbacks

Mobilisation can only be effective over a sustained period if there are adequate reportbacks spelling out clear goals, the gains we have made towards these goals as well as the obstacles to achieve them. It is important that people can see the effects of their action in achieving these goals.

2. Gatherings

Forms of mobilisation to be considered should include mini-rallies in popular open spaces and the naming such open spaces, "freedom squares".

Such mini-rallies could be seen as a build up to a major event or rally.

3. Door-to-door

It is never too early to start on door-to-door activity to win support for the platform of the ANC.

4. Media

There is need for more of our own mass media produced by the Alliance as well as on developing mechanisms to use the commercial media to keep our members abreast of activities.

In this regard, the idea of a "Alliance Campaigns/Negotiations" bulletin is suggested - a short mass produced document which would be produced regularly to highlight the major issues in the negotiations process and programme of action.

The ANC May Day poster "Vote for workers rights" should be extended to other areas e.g. "Vote for youth rights" on June 16th and vote for women/pensioner/religious rights etc.

5. Building alliances

We can't merely assert our leadership in communities - this needs to be won. This involves being concerned about the problems of all sectors of the community and taking them up if possible. It further involves identifying the link between community problems and the end of Nationalist Party rule.

6. Action

We need to think more creatively about the kinds of actions we embark on.

For example on June 26th, activities could take the form of people's assemblies where

laws are enacted and/or symbolic voting occurs. This could help focus on the forthcoming elections, issues for an election platform and what we would like to see in a new constitution.

On-going action can help educate our people about and highlight our negotiations demands and thus help to strengthen the negotiations process e.g marches on the SABC for an independent media commission; to prisons/police stations demanding releases; occupation of railway stations and peace trains to demand an end to violence; to government departments to demand sacking of corrupt officials; to social welfare departments demanding pensioner's rights etc.

REGIONAL OFFICE BEARERS REPORT TO REGIONAL CONGRESS 18-19
JULY 1992 SACTWU HALL, SALT RIVER.

INTRODUCTION

The R.O.B. in consultation with some of the affiliates have decided to keep this report as short as possible and concentrate it on the campaign for peace and democracy and the mass action facing us.

Without intending to limit discussion on important functions of the region we request that this Congress does not delay on administrative issues but try to clear these in the correct manner without waiting time unnecessarily so that the tasks facing us.

While we are still not geared to meet the demands of the time fully as a Federation in this region we are satisfied that much progress has been made over the last year in that our constitutional structures are functional and some of the sub structures are off the ground and operating well. There is however, lots of ground to cover in the areas of depth and quality of structures and the important areas of solidarity, campaign mobility and alliance structures and application.

We must add that one of the greatest achievements is the tremendous support that COSATU enjoys in this region politically in the communities as demonstrated in the mass events that we have organised. Since the failed march of 15 June 1991 we have not had to look back and endure the embarrassment of that event. While this is an encouragement we should not be misled by it because as an independent worker organisation with 187 000 members in the region we should be able to draw out similar numbers of workers to mass events through our structures. The crowd compositions of the Budget rally and Living Wage march did not reflect mass participation of our member and especially the so called coloured workers who are in a majority in this region.

COSATU provides the platform for our affiliates to mobilise members politically and build worker solidarity. We feel that this is not being exploited sufficiently by our affiliates in our attempt to solve our national problems and advance working class politics.

1. STRUCTURES

1.2 Regional Congress (RC)

Since the Regional Congress of July 1991 where we were elected the Regional Congress has quorate on every occasion. We hope that this Regional Congress will attain a full house which we have not yet experienced. The second day of this Congress has been opened to include representatives from every organised factory for the purpose of discussing the P.O.A.

1.2 Regional Executive Committee (REC)

The REC meetings have been held as per the requirements of the constitution i.e. monthly, and have been successful. All REC meetings including Special REC's have quorate. Problems that we have raised consistently in reports are as follows;

- * Not all affiliates delegate regional leadership to the REC reflecting their attitude to COSATU and contributing to lack of depth and quality.
- * Delegates do not arrive on time. We often just manage to attain a quorum before the end of the waiting period of 1 hour and find that during the meeting we have a full house.
- * The REC often does not conclude its business because delegates are not properly prepared on agenda items.

1.3 Regional Office Bearers (R.O.B.)

The RC has to decide on a replacement for the Regional Secretary. An application for study leave was made by the Secretary which was to have been dealt with by the last CEC. However the decision on study leave is a matter for this RC and should decide on an interim or permanent secretary.

1.4 Regional Campaigns Committee (RCC)

This structure has not functioned well at all. We have tried to get affiliates to assist in this regard but no results have been achieved. The end result is that major campaigns end up on the shoulders of the R.O.B. and the region is unable to generate solidarity for workers in distress. We hope that the RC resolves this problem once and for all.

1.5 Regional Education Forum (REF)

This structure meets regularly on schedule and is responsible together with the education officer for the successful educational ventures that have been organised. The recent Winter School was a huge success and was well organised. The REF need to look into education in the rural areas.

1.6 Regional Development Working Group (REDWG)

The Redwg has been launched successfully with most of the affiliates participating. A regional negotiating forum is being established and a steering committee exists where we are represented by J Malebo, A Sayers and T Essop.

1.7 Locals

We have not succeeded in establishing industrial locals in the Greater Cape Town Area. Several attempts have been made but the lack of affiliate commitment has ensured that these structures do not exist. The coming Special REC will discuss a proposal to correct this weakness from the ROB and secretariat.

There are 11 locals striving to function in the rural areas. These are Atlantis, Saldanah Bay, Upington, Strand, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Mossel Bay, George, Knysna and Oudshoorn. The ROB would like to spend more time on the development of these locals. The absence of a functioning RCC and growing demands has made it impossible to get out to the locals. We realise that only attending meetings is not helpful. We have to spend time in these areas to assist workers and understand their difficulties. One of the main problems these locals experience is unwillingness of affiliates to help mobilise workers for local meetings. These are practical problems e.g. transport and central venues that puts limitations on growth of the locals.

1.8 Women's Forum

The women forum is off the ground and meetings are well attended. Office Bearers have recently been elected and the formal launch takes place on 29 Aug 1992.

1.9 Public Sector

Meetings have taken place of the public sector unions in our region guided by a national framework.

The unity process between NEHAWU and HWU is not proceeding well. What we are very concerned about is the manner in which the strike has been conducted. The unions are conducting their battles separately and missing an opportunity to build solid unity on the ground through the strike action report.

2. TRADE UNION UNITY

We have worked very well with NACTU up to the May Day Rally. We had requested a meeting with the Regional leadership soon after the rally to consolidate our working relationship. However, we were informed of a change of leadership and this has resulted in a break in communication. We are presently trying to establish contact in order to draw NACTU into our campaign for peace and democracy and the coming general strike.

3. ALLIANCE

In our mass actions that we embarked on (Budget Day and Living Wage) recently we have enjoyed full and active support from the alliance partners. In fact a lot of the active campaign work had been carried out by campaign structures of our alliance partners. The structures are as follows :

- 3.1 Secretariat - last meeting on 13/7 to draw out tasks arising out of the summit meeting.
- 3.2 Seven a Side - last meeting on 10/7. It does not meet regularly. An alliance summit was held on 12/7 and discussed endorsement and implementation of the general strike.
- 3.3 Daily management Committee - the last seven a side discussed the idea of 3 cdes from each organisation meeting every day up to the general strike to co-ordinate activities and the campaign.

- 3.4 MDM Forum - this structure was created by the alliance to draw other forces into our campaigns.
- 3.5 MDM Co-ord Committee - this structure comprises 2 representatives from each sector.

We are still too slow in our response and compliance with the political demands placed on us. For the next 3-4 weeks we have to position ourselves to respond to emergency situations and penetrate our members on the issues that lay at the heart of our actions in order to take them along and work democratically at the same time. Some areas we need to address are :

- 1. REC meetings are scheduled too far apart and in any event do not provide sufficient time to deal adequately with political issues. We are going to need special meetings regularly that are confined only to our P.O.A. and address the political issues adequately. We also need to be able to respond to requests at short notice. Presently we are going to alliance meetings without preparation and COSATU positions.
- 2. The relationship between the MDM and alliance structures needs to be clarified.
- 3. The region and affiliates need to develop a mechanisms and structures to keep workers informed on a regular basis. This can be done through affiliates having shop steward councils, industrial locals and a bulletin for the region.

4. PROGRAM OF ACTION

The deadlock at CODESA is about De Klerk's reluctance to accede to majority rule and levelling the playing field. COSATU had demanded an Interim Government by the end of June and a Constituent Assembly by the end of the year. To this end COSATU threatened unprecedented action if these demands were not met.

The last CEC on 10/7 decided on the date, duration and forms the action will take. A summary of the CEC decisions is attached to this report. Our region needs to discuss the action and see how we will apply it to the region taking the local conditions into account. Some of the issues that need to be viewed when making decisions are :

- 4.1 We are not drawing in huge numbers of Coloured workers into our political campaigns - how do we overcome this?

- 4.2 The industrial militancy witnessed in some of the large affiliates does not spill over into COSATU structures.
- 4.3 The element of trade unionism where unions confine themselves to their "own affairs" and seek COSATU only when they have a crisis.

The dangers that face us is that if we do not seriously address the political imbalance between the African and Coloured workers we can expect a division to emerge which will be exploited by the regime. We also cannot reconcile the existing practices with our goal of socialism. Socialism cannot be negotiated into existence and it also cannot be imparted to workers through seminars only. We have to learn rapidly how to combine our internal economic issues with broader political battles.

First Draft

The case for a National Integrated Education and Training System for membership, leadership and staff of the Federation

First presented to the National Educators Forum - 20 May 1992

(for NEF comments see page 4) *and to the June Nedcom*

1. BACKGROUND

- 1.1 This presentation to the National Education Forum is made against the background of the decisions and the objectives of the FEDERATION as outlined in the Education resolutions of the 4th National Congress and the 3rd Education Conference.
- 1.2 The 4th National Congress resolved to constitute and to take forward COSATU education initiatives on the basis of a Centralized Education Programme. Its central guidelines were to develop an approach to union education which is :
 - * rooted in long - term planning of education needs
 - * co-ordinated and synchronises affiliate and federation education
 - * modular and progressive
 - * professional
 - * self - financing
- 1.3 The federation's education mission statement was concerned to achieve a set objectives which aimed to :
 - * develop leadership and organisational skills
 - * promote analytical and critical thinking
 - * empower membership to challenge and change their material conditions
 - * support the organisational objectives

2. DEVELOPING A CADRESHIP FOR THE 90'S AND BEYOND

- 2.1 In order to give effect to the Resolutions, guidelines and the mission of the Federation it is becoming increasingly clear that the Federation must develop a cadre which will take forward the general objectives of COSATU in driving towards worker control in COSATU, the power of the working class and socialism. Such a cadre must be able to develop the thinking and the strategies which are necessary to give effect to the general objectives of COSATU.

PROCESSED

2.2 The development of such a cadre within COSATU implies:

- * clarifying and redefining the relations between organizers and shop steward. This is important because of the need to generate a massive shop steward training programme, the emergence of a pool of organizers from within the affiliates and the obvious demand for training.
- * Such a redefinition of the relationship will also assist in the recruitment of new organizers by drawing on a pool of resources within the federation itself. The advantage of this would be that new recruits will come from a political and educational culture within the Federation and will understand better the values, aims and objectives of the Federation. In addition it will provide the basis for stability and the continuing development of a cadreship within COSATU.

3. TAKING THE PROGRAMME FORWARD - PRACTICAL STEPS

3.1 The Resources of the Federation must be brought behind the education programme in a coherent, rational and systematic way. We must carefully assess existing capacities to take education forward in the federation. Our Education and Training System should be institutionalised within the Federation in order to meet the needs of COSATU. Where such resources at this stage are located outside the Federation we would need to engage these in a structured and systematic way which would support the development of such a system. Our strive towards self - sufficiency and professionalism must our engagement of resources.

3.2 COSATU's three - year programme has laid the basis for a long term approach in education. Its approach is developmental and is intended to meet the ongoing needs of the Federation in future. This "new" approach meant moving away from a topic-based programme to a component-based programme, eg resolutions of the 1st and 2nd Education Conference as opposed to resolutions of the 3rd Education Conference. This is illustrated as follows:

- 1st Education Conference(1987) focussed on Peoples' Education, Media, Culture etc
- 2nd Education Conference (1989) focussed on Policies of the National Liberation Movement, International Trade Union Movement etc
- 3rd Education Conference (1991) identified the key components of our programme as follows:
 - a) Staff Development and Training
 - b) Shop Steward and Leadership Training
 - c) Educators' Training
 - d) Worker Colleges
 - e) Adult Education
 - f) Health, Safety and Environment

Other components included, Women, Mass education, Education and Campaigns and finally Macro-education policy.

It becomes clear that in order to give effect to the Congress guidelines and the Education Mission Statement, what is required for the Federation and its affiliates is the development of a National Intergrated Education and Training System for membership, leadership and staff of the Federation. The basis for such a System has already been set through our current educational work, eg in the SDT programme, which encapsulates the new approach of being modular, progressive and systematic and determines levels of access into such a system as illustrated below:

- * the winter schools are a "modular"base for the summer school.
- * the basic and intermediate "modules" progress into the advanced courses
- * both are a part of an overall system.

3.3. Part of our work in the education programme is to develop a "menu" of courses available to the target group identified above. This means that beyond Advanced training for shop stewards and staff there needs to be further development of the curriculum that would meet our mission of developing leadership and organisational skills. In other words that there is available in terms of such a system a route for progression that might include in the menu shorter courses on the following:

- * political economy
- * labour law
- * gender studies
- * organisational management
- * health, safety and the environment
- * Media and communication
- * and others as determined by the NEF and NEDCOM from time to time

The courses are the basis of our own system and we need to see how they could be fully developed (institutionalised) within the structures of the federation and will be evaluated at the National Congress every 3 years.

3.4. This programme must be developed and expanded to:-

- support and extend the campaign for Paid Educational Leave
- advance the struggle for the right to learn and to training
- provide the legal basis for our educational right
- systematically develop our policies for future negotiations with the employers and the state amongst other things to demand the establishment of a fund for trade union education. (After all we also pay taxes)

- 3.4.1 We need to advance and finalize our ideas and a concrete proposal in respect of a National Trade Union School directed and controlled by COSATU.
- 3.4.2 We need to assess and examine the existing Worker Colleges to ensure they relate coherently with our own educational objectives .(refer attached interim guidelines).
- 3.4.3 We should also urgently study and compare Trade Union institutions and their programmes in other countries as soon as possible. We need to build on our existing knowledge. with a view to answering some specific questions including:
- what kind of institution is necessary
 - funding and staff
 - what is its general aim
 - how it delivers its programme
 - an evaluation of its weaknesses and strength, etc .
4. Finally in terms of the National Congress resolutions for a Intergrated Education and Training System for the country as a whole, it becomes clear that in our long term vision we cannot separate what education and training system is available to the citizens of the country and members, leadership and staff of COSATU. The point here is that at this stage our programme is meant to offset the effects of Apartheid education and that in our development of a post-apartheid education and training system we need to define the links between trade union education and national education and training.

Issues raised by the National Educators Forum:

- 1) There was unanimous in - principle support for this approach
- 2) The two areas that need further discussion are:
 - a) a critical evaluation of affiliates education systems. It was proposed that a suitable questionnaire be drafted by the Education Dept to facilitate this.
 - b) a briefing on international trade union education systems This will also include the role of worker colleges.
- 3) The kind of administration system that is required to support this system.
- 4) How do we in conducting education programmes now develop the building blocks for the long term system.
- 5) This proposal will be workshopped at the June Nedcom with the aim of addressing the issues raised above and taking the discussion further.

Prepared by the National Educational Department

Draft COSATU Workers Charter

Prepared for discussion in COSATU - January 1992

Introduction

In drafting this document we were guided by the following conception of the worker's charter: that it would be a document aimed for the transition - a dynamic organisational and fighting tool. We also envisaged that it could be changed through the course of struggle.

This draft needs to be discussed by affiliates in preparation for the March CEC. This CEC should amend and/or endorse as a draft for COSATU to present to the Worker's Summit in May.

Note: A final draft would not include the present numbering (e.g. 1.1.1., 1.3. etc) and would be written better. Comrades should concentrate on commenting on the content.

1. Preamble

We the working people/ workers declare:

- 1.1. South African workers are exploited and oppressed. Every day we face the ravages of capitalism - poverty, low wages, unemployment, bad working and living conditions. The blame for these ills must be laid firmly at the door of the capitalists and the present government.
- 1.2. Together with all other democratic forces we must strive to end this system and establish a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.
- 1.3. Our future lies in the achievement of socialism/ a social system which is free from exploitation and oppression and where workers, who constitute the majority, play a leading role. We must be able to play a key and creative role in shaping our workplace, political and economic environments. In this way we will be able to fully develop our potential as human beings.
- 1.4. We can only achieve this by being well organised and united.

2. Trade union rights

- 2.1. All workers shall have the right to form and join trade unions and organise workers freely. They shall have the right to stop order facilities, recognition of shop stewards, access by officials to work places and access to information.
- 2.2. There shall be the right to bargain collectively/together on all social and economic

PROCESSED

issues that affect workers. This shall include the right to determine the appropriate level of bargaining and the right to participate in work place decision making.

2.3. Trade unions/ worker organisations shall have the right to fair and equal access to the courts.

2.4. Workers should have control over institutions such as the training boards, labour courts, the National Manpower Commission which affect their lives. All legislation which affects trade unions shall require the consent of the majority in the trade union movement.

2.5. The right to strike

2.5.1. The right to strike is a fundamental right and workers shall have the right to strike on all socio, economic or political issues. Even a State of Emergency shall not prevent workers from striking.

2.5.2. During strikes workers shall have the right to picket, to strike funds, to call boycotts or to hold sympathy strikes. Scabs shall be outlawed.

2.5.3. There shall be no victimisation by employers or other sources as a result of strike action.

3. Role of trade unions

3.1. Trade unions shall be independent from the state, employers or political parties. They shall be democratically controlled by their own members.

3.2. Trade unions shall strive towards building in practice the principle of unity - at industry, federation and international levels.

4. Working and living conditions

4.1. Living wage

4.1.1. Every worker shall have the right to a living wage which shall provide for a decent standard of living for all.

4.1.2. There shall be a right to adequate housing which shall be the state's responsibility to ensure.

4.1.3. There shall be a right to a living pension and retirement benefits, medical care, full parental rights, child care and public transport.

4.1.4. There shall be a maximum 40 hour week.

4.2. Right to leisure

There shall be a right to leisure and recreational facilities. Workers shall have

adequate rest and leisure to give us an opportunity to develop our talents and skills in areas unrelated to our specific jobs. This shall encourage the all-round development of workers. Attention shall be given to overcoming male stereotypes which stunt and prevent the all-round development of both men and women.

4.3. Right to a job

Every adult person shall have a right and duty to work. A new state shall, as a matter of priority, work to create economic conditions in which jobs are available to all.

4.4. Unemployment

There shall be a living social security/ unemployment benefit until such time as their is full employment.

4.5. Migrant, forced and child labour

4.5.1. Migrant labour shall be phased out or in cases where it is unavoidable, provision shall be made for family accommodation during any period of service exceeding three months.

4.5.2. Child labour and all forms of forced labour shall be prohibited.

4.6. Women

4.6.1. The constitution shall recognise the fundamental equality between men and women in marriage, employment and in society.

4.6.2. Marriage laws shall give women equal rights before marriage, in marriage and in the dissolution of marriage.

4.6.3. Rape, battery, abuse and harassment of women shall be outlawed.

4.6.4. Domestic work shall be shared equally.

4.6.5. It shall be the duty of the state, political parties, trade unions and all other mass and social organisations to ensure women's participation at leadership and other levels. Measures, including educational campaigns shall be embarked upon to combat all forms of male chauvinism.

4.5. Discrimination and affirmative action

4.5.1. Any form of discrimination based on race, colour, sex, creed, religion, physical disability, marital status or nationality shall be prohibited.

4.5.2. The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate racial, gender, rural/urban and other forms of discrimination and social and economic inequalities that has resulted from apartheid.

4.5.3. Special attention shall be paid to redressing the oppressive situation faced by farm and domestic workers and those trapped in the Bantustans.

4.5.4. There shall be equal pay for work of equal value.

4.6. Education and training

4.6.1. All workers shall have the right to education, training and skills upgrading. Education and training shall empower workers to control the economy. Trade unions shall play a central role in human resource development.

4.6.2. There shall be a nationally integrated education and training system. Formal education shall be free and compulsory. The state and employers shall have a responsibility to train and upgrade workers' skills. There shall be equal access to promotion, training and recruitment.

4.7. Health and safety

4.7.1. Workers shall have the right to work and live in a healthy environment. The state shall have a responsibility to implement suitable environmental policies.

4.7.2. The state shall provide accessible and safe health care. Abortion shall be legalised.

4.7.3. Provision shall be made for the rehabilitation and where necessary the provision of alternative employment for disabled workers.

5. Democratic rights

5.1. There shall be one person one vote in a unitary South Africa.

5.2. There shall be a Bill of Rights which shall include workers' concerns as reflected in this document.

5.3. There shall be accountable government. This shall include a constitution which contains provision for a referendum to overturn unpopular laws or to ensure that certain laws get passed. There shall be a right to information from government and adequate consultation on all proposed laws that will affect workers.

(Note: this contradicts 2.4. - need to choose in final draft)

5.4. Media - radio, TV and newspapers shall be democratically controlled. They shall not be dominated and controlled by the state and big business. Mass organisations such as trade unions shall have free access to the media.

5.5. Terms of office of executive officers shall be limited. There shall be a right to recall all elected delegates.

5.6. Crucial worker rights, individual and collective rights shall not be easily changed or suspended. This shall be ensured through entrenching these clauses of the constitution.

6. Economic rights

- 6.1. Wealth shall be redistributed to benefit the people as a whole. The white capitalist monopoly of ownership and managerial control shall be done away with. Forms of collective ownership shall be introduced.
- 6.2. The state shall play a central role in the redistribution of wealth using weapons such as nationalisation. It shall use its resources and power to promote economic growth and job creation.
- 6.3. The economy shall work within a system of democratic planning by the state, involving workers, civics and other organs of civil society. Trade unions shall play a central role in economic planning.
- 6.4. There shall be active participation in the planning and running of enterprises by workers.
- 6.5. There shall be redistribution of land.

7. International rights

- 7.1. Internationally set standards shall be ratified and implemented by the state.
- 7.2. There shall be South African and African worker solidarity. Trade unions and worker rights shall be guaranteed throughout Southern Africa to prevent employers and governments exploiting lower labour standards in certain countries.
- 7.3. There shall be freedom of movement, residence and employment throughout Southern Africa.
- 7.4. There shall be international solidarity. South African shall pledge themselves to support struggles of workers throughout the world.

Report on Negotiations and Campaigns for COSATU EXCO 8 May 1992

Note:

1. This report is a revised version of the document entitled: "Briefing on negotiations and campaigns items of agenda".
2. This document constitutes a report from the four COSATU task forces.
3. Those issues around which recommendations are being placed are identified by a bar on the right hand side.

1. Economic/Development

1.1. NENF

1.1.1. Progress

Since the previous EXCO, the Cabinet has discussed the Business/Labour proposal and appointed a sub committee of "senior economic ministers" to hold discussions with the Business/ Labour group. Derrick Keyes has now been appointed Minister of Finance as well as Trade and Industry and Economic Co ordination and is obviously the key Government figure in any economic negotiations process.

The Economic Task Force has raised a concern with the slowness of Government response and recommends that the process should be retained as a high profile one and that the next meeting with Government should include the full negotiating team of COSATU and occur before the Workers Summit.

Following telephonic discussion with Keyes on the evening of 7 May, the Minister has proposed that a follow up meeting take place during the week of 18 May. The EXCO needs to recommend a day in that week. Keyes is prepared to meet with a bigger group than the drafting committee and it is suggested that the meeting be held at Working Group level with alternates also being present.

1.1.2. Proposed agenda

The initial Labour proposal for an agenda is very sketchy and the Economic Task Force has proposed that, in the light of the Business proposals, a more detailed and carefully planned agenda needs to be developed for the negotiations in the NENF. (See annexure 1)

In addition, in view of the steady progress made towards the formal establishment of the Forum, it is important that we begin preparations for negotiations on matters of substance.



The Economic Task Force has been unable to develop the agenda at this stage.

However, it has discussed the priority item of the public works programme and agreed to formulate a proposal in this regard. In addition, it has agreed to meet with four companies in the civil engineering industry and the mechanical engineering association to explore their views and proposals on labour intensive projects. This would assist us in developing our own proposals on public works programmes.

1.1.3. Economic Policy document

Following the previous EXCO decision to rework the Economic Policy document, the Economic Task Force has allocated two members to work on a redraft. This has not been completed yet and a deadline has been set for this to be completed next week (13 May). It is recommended that the document is to be circulated for comment to affiliates before being made available for public distribution.

1.2. Responses to state restructuring

The state continues its unilateral restructuring programme. COSATU should consider an appropriate response to the following issues:

1.2.1. Forestry:

It is suggested that PPWAWU arrange a meeting with the saw millers association to develop a united front against the government.

1.2.2. Regional/Local government

An alliance and civics local government workshop from 25 - 27 April (which COSATU attended) took a resolution calling on the government to sign a "protocol agreement" to stop unilateral restructuring and retrenchments of municipal workers.

1.2.3. Health:

The government wants to pass a bill in this parliamentary session introducing Health Medical Organisations (HMO's) which can radically change the nature of private medicine. Without debating the merits of HMO's, this is yet another example of unilateral restructuring where major players have not been adequately consulted.

1.3. Regional Negotiations

1.3.1. Implementing the decisions of the Economic Policy Conference

Regional Economic negotiations processes are now in place, or in embryonic form, in Western Cape, Border/Ciskei/Transkei, Wits, and Natal. Although we are not yet in a position of negotiation on issues of substance, these processes have the capacity to move quite fast and other interest groups have been developing proposals for quite some time already. One proposal which has emerged in two areas already is Export Processing zones which has major implications for workers.

The Development Task Force is planning to convene a workshop in June for key COSATU representatives in these Forums to co ordinate our involvement.

1.3.2. A workshop focussing on local government, as agreed upon at Congress, should be convened shortly thereafter and should involve participants in the regional negotiations.

1.4. Policy formulation and implementation

1.4.1. Joint meetings with ANC/SACP

A process of joint policy formulation has been revived with the ANC. A workshop on Economic Policy was held on 9 April and broad consensus was reached on most issues (See annexure 2). The ETF recommended that the Economic Alliance Strategising Committee should meet before the ANC Policy Conference to discuss how to take joint process forward.

1.4.2. Investment Code

A date will need to be confirmed for a joint meeting with the Alliance to discuss a broader investment policy as decided by the Economic Policy Conference. The Economic Task Force has suggested 25 May, 26 May, 4 June and 17 June. Documentation will be circulated.

1.4.3. Code of Conduct

We need to discuss how the Code adopted at our Economic Policy Conference should be implemented and monitored. The Economic Task Force has set this down to be discussed at its next meeting.

1.4.4. ANC Policy Conference

The ANC has invited COSATU to send 15 delegates to their Policy Conference from 28 - 31st May. Unfortunately it co-incides with the Workers Summit. The EXCO needs to appoint a delegation to the Conference.

1.5. Drought

1.5.1. The drought is beginning to have major socio-economic consequences and COSATU needs to develop an approach to drought relief. COSATU has been approached both by the IDT and Kagiso Trust to be involved in drought relief initiatives.

1.5.2. The IDT intends spending R100 million on drought relief in the form of public works programmes. They further believe that they can access more money from the business community.

1.5.3. They do not have any clear idea of how they intend setting up these public works programmes but would like COSATU to consider sitting on a Steering Committee to oversee how the money was spent. They are also trying to bring all concerned parties together and would like COSATU to attend such a meeting provisionally

set for 22nd May.

- 1.5.4. A large amount of **international money** is being made available for drought relief in South and Southern Africa which Pik Botha wants to access.
- 1.5.5. The EC have been in touch with **Kagiso Trust** and have indicated that they would prefer to channel the money through progressive organisations than the government. The Kagiso Trust thus wants to explore with COSATU and other rural organisations and NGO's the possibility of establishing a National Drought Committee through which money can be channelled.
- 1.5.6. The government has budgeted R1 000 million to drought relief of which a measly R20 million has been allocated to farmworkers - to be distributed through the "Federal Women's Council"!
- 1.5.7. In discussions in the socio-developmental and economic task forces the following recommendations have been made for EXCO to consider:
 - (a) There is a high possibility that the government will use drought relief to win votes. It is thus crucial for progressive forces to get involved in the issue of drought relief - especially to farm workers and people in the bantustans.
 - (b) We should attend the initial meetings of the IDT and Kagiso Trust to establish what they are intending to do and what role we could play.
 - (c) We should urge on the one hand for the centralisation of drought relief initiatives and on the other, the need for the direct involvement of affected communities in decision making about forms of drought relief for their community.
 - (d) The drought re-emphasises the urgency for the establishment of the NENF as a body which could have the authority and capacity to co-ordinate drought relief especially as far as public works programmes are concerned.
 - (e) COSATU needs to consider what role and resources it should put into drought relief initiative?

1.6. VAT and high food prices

- 1.6.1. The VCC is fairly confident of securing a meeting with Derek Keyes, new Minister of Finance to break the deadlock in negotiations over problems with VAT.
- 1.6.2. The VCC intends to propose to Keyes that **four working groups** are established to look into the problems caused by VAT and for solutions. The working groups should be:
 - * High food prices - including VAT on basic foods.
 - * VAT on medicines and medical services
 - * Provisions for small business
 - * The poverty relief programme.
- 1.6.3. The VCC has also held two **poverty relief** forums involving experts and welfare organisations to establish what would be a more effective way of distributing

poverty relief. An exploratory meeting with the Department of Health will be held on 14th May.

1.7.3. On **food prices**, the VCC has held a meeting with Premier Milling and has asked for meetings with other food manufacturers and retailers. It has also held a number of meetings with the Board of Trade and Industry about their food price investigation. By the end of the month the VCC should have established a number of concrete and realisable demands to bring food prices down.

1.7.5. SACCAWU is to set up a **food price monitoring committee** this weekend. If we look at how meat prices dropped 40% as a result of a press investigation, there is no doubt that important breakthroughs could be made by investigations and expose's by union members especially in FAWU and SACCAWU.

The ETF recommended that a meeting between FAWU, SACCAWU and COSATU delegates to the VCC be convened as soon as possible.

1.7.4. The VCC will be calling a **further summit** to report back on progress with Derek Keyes as well as seek mandates on the poverty relief proposal and food price demands on 10 June 1992.

1.8. Conferences and overseas trips

1.8.1. In consultation with the ETF, Job Ownership Ltd have offered to arrange a study visit from June 13 to June 21 for four COSATU, two ANC and one Idasa person to look at the worker ownership experiences in Britain.

It is recommended by the ETF that we take up this offer and that NUM, NUMSA, SACTWU and SAMWU in particular nominate comrades before 18 May.

1.8.2. COSATU has participated together with the ANC and business in a steering committee chaired by Bob Tucker to set up an international conference looking at countries with high growth rates including Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Germany, Brazil and Mexico. The conference will be from 31 July to 2 August. It will highlight the role of the state in achieving growth.

1.9. Health and Safety

The Socio-development task force have considered whether or not they should also be responsible for health and safety issues and would like to recommend that a separate forum is established consisting of health and safety officers from the affiliates.

2. Political

2.1. CODESA

2.1.1. Key outstanding issues

Against the background of COSATU positions confirmed at the last EXCO, (see annexure 3) we need to consider outstanding issues at CODESA. The political negotiating team has identified the following issues:

- a) relationship between interim government structures and the existing government and govt. departments;
- b) composition of the multi party councils and how to achieve concrete advances through these bodies;
- c) relation between the interim government and economic forums;
- d) participation of TBVC citizens in the elections;
- e) how the elections are to be organised.

2.1.2. Strategy for CODESA 2

The Political Task Force has discussed the need to formulate a strategy which links our approach to CODESA 2 to our general demand for interim Government by June and the question of mass communication, campaigning and mobilisation. It recommends that COSATU should develop the following position for the Alliance Summit meeting:-

- a) We need to reach agreement on our essential positions, i.e. our bottom lines. In particular, a definite time frame with a clear end point must be agreed for the CODESA process.
- b) We need to review the way in which the Alliance has worked during the CODESA process so far and, in particular, the fact that COSATU has to be involved in the process more meaningfully. So far, the ANC has not yet accommodated any COSATU delegates in the Working Groups 1 and 2.
- c) We need to prioritise our discussions on mobilising for elections, the list of candidates for elections, and the election platform.
- d) Mass mobilisation after CODESA 2, depending on the outcome of the meeting, may take the form either of "dispute - based confrontation" or "constituency building campaigning".
- e) To establish a more democratic process for the period ahead, it further proposed that a broad alliance forum be held after CODESA 2 of about 1 000 delegates from the three alliance organisations. Its purpose would be to report back and to plan future strategies and mobilisation.

2.2. Peace

2.2.1. Assessment of Peace Accord and its implementation

The previous EXCO mandated the Negotiation Co-ordinator to write a paper analysing the Peace Accord, continued violence and measures being proposed/implemented to bring about peace. This paper has not yet been completed and is being developed as a joint exercise with other members of the Alliance Operations Committee.

It is recommended that this item be prioritised for the next EXCO.

3. Labour Market Institutions

3. General

While the outgoing (yet again) Minister of Manpower, set in motion a number of processes detailed below, it is unclear whether the Department of Manpower and the government have any political will to meet union demands for basic rights or for improvements on issues such as the Industrial Court etc. This is reflected in the fact that Leon Wessels is the fourth Minister who has been appointed to Manpower in the last eight months.

3.2. Farm workers

3.2.1. Since the last EXCO there have been two further meetings with the South African Agricultural Union and COSATU/NACTU to try and reach "100% consensus" on the extension of rights. The consensus requirement is an aspect of the Laboria Minute and there is dispute over what level of consensus is required to proceed.

It is the opinion of the LMI that SAAU is using this requirement to indefinitely delay the process.

3.2.2. The SAAU is arguing for a separate Act for farmworkers while we want the extension of existing legislation to farm workers. To agree to SAAU's demand would lead to a further two year delay.

3.2.3. Yet a further meeting with SAAU is to be held on 18 June. There is little prospect of settlement at this time. EXCO must consider what further steps could be taken to ensure that the Basic Conditions of Employment Act is passed in this parliamentary session.

3.3. Domestic workers

Unnecessary delays from the side of the Department of Manpower, have made it impossible for basic rights to be extended to domestic workers this parliamentary session.

3.4. Bantustan workers

A relatively successful meeting was held between COSATU Northern Transvaal and a group of major Bop employers on 13 April. It was agreed to establish a joint committee to look at interim measures to enable trade unions to organise in Bop companies.

The Northern Transvaal COSATU region together with the Alliance has called a one day stay away on 11 May to protest against the Mangope regime and for reincorporation, worker rights etc.

3.5. Restructuring of the NMC

The appointment of a new Minister will yet again delay the decision about how a new NMC should be restructured. Nevertheless, Minister Marais agreed on a

meeting for 2 June to discuss who should participate in the NMC if it is restructured.

The LMI task force recommends that the EXCO endorse the following proposal to be taken to this meeting:

- 3.5.1. The NMC consist of between 20 and 30 persons.
- 3.5.2. There is equal representation from employers and trade unions and that the Department of Manpower attend as an observer.
- 3.5.3. Business must decide themselves how to allocate their delegates.
- 3.5.4. If trade unions were allowed 10 "seats", the allocation should be as follows:
COSATU 5
NACTU 2
FEDSAL 2
Other unions: 1 (to be appointed by the Minister)

3.6. Delays in the gazetting of Industrial Council Agreements

- 3.6.1. A meeting was held between COSATU and the Department of Manpower to discuss practical steps to overcome this problem. A full report will be circulated to affiliates.
- 3.6.2. COSATU indicated in the meeting that we had a problem with the way in which the Department of Manpower defined "sufficiently representativeness" when extending an Industrial Council agreement to non-parties.
- 3.6.3. The LMI want to propose the following position on what constitutes "sufficiently representativity: be endorsed by EXCO:
 - (a) To determine whether trade unions parties to an Industrial Council are sufficiently representative, one needs to calculate the number of trade unions members in relation to the total number of employees within the scope of a particular Industrial Council.
 - (b) To determine whether employer parties are sufficiently representative, one needs to calculate the total number of workers who are employed by these employers, in relation to the total number of workers within the scope of a particular Industrial Council.

3.7. Problems with Industrial Courts

- 3.7.1. As a result of memorandum's submitted etc, there is common cause between ourselves and the Department of Manpower that there are problems with the Industrial Court. They have agreed to a meeting with COSATU/NACTU on 21 or 22 May to look at ways of resolving these problems. Affiliates should indicate if they want to send representatives to such a meeting.
- 3.7.3. The position of the Senior Industrial Court Presiding Officer in Natal will soon be vacant. There is a suggestion from unions in Natal that we should approach the Minister of Manpower and make a proposal as to who should be appointed.

FORWARD TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!

FORWARD TO WORKERS RIGHTS IN A NEW CONSTITUTION

This document was adopted as a set of demands for COSATU's Constitutional Campaign at the COSATU Campaign's Conference from 8 - 10 March. The Conference agreed that the contents of this document need to be popularised and that workers need to discuss this document with members while collecting signatures for the ANC Signature Campaign for a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government.

A. COSATU demands a Constituent Assembly

COSATU believes that the constitution must be drawn up a democratic way.

This means:

- * The delegates to a Constituent Assembly must be elected in a one person one vote election.
- * These delegates must draw up the constitution.
- * The proceedings of the Constituent Assembly must be public.
- * Regular report backs to the people from the Constituent Assembly must be given.
- * Mandating forums must operate all the time to discuss the constitution.

B. The process of arriving at a Constituent Assembly

* We need to build a **broad patriotic front** to ensure the greatest possible unity within the anti-apartheid movement.

* There should be an **interim government** to ensure that the existing government stands down and allows the Constituent Assembly to meet in an atmosphere of relative peace and fairness.

* **We need an All Party Congress** to ensure agreement on the steps towards a Constituent Assembly

C. COSATU wants a democratic constitution

1. COSATU wants trade union rights in the constitution including:

- * The full right to strike and picket
- * The full right to organise - including the necessary facilities.
- * There must be no victimisation or interference in trade union organisation.

PROCESSED

- * A separate labour court on which trade union nominees sit.

2. COSATU wants trade union independence

The right of trade unions to be independent from the state, bosses or political parties must be respected. Trade unions should be democratically controlled by their members.

3. COSATU wants an accountable government

This can be ensured by provisions in the constitution such as:

* Referendum

The Constitution must give the people the right in a referendum to overturn unpopular laws or to require the passing of certain laws.

* Right to information

Government information should be accessible to the people.

* Media

Radio, television and newspapers must not be controlled by the state.

* Terms of office

There should be limited terms of office for heads of government such as a President.

* Protected clauses in the Constitution

The government must not be able to suspend worker rights protected in a constitution, even in a State of Emergency.

* Constitutional Court

There must be an independent court that protects the rights of people in the constitution.

4. COSATU wants a democratically planned economy

The constitution should provide that:

- * The state can intervene in the economy so that it serves all the people.
- * Trade unions participate in economic planning.

The constitution should enable the people to fight for:

- * Collective ownership.
- * Worker control in the factories, mines and shops.
- * Full employment.
- * Living benefits for all unemployed people

- * Fair distribution of wealth and land.

5. COSATU demands equality between men and women

- * The constitution must recognise fundamental equality between men and women in marriage, in employment and in society.
- * The state must embark on a programme of affirmative action to correct past discrimination suffered by women.

D. Getting worker rights into a new constitution

- * COSATU's demands for a worker rights in a new constitution should also be taken to the tripartite alliance and the alliance should be asked to endorse these demands.
- * COSATU should also use the Broad Patriotic Front to put forward and publicise our demands for a new constitution and seek to gain greater consensus for these demands.

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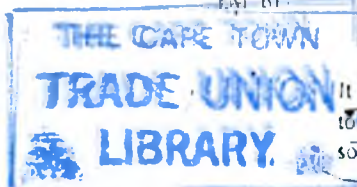
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NOT FOR PUBLICATION
FIRST DRAFT
11 January 1992



It follows therefore that we are not looking for an accord which will simply grant benefits to the organised sections of the working class, but which will lead to the reconstruction of society to the benefit of the majority.

COSATU's Proposal for a Reconstruction Accord

1. Introduction

The COSATU Central Executive Committee meeting on 16-17 October 1992 agreed that we need to negotiate with the ANC a comprehensive election platform or pact which would covers constitutional, social and economic issues.

This decision has subsequently been canvassed with SANCO and the SACF as well as in Tripartite Alliance meetings. In principle the idea has been welcomed. However, the details of such an accord, pact or programme has not been worked out nor has been the idea been extensively discussed and debated among our membership and allies.

This is clearly a weakness, as time is not on our side. COSATU is urgently trying to address this problem. As a result, this document is not an official COSATU document, but a first draft of a document to be discussed in COSATU and to assist the Elections National Planning Committee.

2. How does COSATU envisage a Reconstruction Accord?

The South African economy is in crisis resulting in increased levels of unemployment, violence, crime and social disintegration. One powerful option to begin to turn this situation around is for all the major parties of the future to commit themselves to 'rebuild' or 'reconstruct' the economy in a reconstruction accord or programme.

Thus a Reconstruction Accord would not be a separate manifesto or programme of COSATU/ANC it would be part of the ANC-led campaign's manifesto programme or platform - in particular it could constitute that part of the programme which speaks about the economy.

Traditionally in social democratic countries such accord or pacts have been agreed upon merely between the major trade unions and the major social democratic party. However, we would be looking at a much broader grouping of political and social forces to commit themselves to a Reconstruction Accord.

Tito Mboweni argues that the following should be included in such an Accord: "ANC, union movement, the civics movement, women's groups/movements, youth and student organisations, mass organisations for educational restructuring, associations for the unemployed and the aged, small and medium sized black enterprises, consumer unions, organisations of the rural people and others" (SALB, Nov/Dec 1992).

An accord also implies duties, obligations and possibly compromises on behalf of the trade union movement as well as the ANC.

Some of the issues which COSATU has considered being part of the Reconstruction Accord are:

- A programme of job creation:
 - a relatively short term public works programme
 - a commitment to economic growth to ensure long term sustainable jobs
- National integrated education and training system which would include:
 - Upgrading of workers skills
 - Literacy for all
- A national health system
- A national pension system
- Worker rights for all including:
 - The full right to strike - including on political and socio-economic issues
 - Basic rights for a farm, domestic, public sector including prison warders and police
 - Rights included in the Southern African Social Charter such as for workers and their families to move freely across Southern Africa.

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Once an accord has been agreed upon, a programme would spell out its implementation.

3. The process of setting up a Reconstruction Accord

Below are the initial ideas we have in COSATU. These ideas need be developed jointly in the light of an envisaged time-frame for elections.

- 3.1. A draft document prepared by the COSATU National Office Bearers would be discussed at a COSATU national strategy workshop at the beginning of February and circulated in all COSATU structures.
- 3.2. Such a document would also need to be canvassed and discussed with the ANC and other organisations of 'civil society' i.e. other trade unions, civics, students,

youth etc. All efforts need to be made to ensure that our local/branch structures discuss and input into the document. It could also be discussed at a 'special policy forum' as suggested in the ANC discussion paper (page 6).

- 3.3. The document should be adopted at COSATU's Central Executive Committee meeting in the first week of March and then taken to a Conference of Civil Society some time later in the same month.
- 3.4. The document would then be negotiated with the ANC and publicised.
- 3.5. A good publicity strategy would be needed to ensure maximum electoral benefit from this initiative. Such a strategy could also include public hearings etc.
- 3.6. How other political parties especially those who form part of the CODESA-PF relate to the accord needs further discussion. This relates to how the ANC intends to relate to other political parties - see later
4. **What does a Reconstruction Accord/Programme/Pact have to offer to the ANC election campaign?**
 - 4.1. The reconstruction accord can offer practical and concrete solutions to the serious problems of jobs, education and health care which would also go a long way to reducing the socio-economic causes of the political and criminal violence. These are the key problems facing South African voters.

Thus an accord can improve one's electoral chances especially in swing constituencies. Managed and publicised properly, a reconstruction accord can potentially sway more voters, than an election platform of 'promises'.

- 4.2. A reconstruction accord addresses the problem of the economy. There is a growing consensus that the problems of the economy can only be addressed with the active involvement and co-operation of the major political and economic players. The organised and institutionalised co-operation of the major trade union, plus other forces of civil society, will be attractive to those forces in society who want the ANC to boost to 'economic confidence' and 'economic stability'.
- 4.3. Despite COSATU's alliance with the ANC, it would be wrong to assume that all COSATU members would automatically vote for the ANC. A reconstruction accord offers something for the non-ANC members of COSATU as well as members other trade unions such as the ex-TUCSA unions to which many coloured and indian workers belong.

5. **What implications does this have for COSATU position on the form of the campaign?**

Once a reconstruction accord has been agreed upon, the campaign would continue to be an "ANC led campaign", overseen by a "national political authority". The national political authority however, would need to be one consulted about - including with the Tripartite Alliance and other major signatories to a reconstruction accord. Similarly, major decisions would need to be consulted on in the same manner as decisions about the mass action, bilaterals etc.

TIR

COSATU 1993 Discussion Paper on a Way Forward

January 1993
Not for publication

Enclosed is a copy of a presentation prepared by the COSATU NOB's for discussion in all COSATU structures.

The NOB's urge that this presentation is thoroughly discussed as soon as possible. While we are aware of the need for time for proper discussions, events may also live us behind. There is thus a sense of urgency.

In summary the presentation is arguing that:

1. An agreement on an accord for reconstruction and development opens up the possibility of **fundamental transformation** of our society to benefit workers and the poor.
2. When assessing the **balance of forces**, our strategy must always be based on building on our strengths and not the fears of vested groups. This does not imply the need to neglect weaknesses.
3. We are faced by **three different options** of government in the future:
 - 3.1. A weak government which can't deliver to the majority of the people.
 - 3.2. A corporatist solution where only an elite benefit - including a trade union elite.
 - 3.3. A government which has capacity to implement a programme of reconstruction and development to the benefit of the majority.

The question we confront is how to make this option succeed.

4. For reconstruction and development to succeed, the following **key issues** need to be addressed:
 - 4.1. job creation
 - 4.2. human resource development
 - 4.3. social services e.g. health, houses and electricity and social benefits.
 - 4.4. rights: for workers, women, youth etc and individual and collective rights.
5. To pay for the reconstruction of our society we will need to:
 - 5.1. Restructure the public sector
 - 5.2. Mobilise domestic savings and international resources.

- 5.3. Prevent the ongoing unilateral decision making around the collection and use of our taxes and thus campaign for no increases in taxes and an independent tax commission.

6. The key to realise the reconstruction and development of our society is the initiation of a **Reconstruction Accord** which:
 - 6.1. We agree upon with ANC, SACP and civil society.
 - 6.2. We use as a platform to engage with:
 - business
 - the international community
 - NGO's and organisations like the DBSA and IDT.
 - 6.3. Guides us in our negotiations at NEF, NHF etc.

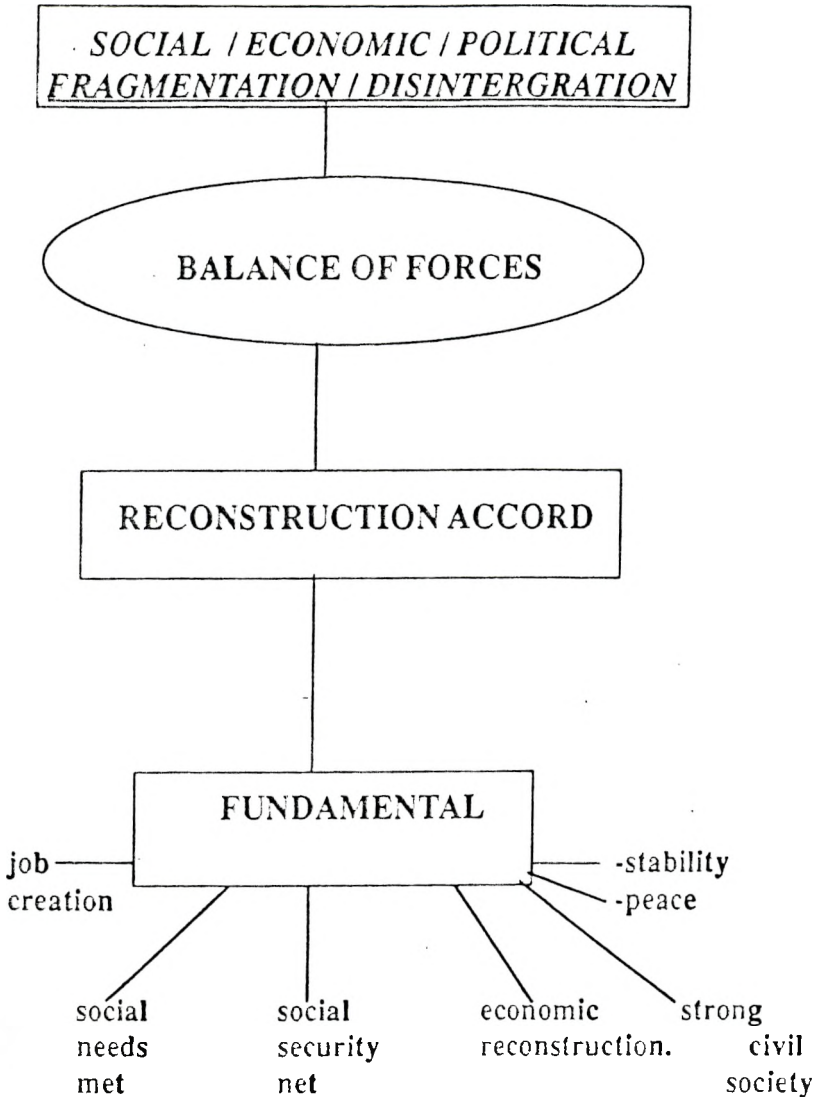
7. To get a **Reconstruction Accord** together we need to begin an **interactive process** within COSATU as well as with other trade unions, civil society, ANC/SACP as well as engage with other classes and formations. A vehicle to do this could be a Commission for Reconstruction and Development.

8. We envisage **three main phases** in the development of a **Reconstruction Accord**:
 - Establishing agreement on the need for an Accord with all major players in the democratic movement,
 - Developing the content of the **Reconstruction Accord**.
 - Once a new constitution is in place, implementing the Accord.

9. The **implications for COSATU** include the following:
 - 9.1. *Organisation*: The need to prioritise building the public sector, services, farm and construction.
 - 9.2. *Policy development*: Establishing capacity to radically increase our ability to develop policy.
 - 9.3. *Developing capacity* at levels of training and communication and at national and shop floor levels.
 - 9.4. *Campaigns*: An integrated campaign strategy focusing on:
 - Elections
 - The budget
 - Socio-economic issues
 - Peace
 - Paid education leave.
 - 9.5. The need to develop a *long term view* of COSATU's role.

10. **Affiliates** are called upon to discuss the implications for them including approaches to collective bargaining, wages and the future of COSATU.

COSATU STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE



FACTORS DETERMINING BALANCE OF FORCES

POLITICAL

- state bureaucracy
- security apparatus
- organised rightwing forces
- organisational capacity
- violence/crime
- disillusionment

ECONOMIC

- absence - economic model/plan
- decline - economy low skill base
- huge expectations
- Investment decline
- collective bargaining trap
- crisis in edu, health, housing.

POSITIVES

mass support
Democratic Mov.- guardian of poor
International sympathy

popular support for many proposals of DM.

POSITIVES

no solution without co-operation
representative view of majority
could lead solutions establishment of NEF and other alt. forums.

growing consensus on some key problems e.g. job creation

OPTIONS

WEAK GOV'T.

CORPORATIST SOLUTIONS (RICH)

PROGRAMME- RECONS AND DEVELOPMENT

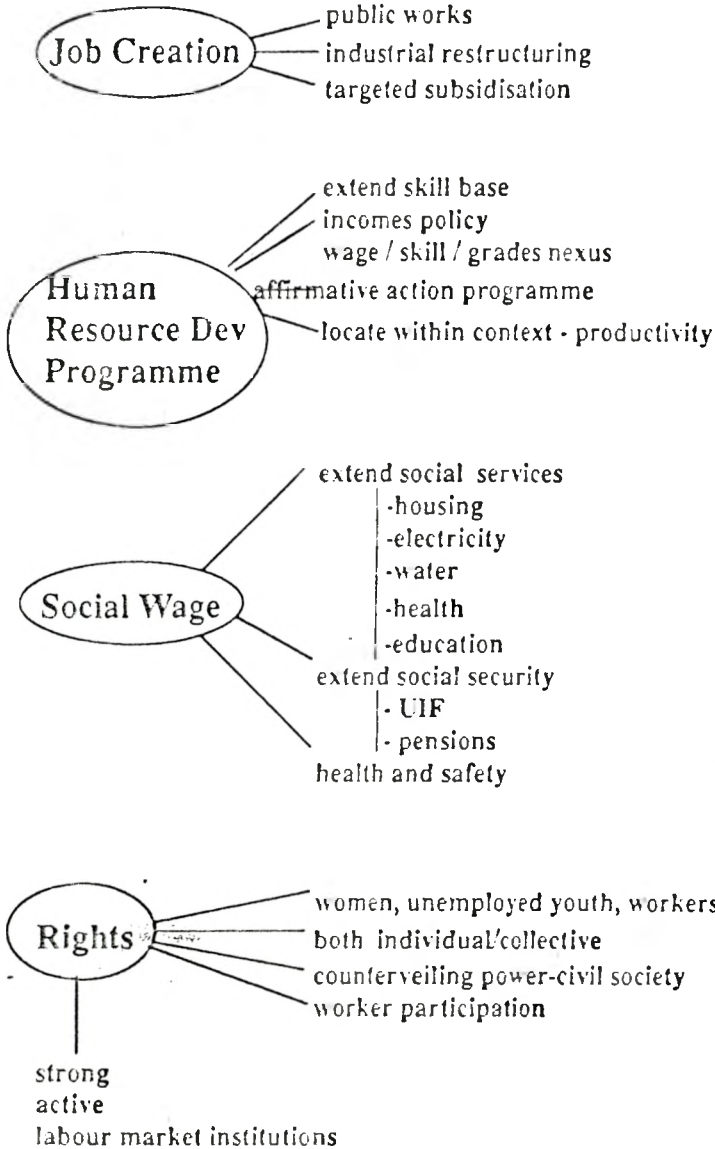
- starting point - fears of vested interest groups
- hostage - bureaucratic elite
- prog. - sabotaged
- economic decline
- violence
- win support
- collapse - govt
- no change
- Democratic Mov. second election

- change effects only the new elite
- 70/30 split in society between poor and rich
- trade unions concentrate on saving jobs own industries
- bureaucratic elite increases in power
- co-operation - based down economics

- starting point - needs of the majority and redistribution
- create - institutional framework for economic reconstruction
- dev - capacity of Democratic Mov. to play effective role in governing
- strengthen grassroots organisations
- social disintergration
- mass driven
- effect fundamental change
- co-operation towards redistribution

PROGRAMME

PILLARS - RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT



KEY TO REBUILD SA }

- create jobs
- address poverty

WHO PAYS FOR RECON. PROG.

BUDGET

- reduce deficit
- support reconstruction

- end golden handshakes

- no funds for apartheid bureaucracy immediate intergration

- improve tax collection

- improve delivery mechanisms

RESTRUCTURING PUBLIC SECTOR

eliminate wastage
relocate resources for provision of basic services

MOBILISE DOMESTIC SAVINGS

act against bureaucratisation

act against corruption

effect better management

MOBILISE INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES

or institute systems of checks and balances performance appraisal system

Present 5yr programme initially involve greater expenditure to kickstart the economy

CAMPGN AROUND BUDGET

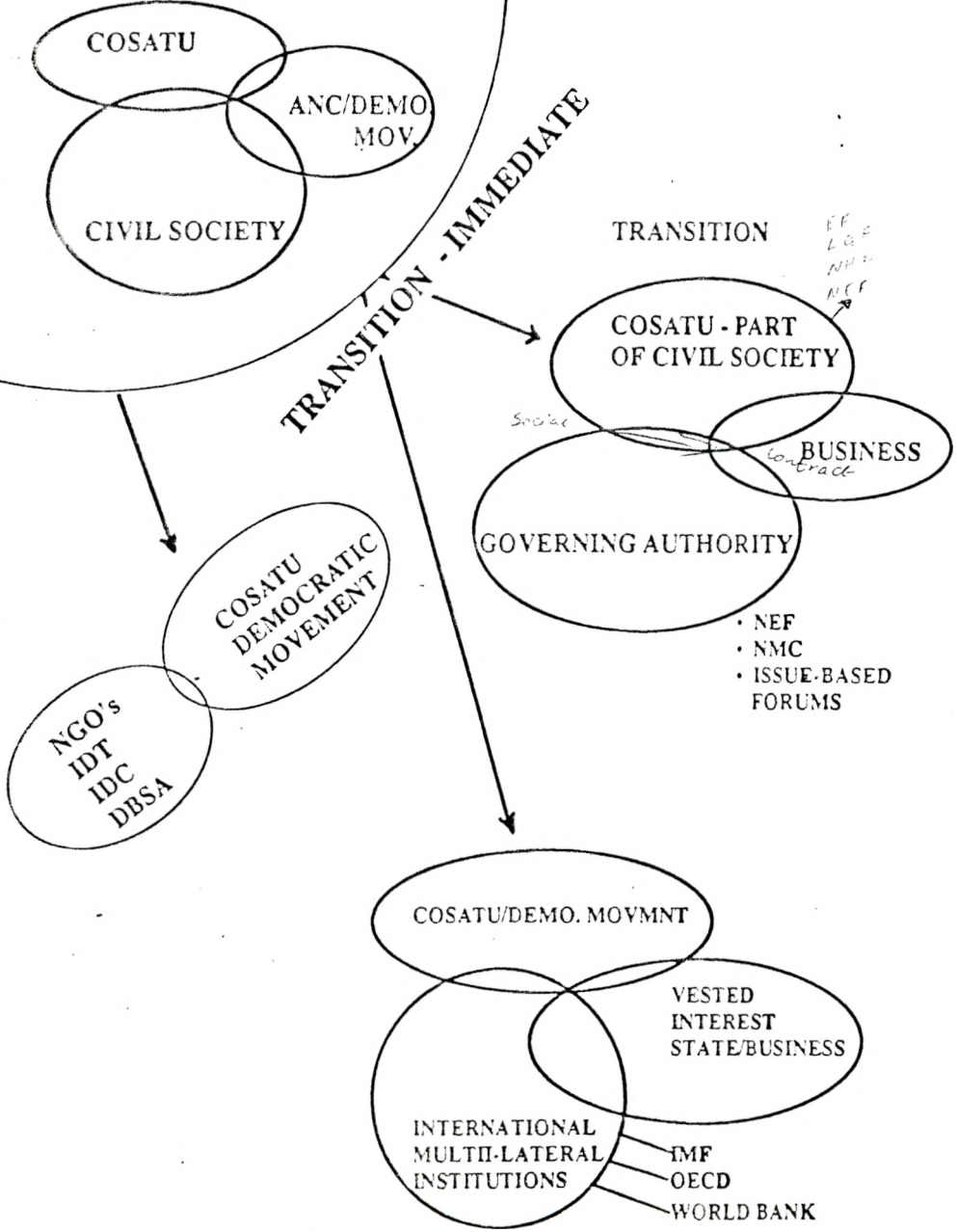
NO VAT PAYE INCREASE

no VAT on basic food stuffs

set up Tax Commission

independent Audit of Govt. Depts.

PERSPECTIVE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME



**DEVELOPING AND
BUILDING SUPPORT
FOR THE ACCORD**

Cosatu
workshops, publicity
meetings, communication

other trade unions

civics, students, women
rural organisations

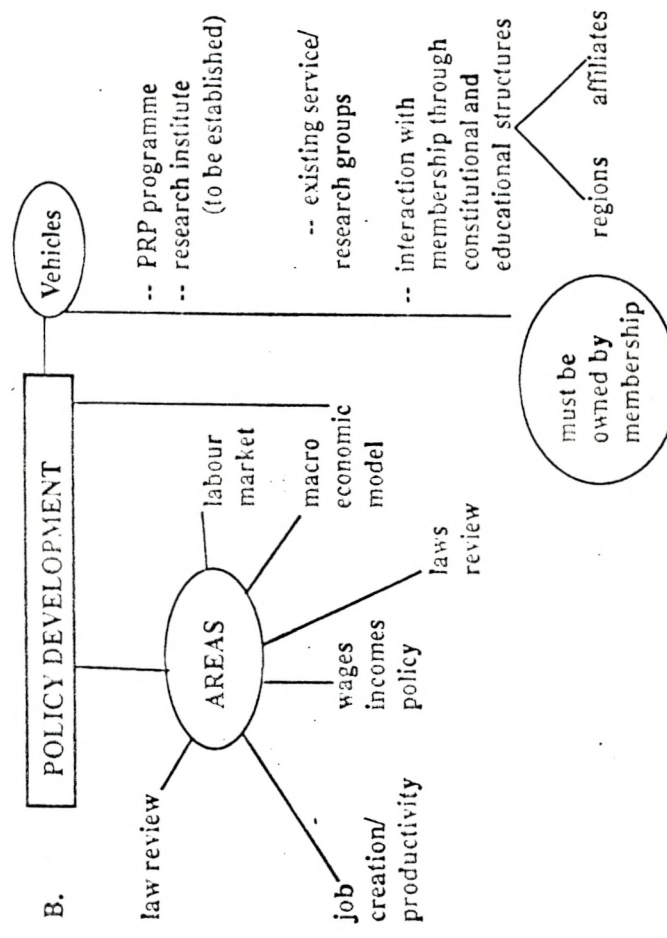
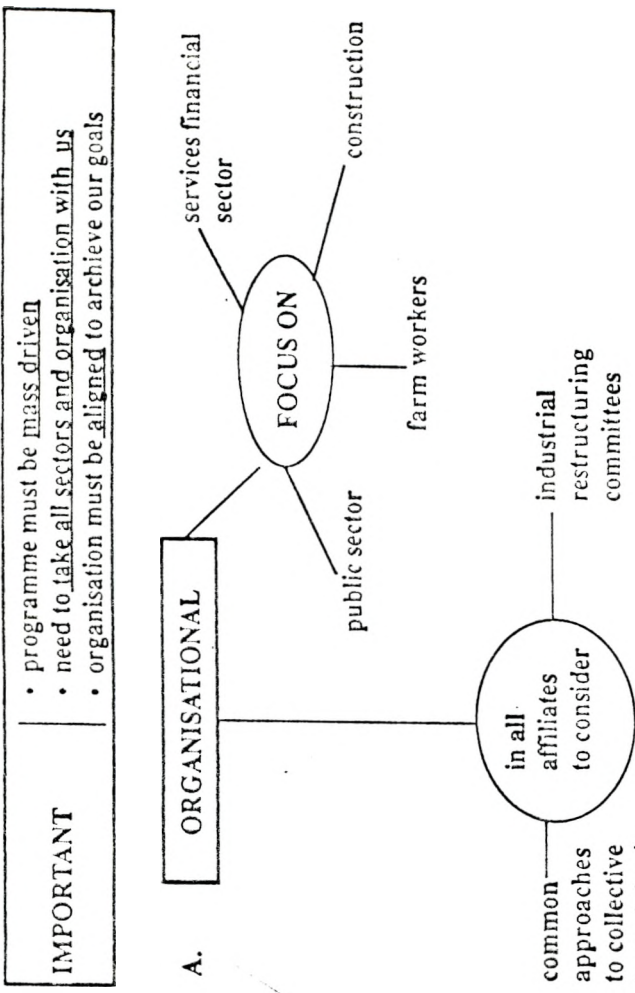
Alliance

interactions - other formations
classes, organisations

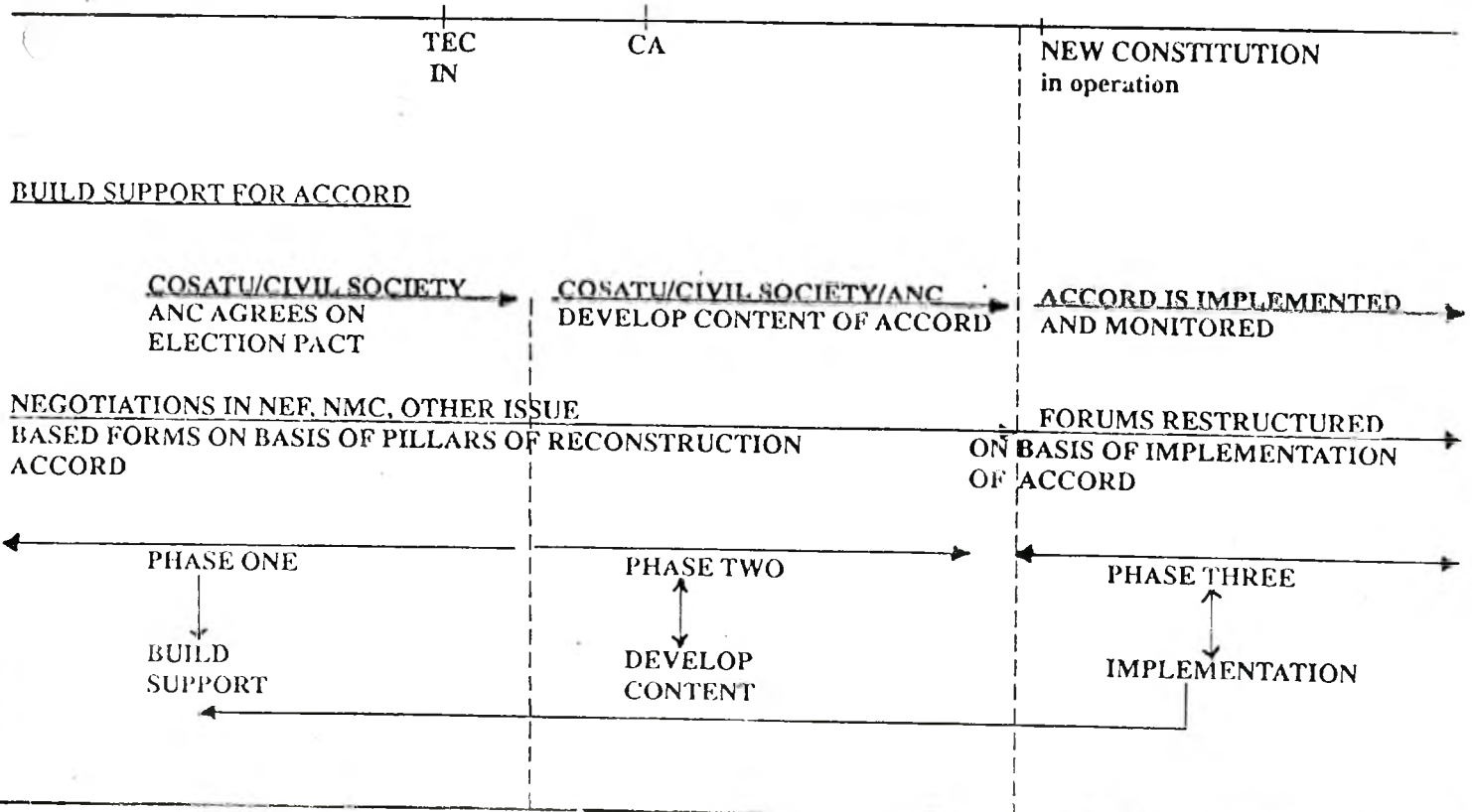
set up a commission for
Reconstruction and Development

election pact
programme

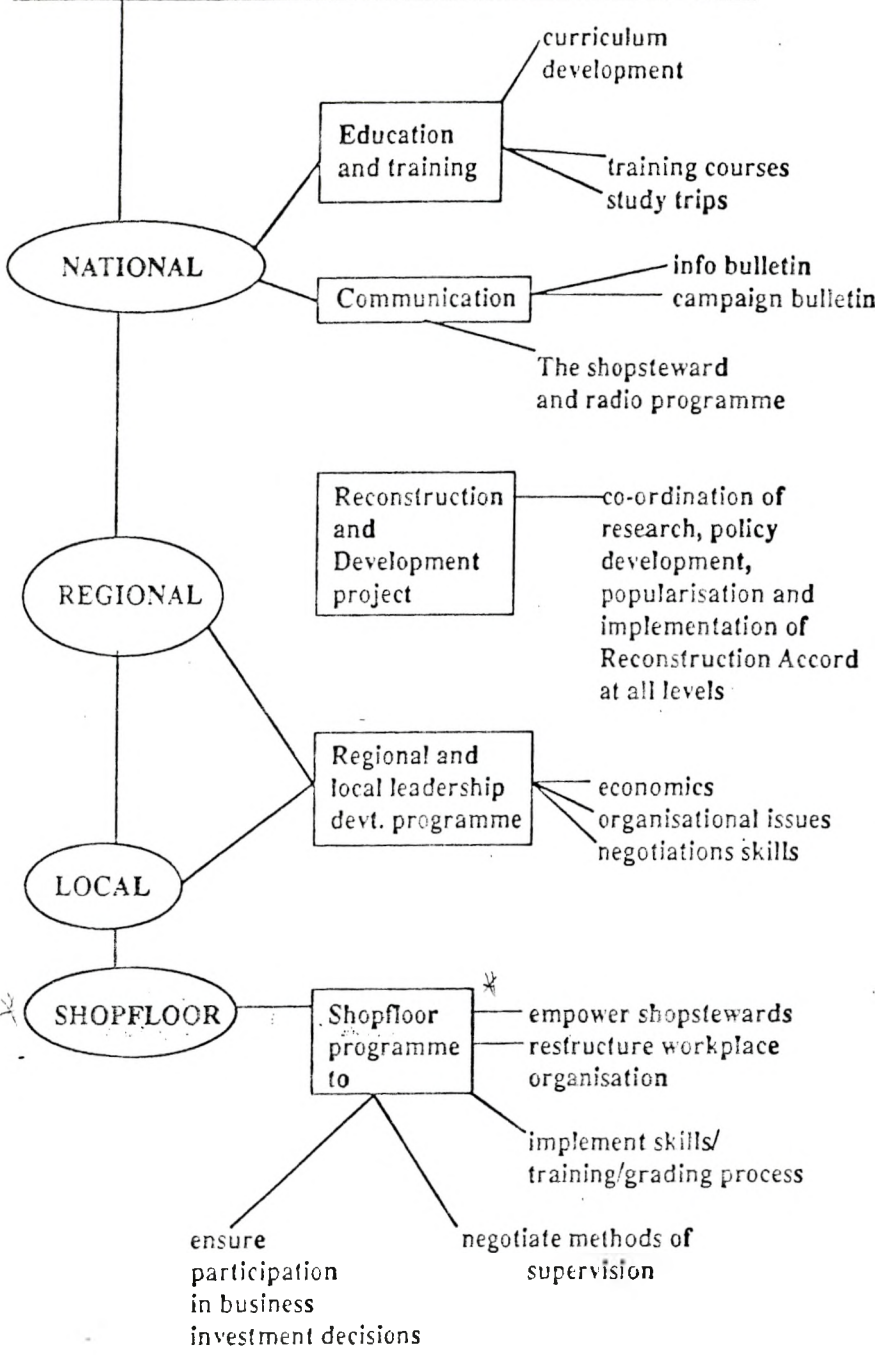
IMPLICATIONS FOR COSATU



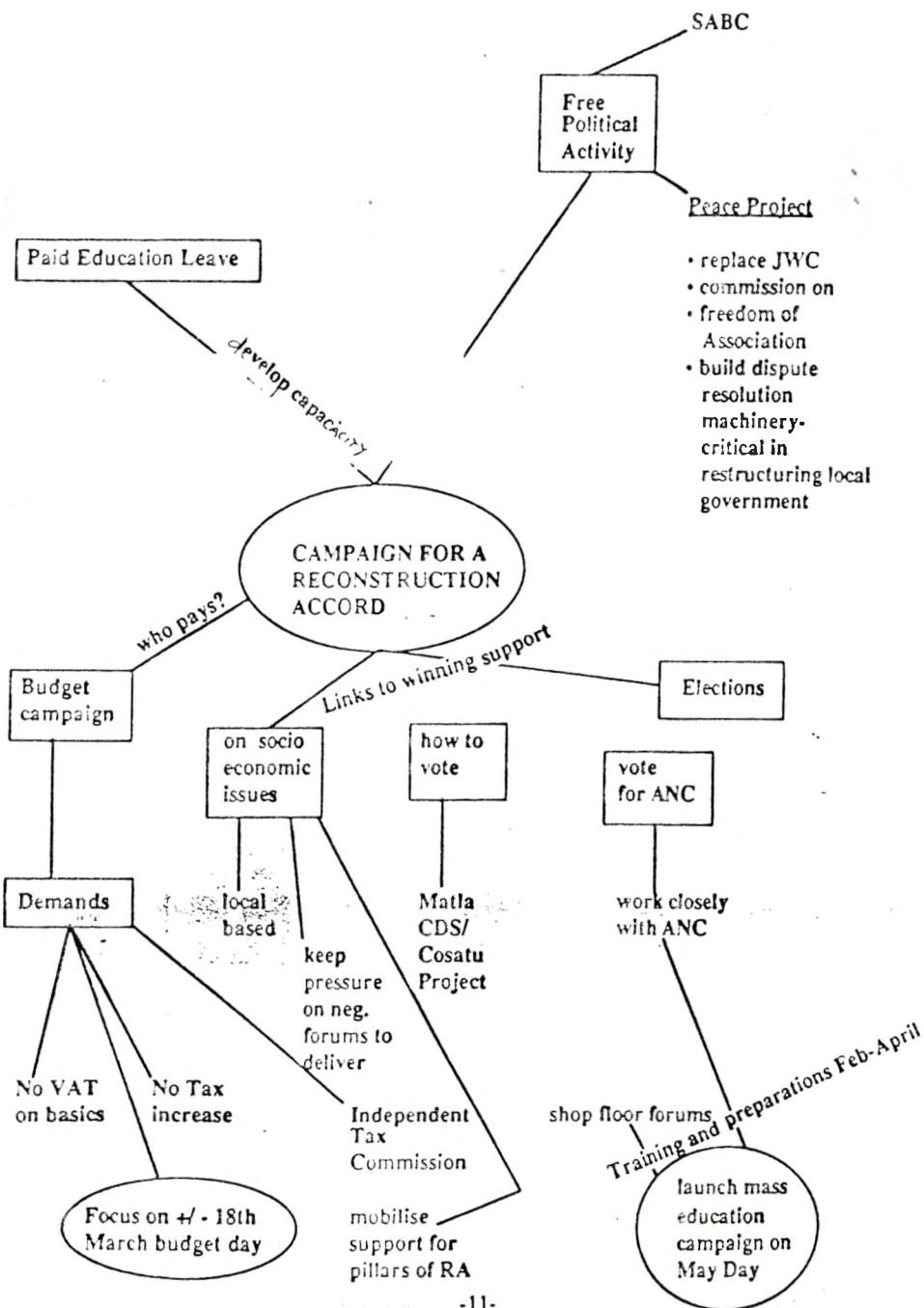
TIME FRAME



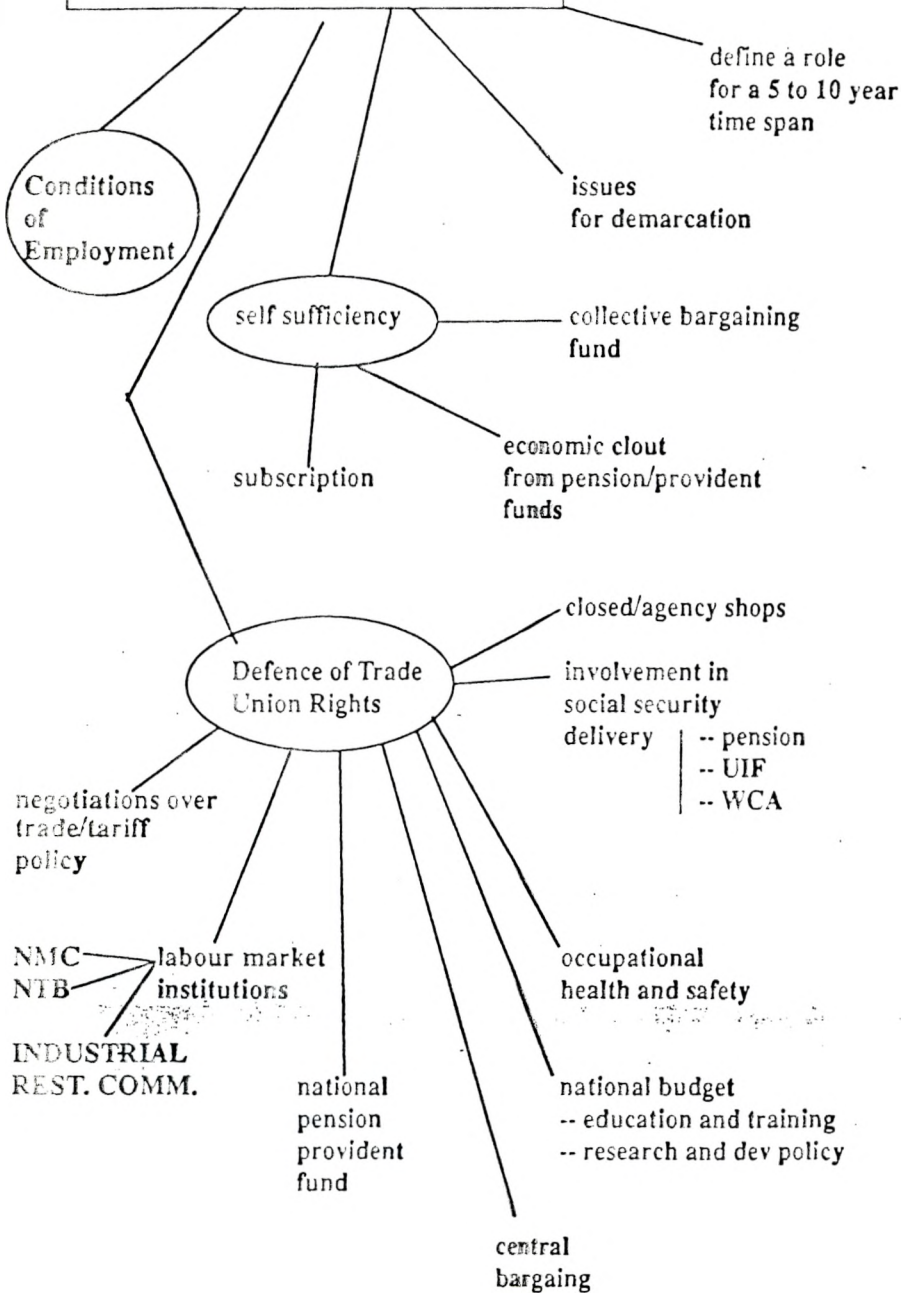
DEVELOP CAPACITY



CAMPAIGNS



FUTURE OF COSATU



COSATU TIMETABLE

5 Feb Exco	In principle agreement in Cosatu on approach taken in this document
February	Discuss at regional/affiliate/local level Prepart for March CEC consult with ANC, civil society
4 March	CEC workshop to focus on R/accord
5 March	CEC to agree on pillars of Reconstruction Accord and contents of election pact
March	Bring civil society on board (Conference of Civil Society) Agreement with ANC on election pact
18 March	Peak of Budget Campaign-
26-27 March	Campaigns conference to focus on <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Reconstruction Accord- Collective bargaining/wages implications
April	Mobilisation development programme
May Day	Launch of public campaign of <ul style="list-style-type: none">- vote education- vote for ANC- popularise R/accord (shofloor, door to door etc.)
May /June	Issues to be discussed at affiliates congresses

REPORT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ANC- ALLIANCE AND THE GOVERNMENT ON THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Despite a bad start the final outcome of these bilaterals is not that unsatisfactory. The main objective of the Alliance in these negotiations was to avoid entrenching the current bureaucracy, and the privileges they enjoy. The new government must be able to restructure the public sector as it needs, according to the wishes of the people, and to reflect the society which it is supposed to serve.

There was a real need, even with the above objectives, to ensure that the current incumbents of the various posts in the civil service were not panicked into believing that the new government would simply fire all of them. Even so, we needed to make it quite clear that there would be no place in the new public service for racists, or people who intend to undermine a democratically elected government.

The agreement reached between the regime and the ANC is essentially that:

- 1.- The Public Service Commission and the Public Service will be provided for in the Interim Constitution.
- 2.- The right to a pension will be provided for in the Constitution. Current pensions accumulated will not be reduced.
3. - Labour rights will guaranteed as for all other workers, and the article 25 of the Constitutional Principles will be amended to protect workers from unfair labour practice.
- 4.- Under section 119 the future government will be able to rationalise the civil services that exist, and any disputes arising therefrom will be handled by a 'fast-track' in the Labour Appeal Court, rather than long, drawn out legal cases.
5. There will be SPR Service Commissions with limited powers which will operate within the norms, standards and practices set by the national Public Service Commission
- 6.- The new government will be able to award pensions to those that have sacrificed in the struggle, and qualify according to the criteria the government sets.

Whilst these allow the government the space it will need, workers will be protected from any possible excesses.

It is unfortunate that the Alliance responded to the Technical Committee and CFA proposals. Any initiative we had was lost, and some gains we could have made were lost, for example limiting the powers of the Commission to the of a watchdog, and transferring the managerial function to a department of administration.

phillip/wtc811/11/08/93

PROCESSED

Areas of disagreement that still exist are around the current Commissioners, both in SA and the TBVC states. The CFA wants the ANC to guarantee the jobs of the current Commissioners, but not the TBVC Commissioners. It is not unlikely that some parties in the Negotiating Council will want changes to this agreement. There is also still the contentious 119 clause on restructuring that needs to be finalised, and the issue of access to the training institute, as well as attachments to the various departments. COSATU needs to consider it's strategy in this regard.

J. Daphne

TRANSPORTING COSATU INTO THE 21ST CENTURY : SURVIVING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 1990'S

The characteristics and survival mechanisms of the emergent labour movement (ELM) in South Africa are explored and discussed. This movement arose out of the ashes of state repression of the 1960's, and is now one of the largest and most well organised labour movements in the Southern hemisphere. The key actor, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), will be concentrated upon, due to its dominant role.

It is argued that a new form of unionism has evolved in South Africa, and that its basic approach is an appropriate survival strategy. COSATU's approaches are evaluated with a view towards locating weaknesses, and in so doing, gauge the extent to which COSATU's present and/or future survival is under threat. In conducting this exercise, present and potential future challenges and crises impacting upon COSATU are discussed. Global and local trends are discussed. Traditional trade union functioning from a theoretical perspective is reviewed in order to gain a deeper insight into weaknesses to search for, and to assist in predicting future problems in internal functioning of COSATU.

An answer to the question "do identified challenges and weaknesses actually threaten COSATU's survival?" is explored. It is argued that at present COSATU is a strong and vibrant union federation, but it is highly probable that its future survival is threatened. In the light of this view, the necessity for different roles and strategies is investigated. It is proposed that the nature of COSATU's present approaches and challenges facing it points towards "the new unionism" practised by COSATU being appropriate for its future survival, and fundamental changes are not necessary. It is argued that what is necessary, rather, is a refinement and development of its form of unionism, with some important changes.

CHALLENGES CONFRONTING COSATU AND WEAKNESSES IN ITS APPROACHES

Overall, COSATU's approach is characterised by an interventionist, pro-active role into political and economic issues from the position of a strong shopfloor base. The building of mass based, national industrial trade unions has been a key aspect of COSATU's approach. Emphasis has been placed on the development of strong, democratic shopfloor organisation and worker majorities in all structures. High levels of militancy and mass mobilisation, combined with collective bargaining over a range of issues, are dominant features of COSATU's organisational approach.

COSATU has involved itself politically and economically in the transformation process underway in South Africa. Its strategy has been to combine engagement in tripartite and bipartite negotiations with mass involvement and action. Part of this approach has been to build alliances with political and community organisations. This is a distinct form of unionism, which can be loosely termed a type of social movement unionism, which Lambert and Webster argue is different from the professional and bureaucratic unionism that characterises industrial relations in many industrialised countries, in that it is "concerned with labour as a social and political force, not simply as a commodity to be bargained over" (1988: 38).

The present and potential future inadequacies of these approaches will now be investigated to determine whether or not COSATU's present and/or future survival is under threat, and if so, the extent of the problem. In so doing present and potential future challenges confronting COSATU are identified and their impact gauged.

¹While important sections of the ELM adopted the principle of non-racialism, such as FOSATU, only almost exclusively African workers were organised (Maree 1986 : 4).

²Baskin maintains that basic structures were developed in the 1970's (1991 : 458).

The South African Economic Crisis and its effects

The effects of the economic crisis, and capital's responses to it, pose a significant challenge to COSATU. The COSATU report to its 1991 congress states that "the capitalist answer to the economic and social crisis is privatisation, deregulation, sub-contracting, retrenchment, unemployment, hiring temporary labour, wage cuts and weakening trade union organisation" (1991 : 47 - 48). Retrenchment is a vital issue facing unions, and many thousands of jobs have been lost since 1982 through economic decline and rationalisation of production, according to Nattrass (1988 : 302). In a review of wage settlements for the period July to December 1991, the Labour Research Service found that average increases were the lowest since it began monitoring wages, and it attributes this to the economic recession and management resistance to higher wage increases (1992 : 73).

Von Holdt refers to the dangers of industrial restructuring carried out unilaterally by management, and adds that new technology and methods of production are presently being introduced (1991a : 23). Joffe and Lewis suggest that the labour movement is faced with a number of problems if management run industrial restructuring continues, including divisions amongst membership and a weakening of organisation (1992 : 30). The effects of industrial restructuring are already being felt by labour in South Africa - job loss due to new technology, deskilling, co-optation of workers in participative management schemes, increasing divisions between skilled and unskilled workers, and new management strategies geared to combine increased profits with harder work (Von Holdt 1991a : 23 - 24).

Joffe and Lewis discuss the dangers of International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and state that numerous countries have accepted them, and there are many examples of newly elected governments that have introduced similar programmes, such as Zimbabwe (1992 : 27). South Africa has had a close relationship with the IMF, having received a number of loans between 1957 and 1982 (Padayachee 1988 : 193). Padayachee observes that South Africa enjoys a special arrangement with the IMF, as credit arrangements have been agreed to without any conditions attached (1988 : 193). Padayachee expresses the view that this relationship will change with the advent of a more left leaning government in

South Africa, and this could lead to the possibility of IMF intervention and the introduction of SAPs, or the removal of sources of credit (1988 : 201 - 3).

The impact of the economic crisis and industrial restructuring is thus posing a significant threat to COSATU and the welfare of its members. Future possibilities of the introduction of SAPs is a potential future problem of large dimensions. The present relatively strong position of COSATU stands to be significantly eroded if it does not successfully intervene into the process presently unfolding.

New Methods of Work Organisation Initiated by Management

New methods of organising work are in the process of being introduced by South African management. Employers are beginning to experiment with Quality Circles and Just-in-Time systems (Von Holdt 1991a : 19), there has been a major management initiative to introduce a worker participation scheme in the form of a programme entitled "Total Productively and Quality" (Evans 1992 : 40 - 51), and there is evidence of the beginnings of co-determination arrangements (Macshane 1992 : 56). Von Holdt is of the view that more forward looking employers see great benefits for themselves by entering into "social partnership" arrangements with labour (1992a : 65), and that there is much discussion in management seminars of "a 'new era' of cooperation in industrial relations" (1992b : 1). He goes on to say that harsh shopfloor repression and fundamental conflict still prevail, but changes are happening, which in many cases mean greater productively and lower wage increases, but there are also some more serious initiatives (1992b : 1). Von Holdt argues that this points to "a range of new opportunities and dangers" for trade unions (1992b : 1).

Trade unions are faced with potentially severe problems arising out of management initiatives. They have not yet been able to formulate strategies (Von Holdt 1992a : 65), and investigations have indicated that unionists and researchers are largely ignorant about shopfloor developments (1991a : 20). COSATU, therefore, is unprepared to respond to recent shopfloor developments, and this could pose a greater problem than more obvious repressive forms of industrial relations.

Global Trends

In discussing challenges to COSATU it is also important to examine global trends, particularly in industrialised countries. It is likely that these trends will also appear in South Africa. Padayachee refers to South Africa's involvement in the world economy and its high level of intergration into the world capitalist system (1988 : 200 - 1). This increases the likelihood of South Africa being strongly influenced by developments in industrialised countries.

Hyman's overview of European trends in the 1980's and his predictions for the 1990's is particularly useful in this regard. In the 1980's there was a decline of blue-collar workers in manufacturing industries, an increase of white-collar, professional and skilled workers, and also an increase of non-permanent work involving vulnerable employment conditions (1991 : 622). Hyman argues that these trends will continue in the 1990's, along with increased employment of women and growth of part-time, fixed-term and self-employed work (1991 : 622). Hyman also observes that the changes in types of occupations has resulted in the increase of trade unions of professional employees, professional associations, quasi-trade unions and other organisations outside of mainstream unions, which has tended to undermine the dominant unions (1991 : 627).

Many of the trends described by Hyman are already apparent in South Africa and are likely to become more pronounced. Baskin describes the increased importance of white-collar and professional workers in South Africa due to changes in the production process, and he mentions that many have approached COSATU affiliates, but have found that these unions do not cater for their needs (1991 : 455). COSATU is geared around blue-collar workers, and a large potential membership is probably out of its reach as a result. It is likely that opposition organisations could be formed. A union document refers to the increase in flexible and non-permanent workers in South Africa, and the shrinking core of permanent workers, which increases management's ability to deal with industrial action (South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union 1990 : 10). This stands to significantly weaken the bargaining power of trade unions. South Africa also has a large population of people outside formal employment. Keet quotes a figure of 8,4 million people outside formal employment, which is 51,3 % of people of employable age in South Africa (1991 : 37). The importance of entering this terrain by unions is increasing.

Also at a global level, Offe predicts a society divided into "a shrinking capitalist core and an expanding capitalist periphery of non-market institutional arrangements", and maintains that shopfloor relations between capital and labour are no longer the dominant factor in societies (1984 : 285). This a trend which, to a certain extent, COSATU is geared for, due to its style of unionism, but its power base is on the shopfloor, and as this base shrinks, its ability to conduct non-shopfloor struggles will also diminish. Offe and Wiesenthal describe general management strategies to curb trade unions, which include restricting issues that can be bargained over, and preventing industrial action through routinising and legalising the resolution of disputes (1985 : 209 - 212). This can also be expected in South Africa.

The Position of Women in COSATU

While COSATU has been actively involved in gender issues, and has a number of policy guidelines, women are in a very weak position inside COSATU. Women comprise approximately 36 % of COSATU membership, but its resolution on women's leadership has not been implemented, with, for example, only one out of 36 COSATU regional office bearers being female (COSATU 1991 : 38). Baskin also maintains that no progress has been made in implementing this resolution (1991 : 375). He adds that COSATU national office bearers are all men, less than 10 % of national office bearers in COSATU are women, amongst affiliates only one general secretary is a woman, and the majority of women employed by COSATU are in administrative positions (1991 : 371 - 3). He suggests that the proportion of women in leadership positions is declining, due to a shift in leadership style, and that there are numerous obstacles preventing women's participation, including domestic responsibilities and prejudice (1991 : 373 - 5). (Also see Dove SALB Vol 16 No 8)

Low numbers of women in COSATU structures, which effectively means women are removed from decision and policy making processes, significantly reduces COSATU's ability to organise women, and reduces considerably COSATU's ability to function effectively at all levels. Milkman argues that there has been a large increase in women's labour force participation, and this makes the empowerment of women in trade unions, and the organising of women through trade unions, even more vital (1990 : 91). It is likely that there

is a similar trend in South Africa, and in agreeing with Milkman, this is an important challenge for COSATU.

Internal Organisational Functioning of COSATU

A recent issue of the SALB focuses on new internal organisational weaknesses developing in COSATU (1992b). The editorial states that COSATU and its affiliates "face an internal organisational crisis which threatens slowly to undermine the very basis of its power", and that this is due to a number of reasons, including - the complex nature of the negotiations COSATU is now involved in; a lack of human resources; an increasing distance between leadership and rank and file membership (SALB 1992b : 1). It goes on to say that COSATU's close involvement in the transformation process will mean further demands and complications, this could weaken shopfloor support, and thus erode its influence (1992b : 1). In a detailed analysis, Marie argues that recent developments, including the rapid expansion of COSATU, more sophisticated management strategies, and complex national level negotiations, are eroding COSATU's militant and democratic practises (1992 : 20 - 26).

It appears as if COSATU has reached a stage in its development as a young trade union federation where the combination of its increased size and involvement in a range of complex issues, has resulted in the very motor of COSATU, its democratic structures, beginning to overheat and suffer from burnout. COSATU is attempting to play a leading role in the building of a new society in South Africa. It simultaneously is having to meet the needs of its members in the deepening economic crisis, and deal with a multitude of new management initiatives, some constructive, but most probably aimed at control and pacification of union membership. The complexity, scale and pace of events appears to be moving well over the heads of rank and file membership, causing a breakdown in the communication process between leadership and the shopfloor.

Traditional Trade Union Functioning

In order to understand the significance of the above mentioned situation, it is useful to examine how trade unions function traditionally from a historical and theoretical perspective. For this purpose, Offe and Wiesenthal's theories of

collective identity, willingness to act, and bourgeois hegemonic distortion of interest will be discussed (1985) :

First of all, trade unions are associations consisting of members with a whole range of concerns and needs (1985 : 170). These needs have to be discussed collectively, due to the large number of members involved, the variety of needs and the fact that many of the needs are not calculable. Offe and Wiesenenthal term this process as labour using "dialogical patterns of intra-organisational communication" (1985 : 200). The nature of trade unions also means that a collective identity has to be formed and maintained to balance the unequal power relationship between labour and capital (1985 : 183). In addition, in order to achieve its objectives and meet members needs, a trade union must be able to take action, or to "mobilise sanctions" (1985 : 184). To mobilise sanctions, unions need the "conscious and coordinated active participation of their members", and, arising out of this, the willingness of members to embark on industrial action, or a trade union being able to generate the "willingness to act" (1985 : 185).

Another dimension to trade union functioning which Offe and Wiesenenthal discuss is the distortion of working class interests by capital. Due to its dominant position, capital can exercise a large degree of control over " symbols and values that play a role in the identities and aspirations" of workers (1985 : 199). In the view of Offe and Wiesenenthal, this distortion of the true interests of workers affects class consciousness as significantly as material exploitation (1985 : 197). They also argue that the basic ambiguity experienced by workers is that between individualistic tendencies and the need to act collectively (1985 : 200).

The need to cater for a spectrum of needs, the importance of maintaining a collective identity and a willingness to act, and the counteracting of capitalist distortion of worker interests, are all real and vital issues for COSATU. In agreeing with Offe and Wiesenenthal that trade union power relies fundamentally on the maintenance of the "dialogical process of collective interest articulation" (1985 : 212), the principle danger faced by COSATU is to lose this ability, on which the maintenance of a collective identity and a willingness to act hinges. From the descriptions of new management initiatives, it is very likely that a key objective of management is to distort working class values and interests, and this is an important problem area for

COSATU to address. The maintenance of a collective identity, which in any event is likely to become diffused in the transformation process, is also an important problem area. Due to the nature of COSATU's involvement, the spectrum of member's perceived needs is probably extremely broad, and this makes the maintenance of a collective identity more difficult.

Democracy vs Bureaucracy

It is likely that a more critical look at COSATU will reveal a further problem, which appears to lie beneath the surface in much that is written about present organisational problems. This is what Offe and Wiesenhal describe as the "ongoing contradiction between bureaucracy and internal democracy", and the tendency of labour to be a mix of monological and dialogical forms of collective action (1985 : 205 - 6). They maintain that business organisations involve almost purely individualistic forms of decision making and are thus an example of monological forms of collective action, but unions are always a mixture, containing both logics of collective action (1985 : 205). In their theory of opportunism, Offe and Wiesenhal discuss the universal tendency of labour organisations for the "growth of the bureaucratic and individualistic elements within unions, and the virtual disappearance of dialogical patterns of collective action and collective identity" (1985 : 207).

It is very likely that this tendency is now manifesting itself in COSATU, and unless consciously addressed, will continue to develop. Offe and Wiesenhal's theory of opportunism in essence suggests that trade unions go through various stages as responses to demands being made upon them, starting with practising dialogical forms of communication and maintaining a high ability to exert sanctions, and ending with practising monological forms of communication, losing the willingness to act, and becoming ineffective and dependent on support from capital (1985 : 215 - 218). This is a process that has most probably begun to unfold in COSATU and poses a real danger for its long-term survival.

Political Policy

COSATU has reaffirmed its alliance with the ANC and SACP, but there are concerns over the nature of this relationship within COSATU. Von Holdt lists a number of problems voiced by unionists, including lack of consultation by the

ANC and an inadequate understanding of mass organisation (1991b : 18). Baskin expresses the view that COSATU saw itself as representing the ANC and that this position is now inappropriate and that unions are "essentially mass organisations which accept all workers as members regardless of political affiliation" (1991 : 466). There are political differences between COSATU and NACTU, which stem from divisions between the Congress/ANC tradition and the Africanist/Black Consciousness tradition (Baskin 1991 : 456). Baskin also refers to many workers, especially coloured, Indian and white workers, who openly praise COSATU's organisational skills, but are hostile towards its political position (1991 : 456).

A future formal relationship with the ANC under a new government could prove to be problematic. Keet, for example, discusses the problems experienced by the Zimbabwean ZCTU with the ZANU(PF) government, and concludes that their "too long and too close relationship" has not been in the interests of the trade unions (1992: 60-1). She argues that there are sufficient similarities in the political approaches of COSATU and the ZCTU to draw parallels and learn lessons from the ZCTU experience, which is that their political strategy has not worked (1992: 61).

Summary of challenges and weaknesses

COSATU is faced with a number of challenges and problems, presently and in the future. The impact of the current economic crisis, and capital's responses to it, is placing severe pressure on trade union organisation. Management rationalisation and restructuring is resulting in numerous problems for labour. There is a real possibility of IMF-style SAPs being introduced.

New methods of work organisation pose challenges and potential dangers for COSATU, and its lack of strategies and policies to deal with these management initiatives stand to undermine shopfloor organisation. The present inability to cater for white-collar and professional workers is a key weakness, which will steadily become increasingly problematic for COSATU. The increasing numbers of casual and temporary workers, and the shrinking of COSATU's shopfloor base, is another key problem area, which the federation has not addressed.

COSATU's strategies and policies to increase women's presence in leadership structures have failed, with almost a total absence of women in important leadership positions. This stands to reduce the federation's effectiveness

at all levels. The potential erosion of COSATU's democratic practises, and with it its support base, is probably the single most important weakness with far-reaching repercussions. Following historical trends, as discussed by Offe and Wiesenthal, COSATU faces the danger of increased bureaucratization and incapacitation. Finally, the other possible problem area is COSATU's future political position, which could keep potential members out of the federation and undermine its autonomy.

SURVIVAL CHANCES OF COSATU

The objective has been to identify key problem areas. The list is not exhaustive, and other problems, such as racial divisions, the lack of organisation amongst rural workers and the unemployed, and the attitudes of trade union confederations to unions in the South, also prevail.

The question now needs to be asked, "do the identified challenges and inadequacies constitute a threat to COSATU's survival ?" The answer to this question is based on the assumption that this does not literally mean to survive, but rather, to survive effectively. For the purpose of this exercise it is sufficient to describe "effective survival" as meaning to effectively represent the interests of members, which would entail more than just survival. In order to answer this question, COSATU's survival at present and in the future needs to be ascertained.

Is COSATU Presently Surviving

Judging from the descriptions of COSATU's activities in 1991 and 1992, while weaknesses exist, it is in fact surviving at present. Pointers towards this are its high levels of activity and militancy, including a programme of mass action, participation in tripartite negotiating forums, involvement in the formulation of economic policy, bipartite negotiations with employer groups, and its involvement in tripartite alliance working groups. In addition, while problems are arising, its democratic traditions are still practised.

According to figures released at its 1991 national congress, all COSATU affiliates have increased their membership between 1990 and 1991, and COSATU overall has grown from 924,559 to 1,258,853 members over the same time period (Von Holdt 1991c : 16). Marie states that COSATU unions have grown three or four times their original size over the last five years and he expresses the view that COSATU is one of the largest and most well organised union federations in the Third World (1992 : 20 - 1).

It could be argued that if it were not for the weaknesses in strategy, COSATU could be surviving more successfully, but in essence, COSATU at present is surviving, and it is arguable whether present problems have had a significant impact on COSATU. What is more important is to look into the future and conduct projections on COSATU's survival chances.

COSATU's Future Survival

The combination of the challenges facing COSATU and its weaknesses in strategy, as described, make it very probable that its future survival is under threat, and that this threat will start assuming significant proportions within the very near future. According to the trends described, both local and global, the challenges confronting COSATU will in all probability continue to increase in severity, and do so over a relatively short time scale. As argued, the economic crisis and capital's responses to it; new methods of work organisation; the increasing importance of women, white-collar, professional and temporary workers; the trend towards shrinking of the capitalist core; and the strong possibility for the increased bureaucratization of COSATU; all pose challenges to COSATU. The combination of these challenges with the weaknesses in COSATU strategy, or lack of it, stand to rapidly erode COSATU's survival chances.

It now needs to be ascertained if this means that roles and strategies different from those associated with COSATU are needed.

THE NEED OR OTHERWISE FOR DIFFERENT ROLES AND STRATEGIES

If the overall characteristics of COSATU's present roles and strategies are taken into account, along with the nature of the challenges facing it, as

described, it strongly suggests that a fundamentally different approach is not necessary or appropriate, and the principle characteristics of COSATU's approach, as summarised in this paper, should essentially remain in place.

The new unionism, as opposed to the more common bureaucratic forms, as referred to by Lambert and Webster in describing COSATU, is the most appropriate form to meet the challenges of the 1990's. Proof of this is COSATU today, and as long as it continues to maintain its innovative and pro-active approach, and with some strategic changes and developments, the basic thrust of its form of unionism should successfully take it into the twenty first century. As is stated by Marie, relative to trade unions of industrialised countries of the North, "COSATU stands out as a living example of the possibility of a militant worker controlled trade union organisation" (1992 : 20).

In short, the form of unionism practised by COSATU, with its combination of militant, democratic, shopfloor organisation; broad bargaining agendas; interventionist approach into macro-issues; and alliances with a large cross-section of organisations; is most suited for its future survival. It is this form of unionism which will be able, given the development of appropriate strategies, to deal with the new challenges arising. To take the lead in macro-economic policy making, empowering of women, catering for white-collar workers and new methods of work organisation, are all within COSATU's reach, due to its basic approach, which is already firmly established. In some areas, such as economic policy making, as is described by Joffe and Lewis (1992 : 24 - 31), work is already well underway.

Offe argues that the central challenge for the labour movement globally is "how to become more of a labour movement" (1984). This is in fact what COSATU is doing. In discussing future directions for the labour movement in Latin America, Munck expresses the view that new social movements, which have also promoted social movement unionism, have not been able to offer alternative approaches to economic liberalism, and that the role they have played in society has been very limited (1992 : 14 - 16). He also explores social concertation, and suggests that entering into social pacts and social mobilisation can be combined (1992 : 10). If social movement unionism has been ineffective in Latin America, this does not necessarily mean COSATU's approach is inappropriate. The important aspect to COSATU's approach is that it draws on a range of strategies, and does not fall under any specific definition of a type of unionism. While agreeing with the feasibility of

combining mobilisation with social concertation, in the South African context tripartite negotiating forums are more feasible, considering the highly charged political environment. Forgoing any fundamental trade union rights, such as strike rights, which can accompany social pacts, is also tactically incorrect.

An important threat to COSATU's future survival is the potential erosion of the key aspect to its present strategy, that is, a breakdown in democracy and the weakening of its shopfloor support. The emphasis needs to be on rebuilding weakened structures, and guarding against future erosion. It is also important that COSATU gains a deeper theoretical and historical insight into the functioning of trade unions globally, in order to become consciously aware of, and to actively guard against, the bureaucratization process and opportunistic strategies, as described by Offe and Wiesenenthal, that tend to develop in trade unions. The maintenance of a collective identity and a willingness to act, the counteracting of capitalist interest distortion, and, overall, close attention paid to practising dialogical forms of communication and collective interest articulation, is a vital aspect to future survival.

An important dimension to developing present roles and strategies is the rapid advancement of policy-making processes presently underway regarding macro-issues, such as industrial restructuring, and the further development of COSATU's strategies around tripartite negotiations. A focus on consciousness and skills development is also an important aspect to refining COSATU's approach. In agreeing with the conclusion to a union seminar held to discuss future working class strategy, macro-issue negotiations with the state and capital require strong organisation and increased consciousness and skills (Von Holdt 1991a : 25). The same seminar also concluded that labour's approaches must be underpinned by the understanding that the overall objective is to transcend capitalism, not revitalise it (Von Holdt 1991a : 25). In support of this position, capitalism in any form will always act against the interests of the labour movement, and short-term strategic decision-making needs to be conducted in a manner that does not undermine the long-term objective of transcending capitalism. Offe refers to Marx's description of the logic of capitalism as being "insatiable" and "self-centred", and he argues that the "blind recklessness of capitalism is as evident today as it was in the time of Marx" (1984 : 296).³

³The object of this argument is to propose firstly, that COSATU's strategies and decision making must be consistently informed by a clear political

CONCLUSION

South Africa has entered a new and fluid phase of its history, which is placing significant pressures and demands on COSATU. It is facing challenges from a variety of quarters, and also starting to display internal weaknesses. While it has survived successfully to date, its future is more uncertain. Trends presently developing stand to erode and threaten COSATU's ability to survive within the near future.

In order to face the challenges of the 1990's, COSATU needs to develop and refine the form of unionism it practises. It needs to resuscitate weakened structures, and be vigilant against any breakdown in its democratic tradition. A deeper theoretical and historical understanding of the functioning of trade unions is needed in order to be effective in accomplishing this. The development of policy-making on macro-issues presently underway needs to be rapidly advanced and implemented, and this process must be informed by a long-term objective to transcend capitalism.

The new, innovative, pro-active form of unionism practised by COSATU is best suited to transport it into the twenty first century. However, some important shifts of policy and strategy are required. The pace of change is now rapid and complex, and COSATU must guard against overextending its organisational capacity, or using the rapidity of events as an excuse to subvert the democratic process. It must also be consciously aware of the fact that many of the conditions which acted as a stimulus for its form of unionism may no longer exist in a new South African society, and be constantly adapting to accommodate this.

perspective, and secondly, that perspective must not entail the long-term development of capitalism, but rather its transcendence. It is beyond the scope of this paper, and would take another one, to put forward arguments in support of the necessity to transcend capitalist practises, apart from agreeing with COSATU's and Offe's position.

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COSATU Economic Policy Conference

27 - 29 March 1992

DECLARATION

- 1. This Conference noting that the present minority regime**
 - 1.1. Is determined to impose white domination both politically and economically.
 - 1.2. Has secretly embarked on an intensive restructuring programme to entrench the white stranglehold on the wealth of our country.
 - 1.3. Is attempting to resist the demand for a sovereign interim government and democratically elected Constituent Assembly.
 - 1.4. Is illegitimate - even the present regime accepts the fact that it is unrepresentative and that we are in a transition phase.
- 2. Further noting that the regime's programme is:**
 - 2.1. Aimed at sabotaging a future democratic government's ability to meet the basic needs of the majority.
 - 2.2. Plunging millions of our people into hunger and starvation as costs of food, clothing, education and health spiral out of control.
 - 2.3. Leading to retrenchments of thousands of workers.
- 3. Declare:**

3.1. We want freedom now!

PROCESSED

We therefore resolve:

- 3.1.1. To remain resolute in our demand that by mid-year an interim government should be set up and there should be an agreement that elections for a Constituent Assembly will be held by the end of the year.
- 3.1.2. To mobilise on a scale unseen before to ensure a landslide victory in the

elections for democratic forces.

3.2. We want food and jobs now!

We therefore resolve:

- 3.2.1. To embark on a sustained campaign to prevent hunger, starvation and famine. In particular we will campaign for a reduction of basic food prices including the removal of VAT.
- 3.2.2. At national and affiliate level to campaign intensively to defend and create jobs. In particular we intend to begin urgent negotiations on a public works programme.

3.3. We want negotiations NOW!

We therefore resolve:

- 3.3.1. To intensify our efforts to establish a national economic negotiating forum with the participation of all key players including the government.
- 3.3.2. To actively involve and engage ourselves in regional socio-economic development forums to ensure that these forums:
 - * provide jobs, housing, health and other basic needs
 - * build dynamic regional economies which are integrated into a national growth path.
- 3.3.3. To intensify our campaign for centralised bargaining in all sectors of the economy.

4. We want worker rights for all!

We therefore resolve to intensify our campaign for:

- 4.1.1 Basic rights for farm, domestic, public and bantustan workers.
- 4.1.2. The right to strike for all workers.
- 4.1.3. Worker rights in a new constitution.

Accordingly we call on our members and the community at large to discuss and prepare for a programme of mass action to remove the final obstacles to political and economic freedom.

COSATU's Growth Path

As adopted by the Economic Policy Conference 27 - 29 March 1992.

COSATU continues to strive for a democratic, socialist society as the mean of truly meeting the aspirations of our people. Our economic policy should therefore be based on the following central principles:

- 1.1. To promote the working class as the dominant political and economic power.
- 1.2. The economy and society must be democratic. State structures must be democratic and enshrine the principle of multi party democracy.
- 1.3. Democracy must also be based on strong organs of civil society.
- 1.4. The economy must improve the quality of life and ensure an end to unemployment and poverty.
- 1.5. Workers must have the right and capacity to decide on production processes, the distribution of surplus and the allocation of investment according to social needs.
- 1.6. The economy must ensure an integrated and equitable distribution of production and consumption for all regions.
- 1.7. The development of the South African economy must complement and facilitate the development of other economies.
- 1.8. Gender, race and class inequalities shall be eliminated.

We believe that the policies outlined below must and can actively contribute to the attainment of these principles.

2. Redistribution

COSATU believes that redistribution is essential to growth. Therefore:

- 2.1. **There must be a redistribution of resources and power. This will have to be done by a process of state intervention combining nationalisation, anti-trust legislation and other forms of legislative intervention including price control.**
- 2.2. **A process of redistribution must be carried out by:**
 - 2.2.1. Reducing the importance of luxury good production by differential taxes.
 - 2.2.2. Increasing the production and provision of basic necessities of electricity, water, transportation, housing, education, health and welfare, food, clothing and recreational facilities.
 - 2.2.3. The state must ensure that these basic services are retained in public

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hands and any such services that have been privatised should be renationalised

2.2.4. This redistribution must be led by the state and financed by:

- * Redirecting existing investment.
- * Restructuring corporate tax in order to increase the tax collected.
- * Introducing progressive taxes such as land and wealth taxes.
- * Increasing the level of savings both institutional and personal.

2.3. The expansion of production to meet basic needs will require increased imports of machinery for manufacturing which South Africa does not produce itself. For this we will need considerable foreign exchange. The beneficiation of our considerable mineral resources is therefore a key element to achieve our overall growth path.

2.4. The above issues should be not only be left as a matter of state policy but should be actively campaigned for by militant and democratic organs of civil society.

2.5. COSATU should intensify and facilitate research on the optimum means of reaching these objectives.

3. Industrial Policy

In referring to industrial policy we are referring to the production of all goods and services.

3.1. Industry must create jobs so as to achieve and maintain full employment.

3.2. Industry must produce high quality basic goods and services at prices that are affordable to everyone.

3.3. Industry must be capable of paying a living wage to all and have an equitable wage structure.

3.4. Industry must contribute to the development of human resources of our society.

3.5. Industry in South Africa will have to function in a world wide economy. Our objective in relation to the world economy should be that our costs and prices should compare favourably with world costs and prices. Our objective in regard to trade should be policies that ensure that trade contributes to full employment and fair labour standards in all countries.

3.6. Industry must ensure it implements environmentally sustainable policies including healthy and safe working and living conditions.

3.7 To achieve these objectives, we should negotiate and campaign at national, regional, industry and company level the following:

3.7.1. The structure of the economy and industries. Particular attention should be paid to:

- * Labour intensive production.

- * Maximising the potential for beneficiation of our natural resources.
 - * Ensuring sustainable growth.
 - * Stopping the outflow of capital.
- 3.7.2. The allocation of investment funds by government, the financial system and companies.
- 3.7.3. The COSATU National Training and Adult Basic Education proposals.
- 3.7.4. The use of technology and the increased use of Research and Development.
- 3.7.5. An appropriate tariff and trade policy.
- 3.7.6. Legislation should be passed to break-up conglomerates and monopolies where necessary in order to ensure economic efficiency and growth and to reduce their economic power.

4. The role of state

- 4.1. The redistribution and restructuring outlined here needs a political economy that will lead to a strong and decisive state based on majority support. We therefore need to:
- 4.1.1. Campaign for a Constituent Assembly and ensure that working class interests are represented there.
 - 4.1.2. Oppose federalism.
 - 4.1.3. Oppose forced coalition governments and "multi-presidencies".
 - 4.1.4. Support multi-party democracy.
- 4.2. Redistribution and restructuring must be based on the democratic and not dictatorial strength of the state. Strong mass organisation in civil society must complement the role of the state.
- 4.3. The state must not attempt to do everything but must intervene decisively in the areas of production, distribution and consumption identified in this growth path.
- 4.4. The state must be restructured to achieve a "slim state" in which levels of employment are based on the provision of useful and effective services.
- 4.5. Such restructuring must aim to create an administration which reflects the population of South Africa through affirmative action and not patronage. It must further seek to democratise the bureaucracy and make it more accessible to the community at all levels.
- 4.6. In the short term, the state must promote public works programmes.

5. Building workers power

The building of workers power relates to worker control and democracy and ownership of the means of production.

5.1. Workers control and democracy

5.1.1. We must struggle to increase worker participation and power in all economic and political life. This particularly applies in the present crucial political process and impending elections.

5.1.2. We must struggle to increase the level of democratic decision making at all levels of the economy: at:

- * at the workplace, regional level and national level
- * in labour market institutions
- * in parastatal organisations
- * in national councils such as the Electricity Council.

5.1.3. We must establish active labour market policies which shall include promoting centralised bargaining and trade union control over administration of social benefits.

5.1.5. This process of democratisation must include:

- * Full disclosure of information in government, finance and business.
- * The right to time off to participate in planning.
- * The right to control investment.

5.1.6 We must increase the skills and awareness of workers and the public at large on economic issues. This must be done through measures including open public debate.

5.1.7. We need to rapidly achieve working class unity in:

- * the trade union movement - with NACTU and FEDSAL
- * unite the key mass working class organisations of civics, rural organizations and youth.
- * unite the working class political organisations.

5.2. Ownership

5.2.1. We remain committed to social ownership which will include nationalisation of the leading heights of the economy. The key objectives of nationalisation are to:

- * Act as an instrument for the achievement of full socialisation.
- * Build a society based on production for need rather than profit

5.2.2. We believe that public ownership is a more desirable form of ownership. We need to bear in mind that state ownership does not

automatically mean control by workers. Nationalisation should therefore take place under workers control.

5.2.4. Not all industries should be nationalised. Present policy should be selective with objectives related to this growth path. In particular the objective of providing basic goods and services to all require that the following be under public control:

- * Escom
- * Public transport
- * The Post Office and Telcom
- * State forests
- * Municipal services
- * Water
- * Education
- * Iscor
- * Roads
- * Health

5.2.5. In addition we must consider strategic nationalisation in order to fulfill the following objectives:

- * To stimulate growth both nationally and within industries.
- * To enable the working class to take control of the strategic direction of the economy.
- * To enlarge the resources available to a future democratic state.

5.2.6. Small business policy and assistance to small business must assist families and individual owners not fragmented micro-units of large corporations.

5.2.7. Co-operative and collective ownership must be encouraged by appropriate legislation and support programmes.

5.2.8. COSATU calls for a programme of land reform.

6. Southern Africa

6.1. The legacy of imperialism, colonialism and apartheids destabilisation policy make it imperative that our growth path be negotiated with and be mutually beneficial to Southern Africa.

6.2. It is essential for the security and stability of the Southern African Region that all its components develop in unison.

6.3. We must continue to build trade union solidarity and co-operation in the region and engage our trade union allies in discussion on our broad economic and social goals.

**Policy positions arising out of Economic Policy Conference
27 - 29 March 1992**

A. Job Creation

In order to deal with the unemployment crisis, decisive strategic interventions are necessary to create jobs.

These includes:

- * Investment in sustainable jobs in a growing economy [long term]
- * Review government contracts and promote labour intensive methods
- * Start a Public Works Scheme for mass employment and the creation of useful assets.
- * A special programme of public works for unemployed youth

B. Public Works Programmes

COSATU supports the following principles to guide public works programmes:

1. COSATU must develop proposals for public works schemes that are based on the needs of the community.
2. There must be no displacement of workers in existing jobs because of the public works schemes.
3. Wages relating to public works schemes needs to be negotiated by COSATU.
4. Funding for the projects should come partly from the state and partly from a special tax on businesses.
5. Selection criteria for the schemes should be simple, but fair.
6. Training must be an essential component of the public works schemes.

7. Planning and research are needed now if the public works schemes are to be implemented speedily and effectively in the future.
8. The unions must be represented on the structures that govern the schemes.

C. Trade and Tariffs

1. Tariff policy be part of a wider industrial, trade and transport policy.
2. It must encourage job creation.
3. It must discourage exploitation of workers in other parts of the world.
4. It must help to make local producers more efficient.
5. It must offer some variety of goods to consumers.
6. It must be negotiated with the trade union movement.
7. South Africa should not become a signatory to the general agreement on trade and tariffs without proper consultation with COSATU.

D Second hand clothing

We should campaign for:

1. Limits to the amount of second hand clothing coming to South Africa related to the needs of the poor.
2. An end to the selling of such clothing - it should be given away free because a lot of it is obtained free from charity groups overseas.
3. Unions control over the importation and distribution of such second hand clothing.

Code of Conduct for Multi National Companies Investing in South Africa

As discussed at COSATU Economic Policy Conference 27 - 29 March 1992

1. Preamble

Parties should recognise:

- a. the vast inequalities of income, wealth and education created between racial groups by apartheid
- b. the need to abolish all apartheid legislation and practice
- c. the influential role played by multi national companies in world economies

2. General Policies

Companies must agree to:

- a. Abide by all ILO conventions as minimum standards
- b. Increase employment opportunities
- c. Abide by social and labour laws and regulations of S. Africa as a minimum and actively implement improvements to these. Where companies operate in decentralised areas, they will need to abide by national social and labour standards.
- d. Disclosure of information.

3. Employment Creation

Companies will endeavour to increase employment opportunities as a priority in harmony with national social development policies. They will use technologies which generate employment, both directly and indirectly.

4. Equality of Opportunity and Treatment

Companies shall pursue policies designed to promote equality of opportunity and treatment in employment, with a view to eliminating any discrimination based on race, colour, gender, sexual orientation, religion, political opinion, national or social origin, physical disability or handicap. They shall also implement affirmative action programmes to redress the effects of past discrimination and the legacy of apartheid.

5. Security of Employment

Companies should promote security of employment.

6. Training and Adult Basic Education

Companies should ensure that relevant training is provided for all levels of employees within a national framework. Training/ABE should meet the needs of people and be in the interests of the country. All technological change or progress should be linked to training. All training/ABE should be negotiated with the trade unions.

7. Occupational and Environmental Health and Safety

Companies agree to:

- a. maintain the highest standards
- b. negotiate health, safety and environment agreements with the trade unions
- c. permit no dumping of toxic waste
- d. implement an environmentally sustainable development policy
- e. take responsibility for environmental damage to the community.

8. Science and Technology

Companies agree to:

- a. permit rapid diffusion of technologies
- b. grant technology licences on reasonable terms and conditions
- c. run training programmes to keep employees and community abreast of technological developments
- d. negotiate science and technology policy with trade unions

9. Conditions of work and life

Conditions of work and life offered by the company shall be not less favourable than those offered to employees in the company's country of origin.

Companies shall adopt measures to ensure that lower income groups and less developed areas benefit as much as possible.

10. Workers Rights

Workers shall have the right to organise their own independent trade unions and the companies shall in no way oppose the unionisation of their workforce. Companies agree to:

- a. Negotiate at company, plant, industry level and any other level agreed with the representative trade union;
- b. the right of access to company premises for trade union officials;
- c. provide facilities for trade union meetings and balloting;
- d. guarantee the rights of shop stewards;
- e. recognise the right to strike without dismissal, including the right to picket peacefully on company premises, no employment of strike breakers, no retaliatory lock outs or interdicts against strikers

11. Corporate Social Responsibility

Companies agree that corporate social responsibility programmes will be instituted in conjunction with trade unions and the community affected. Such programmes to be designed to build self reliance.

12. Disinvestment

Should companies decide to disinvest they should do so in accordance with an agreed disinvestment procedure.

**COSATU Programme of Action arising out of the
Economic Policy Conference
27 - 29 March 1992**

1. COSATU campaigns

On the basis of the demands formulated by the CEC on 6 - 8 March 1992, the conference identified the following campaigns to achieve our demands:

1.1. Food and Jobs Now!

1.1.1. Lower food prices.

1.1.2. The government must guarantee that staple foods remain the same or are reduced.

1.1.3. No VAT on basic foods, water, electricity, medicines and medical services.

1.1.4. Better VAT provisions for small business.

1.1.5. A properly negotiated and adequate poverty relief programme.

1.1.6. A moratorium on retrenchments.

1.1.7. Public works programme to be urgently negotiated.

1.1.8. Tariff and import policies must not lead to a reduction in jobs.

1.2. Freedom Now!

1.2.1. Agreement on a sovereign Interim Government by June and democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly by the end of the year.

1.2.2. The creation of a democratic undivided South African state. No to forced coalition governments and "federalism".

1.2.3. The immediate restoration of South African citizenship to all peoples of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophutatswana and the reincorporation of TBVC "states".

1.2.4. The integration of the security forces.

1.2.5. The freeing of the remaining political prisoners (including trade unionists) and general amnesty for remaining exiles.

1.2.6. Decisive measures to end vigilante and state-sponsored violence.

1.3. Negotiate Now!

1.3.1. An end to unilateral economic restructuring including privatisation, and other measures leading to economic hardships and retrenchments.

1.3.2. The government must be part of the national economic forum and other negotiation forums eg. housing and education so that any major changes can be negotiated with the key players.

1.3.3. Industrial restructuring must be negotiated with the trade unions.

1.3.4. The National Manpower Commission must be restructured so that workers can effectively participate in decisions about laws which affect them.

1.3.5. Regional negotiation initiatives must effectively deliver houses, jobs etc

and be integrated into our national growth path.

1.4. Workers rights now!

- 1.4.1. Basic rights for farm, domestic, public sector and bantustan workers by June. In particular workers in Ciskei and Bophutatswana must be able to organise freely.
- 1.4.2. The right to strike for all workers.
- 1.4.3. Central bargaining in all sectors of the economy.
- 1.4.4. Union control over benefit payments such as UIF.

Our campaigns should focus on these demands as well as on preparing to win a large majority in the elections for a constituent assembly. These campaigns will assist us in this.

2. Implementing our campaigns

The following recommendations were made by the Conference :

2.1. Sustained mass action

- 2.1.1. The conference resolved to discuss with our members and the broader community that if our demands listed above and in particular the demands on VAT and Interim government and Constituent Assembly are not met by June, that we should embark on:
 - * Sustained mass action at the middle of the year
 - * Stop deductions of PAYE.

2.1.2. In addition, the following issues were discussed to take our campaigns forward:

2.2. VAT

- 2.2.1. COSATU should initiate an urgent meeting with F.W. de Klerk to discuss the zero-rating of eight basic foods on Wednesday 1 April.

2.3. Food Prices

- 2.3.1. COSATU and especially FAWU and SACCAWU must be integrally involved in the programme of action adopted at the Food Price Summit to meet and negotiate with food producers to reduce high food prices.
- 2.3.2. COSATU should take the lead in setting up broad-based local and regional price monitoring committees which will lead boycotts and pickets where prices are raised unreasonably.
- 2.3.3. We need to begin discussing and researching a food policy in relation to

issues such as subsidies, price controls and appropriate tariffs.

2.3.4. COSATU needs to support programmes for sustainable and greater food production especially in rural areas.

2.4. Jobs

2.4.1. COSATU should formulate a plan as soon as possible for a public works schemes, a special programme for unemployed and the adoption of labour intensive methods, where appropriate, in government contracts.

2.4.2. This issue of defence of jobs as well as job creation and the establishment of a public works programme must be taken up actively with all employers and the state and particularly at the national economics negotiations forum.

2.4.2. COSATU need to re-activate the living wage campaign.

2.5. Unilateral restructuring

2.5.1. We must insist that the government must negotiate the use of funds allocated in the budget. This means that they must participate not only in the NENF but also in the forums initiated by progressive forces on housing, education and health.

2.5.2 Affiliates must actively oppose unilateral restructuring in their sectors such as privatisation of forests and abattoirs and should receive the backing of the Federation.

2.6. Preparing for elections

2.6.1. We need to begin discussing our demands for an election manifesto and co-ordinate closely with the Alliance.

2.6.2. We need to plan an education programme around elections for our members.

2.6.3. We must ensure that the election procedure is not subject to abuse.

2.7. National negotiations

2.7.1. We need to tightly link the NENF to the struggles on the ground and bread and butter issues. We must ensure that the NENF does not lead to wage restraint or limit the possibilities of mass action.

2.7.2. We therefore need to prioritise the following issues for negotiation:

- * Renegotiation of VAT
- * Reducing food prices
- * Programme for employment/ job creation including public works programmes.
- * Stimulation of the economy and employment by large investments in the basic goods and services.
- * Review of the entire tax system
- * Unilateral restructuring
- * Privatisation

2.8. Regional negotiations

2.8.1. COSATU regions need to establish regional economic development sub-committees for the development of regional economic forums and to establish training programmes will assist in the process.

2.9. Mobilisation of our members

2.9.1. Our members need to participate more actively in the decision making of campaigns and negotiations.

2.9.2. We need to consider re-activate Industrial Area committees to implement sustained local programmes of action.

2.9.3. We need to ensure full reporting to our members on our campaigns and negotiations.

2.10. Support of our members in struggle

2.10.1. COSATU must urgently investigate the establishment of a national relief fund to assist workers on strike.

2.10.2 When members of COSATU are dismissed or victimised for participating in national mass action, we will take solidarity action.

2.11. Working with our allies

2.11.1 As far as possible we need to campaign and co-ordinate together with our allies in the Tripartite Alliance, other trade unions and trade union federations, civics and youth.

May

May Day: Meetings and rallies to focus on report back from CODESA and progress on meeting of demands. We should focus on general meetings to involve our members in the process of deciding on mandates for the Workers Summit rather than leaders "lecturing" our members.

May EXCO: Finalise a COSATU broad investment policy. To be fed into ANC Policy Conference at the end of May.

Workers Summit: To discuss workers unity, action if our demands have not been met and adoption of Workers Charter.

ANC Policy Conference: Following from conference, the Alliance should be in a position to draw up a joint document on economic policy which could form the basis for the socio-economic part of an election manifesto.

June

COSATU workshop on socialism.

June/July

Possible mass action

Second half of year

October: Conference on socialism

4. Issues for further discussion by COSATU EXCO/CEC

- 4.1. Broad investment policy
- 4.2. Social contract
- 4.3. Demands of an Election manifesto
- 4.4. Solidarity with striking and dismissed workers
- 4.5. IMF and World Bank
- 4.6. Nationalisation/ compensation

Cosatu

THE CAPE TOWN
TRADE UNION
LIBRARY

Africa, like the rest of the 'Third World' or developing world is ravaged by war, disease, starvation and other forms of human degradation. We read daily of the plight of thousands of Mozambicans suffering from disease and hunger and still being butchered by Renamo counter-revolutionaries who are propped up by Pretoria. Similarly, we see thousands of Palestinian workers and peasants being forcibly removed from their land and dumped into refugee camps, all in the name of Zionist Israel, which is nothing more than a strategic American Imperialist outpost in the Middle East.

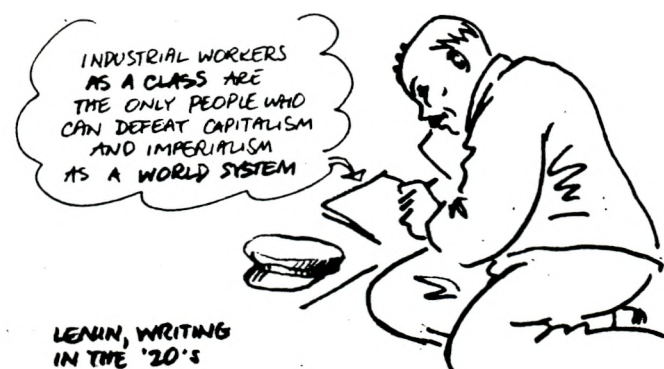
In Nicaragua, Ronald Reagan and Co. are still granting millions to Contra counter-revolutionaries who butcher sympathisers of the left-wing, democratically-elected Sandanistas. All this being done to restore 'democracy' and 'free enterprise'. This basically means democracy for a rich few to do as they please and the freedom to exploit millions.

This country, South Africa, has a rich history of these social evils and the struggles against them. This country, which supplies 75% of the world's gold, deprives 75% of its population of political rights. It is governed by a police-state, which treats the people worse than cattle. The working masses, who have very little, are continually subjected to mass removals, pass laws, detentions, tortures and vigilante attacks. Yet it is this very same country which has half the number of motor vehicles, half the electricity consumption, and three quarters of the railway trucks of all countries south of the Sahara. It has 14 times the production of Zimbabwe. These are indeed startling contradictions. We also find that 80% of the shares on the JSE is owned by 6 monopolies. Yet workers in SA are amongst the lowest paid in the world.

All these problems that we are struggling against today has its roots in the past. Understanding our past, our struggles, our victories and defeats, leads us already halfway to our future.

This section is going to draw out the main features of the development of Apartheid-Capitalism from Colonial times to the present era of Political and Economic Crisis in the 1980's.

We will look at why South Africa was taken over by European powers -the relationship between apartheid control and cheap labour- the political struggles against -Apartheid capitalism- the rise of the ANC/SACP/ICU - the Congress movt of the 50's and the 60's - South Africa's entanglement in a world Economic and Political Crisis - the response of the ruling class to this crisis - repression, cooption - State of Emergency - Housing - Vigilante Attacks etc.



SECTION A - Political and Economic Crisis (½ day)

1. Content

- International: Crisis of Capital/Imperialism linked to the rise of conservative governments - Reagan and Thatcher and their attempts to force the working class to bear the brunt of the crisis.
- International: Pressure against S.A. Government (Sanctions, Disinvestment, A.A.M)
- Regionally - Intervention into Mozambique, Angola and other neighbouring countries.
- Nationally - Collapse of Apartheid as a form of control
- Government losing support to its right and "left"
- How the crisis manifest itself in terms of:
 - 1) Housing
 - 2) Education
 - 3) Bantustans
 - 4) Increased repression/vigilante attacks/Mutiny
 - 5) Unemployment
 - 6) Co-option
 - 7) Inflation
 - 8) Taxation

2. FORMAT : Workshop - discussing the following questions:

2.1 What is the economic and political crisis?- in terms of housing, education, bantustans, repression, vigilante attacks, unemployment/retrenchments, co-option, inflation taxation.

2.2 Who or what is the cause of the Economic and political crisis?

Possible answers: (Discuss each one)

- (a) The Labour Party, Community Councillors and all other sellouts.
- (b) The Nationalist Party i.e. The P.F.P could do a better job solving the crisis.
- (c) The ANC and SACP because they bomb vital economic/military keypoints.
- (d) The workers who demand a living wage and therefore pushing up prices, causing inflation.
- (e) The workings of the exploitative and oppressive Apartheid System.
- (f) The UDF and COSATU who cause unrest and call for sanctions, therefore chasing investors away to other countries.

2.3 Who bears the brunt of the crisis? and why?

Possible answers (Discuss each)

- (a) The government
- (b) The working class (workers, students, unemployed) and rural poor.
- (c) The bosses who lose millions and close down factories.
- (d) The small businesspersons (shopowners, taxi-owners etc)
- (e) The neighbouring countries.

2.4 Is South Africa the only country experiencing an economic and political crisis? Mention examples in the "Western World", "Socialist Bloc" and so-called Third World and discuss.

SECTION B: Comparative Study (2 - 3 hours)

1. Comparison between South Africa, Kenya and Mozambique. The Kenya case study would look at the effects on workers and peasants of post-independence development in a capitalist direction. As a contrast Mozambique would be presented (in its early years after independence) as an example of what the gains could be for workers and peasants through Socialism.

Resources: slide show on Mozambique
ILRIG book on Mozambique
Document showing harsh labour laws in Kenya

Methods: The methods used would include short presentations by ILRIG illustrated with slides, as well as small group discussion around a particular document (for Kenya), or case study of workers' control (for Mozambique)



SECTION C Development of Apartheid - Capitalism (Historically)

1. AIMS

This section should lay the basis for understanding how the present crisis came about (i.e. Unemployment, housing shortage, conditions in the homelands, Education crisis etc. State of Emergency, realignment of political forces in the ruling block (see crisis section)) as well as how we arrived at the political policy that we have adopted at present. i.e. Freedom Charter as guiding document, importance of building working class leadership and the need to build a united front.

The presenters need to trace the historical threads (both economic and political) going back where necessary to precolonial history to help us understand the roots of the above mentioned crisis and COSATU's political policy.

This history should take us up to just prior to the present crisis.

3.1 How have the lives of people changed during the important periods in S.A. in terms of where and how they lived, political rights, education etc.

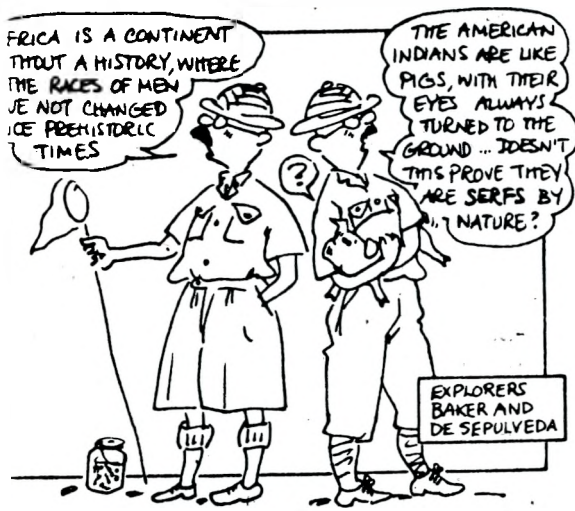
- Noting the periods:- Pre -Colonial
 - Colonial (After Dutch and British arrival)
 - After the discovery of gold in S.A.

3.2 How have the political struggles and issues changed with these changes in S.African society? - Refer to Housing, employment, freedom of movement, Multinational/International control.

3.3 How has the political form - (i.e. no vote for black workers, passes, Bantustans, Bantu education) that has resulted from the way capitalism has developed in South Africa affected our struggles in the past, the role of trade unions - the kind of issues they fought, the kind of alliances they established etc.

Reading material

- Gold and Workers - L. Callinicos
- COSATU- Political Economy book
- Historical development of Racial Capitalism (Saul and Gelb)
- Let us speak of freedom part 1 and 2



SECTION D State-Capital Response to crisis

1. Content : Looking at - State of Emergency
 - Tricameral Parliament
 - J.M.C's
 - Destabilization of neighbouring countries
 - Vigilantes
 - Squatters and Housing
 - De Klerk and Labour Relations Amendments
2. Format : Panel discussion with questions and discussion from the floor. Various people from different areas of struggle will sit on the panel and give input, relate experiences and stimulate discussion.

What are the strategies of the state to combat the crisis?

How are the bosses trying to combat the crisis?

Are there contradictions between capital and the state or within capital that we can take advantage of? If so, what are they and how can we use them?

What are the government's schemes to co-opt and control us?

What are the bosses schemes to co-opt us and sell free enterprise to the masses? Will these schemes be successful?

What the Gold Mines Needed

There were three things that created problems for the mine-owners: (1) deep-level mining; (2) low grade ore; and (3) the many miles of gold.

What did they need to overcome their problems?

First of all, deep-level mining of low-grade ore was very expensive, dangerous and difficult. But mine-owners knew that they could make big profits if they produced enough gold and managed to keep down their mining costs, so they were ready to spend millions of rand to start even a low-grade ore gold mine.

* So the first need for the gold mines was lots of money – better known as capital.

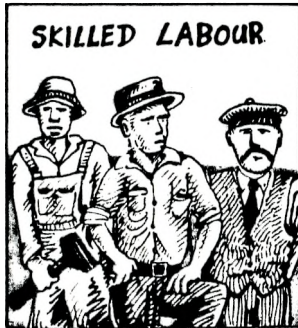


* The mines needed special machinery. As mining went deeper and deeper, more and more expensive machinery was needed. The mine-owners had to import these machines from other countries and pay to transport them to the Witwatersrand.



* The mines had to have skilled labour. Experienced men were needed to sink shafts, fit pipes and pumps, instal lifts, build props, drive engines and operate drilling machines – as well as sort and extract the gold from the ore above ground.

At first, there were very few men in South Africa who had experience of deep-level mining. The mine-owners had to get skilled miners from the mines of America and Australia, and from the deep coal mines of Britain. These skilled men demanded high wages for their work.



* The mine-owners also needed thousands of unskilled labourers. These workers were needed to do the heavy task of lashing and trammimg, and also to hammer small tunnels into the ore.

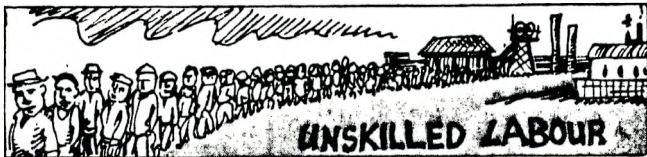
As the mines expanded, the



* Each mine also needed supervisors to direct and control the thousands of workers. And to keep production working smoothly, the mines needed managers.

As the numbers of black unskilled labourers grew, supervisors and managers became more and more important, and they were paid well. Managers were the most privileged of all, some of them earning enormous salaries plus many other extras such as free housing and domestic servants.

mine-owners called for more and more labour. Within a few years, many thousands of men were leaving their homes on the land and going to work for wages on the mines. Unskilled workers were paid a very low wage.



Deep-level mining demanded a great deal – huge amounts of capital, knowledge of machinery, careful planning and an organisation of thousands of men – skilled workers, labourers and supervisors. To get their hands on all they needed, the mine-owners had to have great power. Who were these mine-owners and how did they achieve this power? Chapter 5 will try to answer these questions.

PEOPLE OF THE RESERVES

As more and more men left home to become migrant workers, life changed for those who stayed at home. Women, children, the sick and the old remained at home. They had to take over the men's jobs and look after the affairs of the family.

The land had to be cultivated.

Taxes had to be paid.

Children had to be cared for.

The sick had to be nursed.

The dead had to be buried.

The women worked the hardest. But it did not matter how hard women, old people or children worked — there was too little land. The soil got poorer and poorer.

To make things worse, as soon as the young boys were old enough to take over their fathers' work, they, too, left home to look for work in the towns.

THE CIRCLE OF POVERTY

As the years passed, the reserves did not develop. Factories, big shops and cities did not grow in the reserves. Neither did rich farms. In fact, the reserves became poorer.

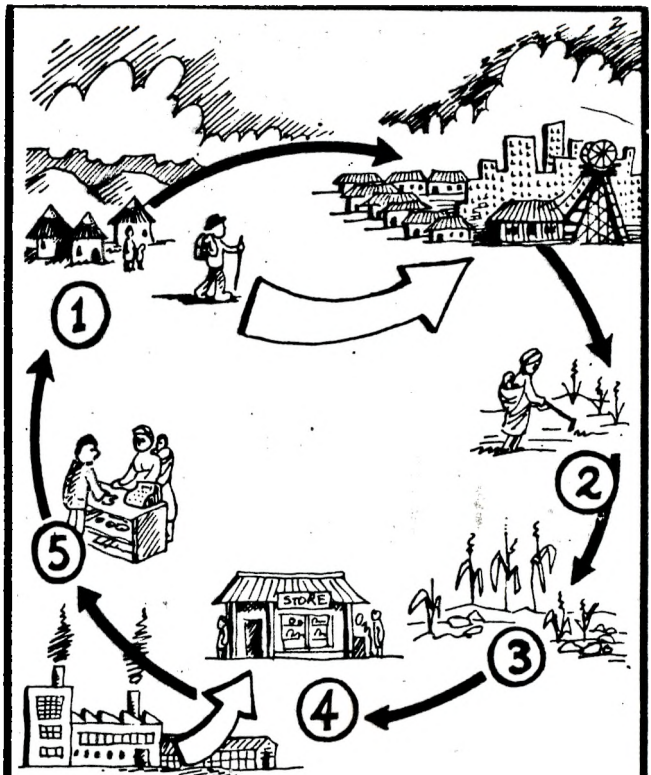
What happened to the reserves therefore was that:

1. Men had to get jobs as migrant workers outside the reserves, to help the families. They needed to do this because there was not enough land to feed the people.

2. The women and old people who were left could not farm as productively without the help of the strong, young and hard-working men.

3. The land they were farming was poor already because of overcrowding. The soil produced less food; thin cows produced less milk.

4. Families started to buy food, tools and clothes from the trading stores — 50 years earlier they would have produced these things themselves. Now they paid money to the storekeeper for them — and he paid the suppliers in the towns and cities part



THE CIRCLE OF POVERTY IN THE RESERVES

1. The men leave home to work as migrants in the towns and mines outside the reserves.
2. Women and old people look after the land.
3. The land gets poorer.
4. Families start buying their food and clothes. Factories in the towns send manufactured goods to trading stores in the reserves.
5. The family rely more and more on money for their daily needs.

from the storekeeper's profit, money did not stay in the reserves for long.

5. So we can see why families began to rely more and more on money. When the men came

back from the mines (and some did not come back at all) they did not stay for long. They had to go back to earn more money. They were in the grip of the circle of poverty.

PROCESSED

A

COSATU Elections Campaign-National Workshop Report
Year End Focus

TRADE UNION
LIBRARY AND
RECORDS CENTRE

Introduction

There is an urgent need to intensify the election campaign in COSATU. In particular we need to:

- (a) Complete the setting up of our infrastructure and programmes at regional level.
- (b) Accelerate the process of factory floor voter education,
- (c) Make the most of the "People's Forums"/Workers Forums" campaign.
- (d) Organise the maximum number of workers to spread the message of voter education and vote ANC to the rural and farm areas over the December period.
- (e) Participate in the list process before the end of the year.

1. Putting regional programmes in place.

While in some regions programmes are in place, there are weaknesses in others. It is suggested that in the week starting 22 November 1993, the following regions hold large workshops (up to 200 shop stewards and organisers):

- * Wits
- * Northern and Eastern Transvaal (together)
- * OFS and Northern Cape
- * Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei with a focus on Transkei.

The objectives of the workshops would be to:

- 1.1. Develop an understanding of the COSATU campaign amongst a broad layer of shop stewards.
- 1.2. Train shop stewards in the use of the COSATU election campaign manual and specifically in running shop floor voter education.
- 1.3. Decide on a regional elections programme of action.
- 1.4. Ensure active participation of COSATU in the People's Forums.
- 1.5. Launch and co-ordinate the "Each One Reach One" rural areas campaign. (see below).

In regions which are not having workshops, other mechanisms need to be worked out to ensure that 1.4. and 1.5. happen.

2. Accelerate the process of factory floor voter education

Reports at the national election workshop indicate that far too few trainers or workers have been trained.

If workers are going to spend their holidays teaching their family members and others in rural communities how to vote, then they need to be taught themselves.

PROCESSED

The English version of the COSATU Election Manual will be printed by the end of the week and the other versions will be printed by the end of the month. Comrades need to consider the systematic distribution of these documents.

3. People's Forums

3.1 COSATU needs to participate actively in the People's Forums. See attached programme of dates of these forums.

3.2 Workers' Forums

We suggest that the concept of Workers Forums should be discussed as part of the build up for People's Forums. The Workers' Forums should have the following objectives:

- * To popularise the COSATU candidates
- * To popularise the Each One Reach One Campaign
- * To discuss the Reconstruction and Development Programme
- * To mobilise support for the ANC

4. Each One Reach One Campaign

The emphasis of this campaign is reach out to rural and farm communities during the shut down period. However, this does not mean that we should also not use end of year parties to raise the issue of elections, voter education and voting for the ANC. Our theme should be "Last December under Apartheid".

The Commission at the National Election's Workshop suggested the following:

4.1. Preparation

There are a number of ways in which this could be done:

- 4.1.1. Individual workers who go home need to take the message of voter education and vote for the ANC to their families and communities.
- 4.1.2. Teams of comrades from the same rural area need to be formed in urban areas before comrades leave. This could be arranged at the regional workshops (see above). They would then work together once at home.
- 4.1.3. These teams could also include volunteers who live in urban areas.
- 4.1.4. Lastly, we need to co-ordinate with students who may also be going home and incorporate them into these teams.
- 4.1.5. If these teams are well organised and a method of accountability can be set up, regional and national election structures need to consider providing such teams with transport.

- 4.1.6. In some areas, before comrades go they need to establish as much as possible what would be the security situation and make preparations if necessary.
- 4.1.7. Comrades and teams should also ensure that they go home with media e.g. flags, T-shirts, caps, posters etc. This should be available from regional COSATU offices and locals.
- 4.1.8. A pamphlet is being prepared by the Head Office which shows how to vote and also tells people how to get ID's.

This should be completed by the end of November.

4.2. Arriving

- 4.2.1. On arriving in rural areas it is important to contact local structures who may be involved in the elections. This would include churches, local ANC branches, local union structures, Contralesa etc.
- 4.2.2. If activity is already taking place, it would be important to integrate into and strengthen the local campaign.
- 4.2.3. It would also be important to learn about the local situation, problems and issues which the community is facing.

4.3. Establishing a programme

This would vary from community to community. Ideas raised in the commission included:

- * Attending and arranging parties.
- * Arranging voter education workshops and meetings.
- * Distribution of media e.g. sticking up posters, flags etc.
- * Speaking to the churches about talking about voter education and also about using their venues.
- * Speaking to schools about venues as well as ensuring that students who are 17 have ID documents and know they will be able to vote if they turn 18 before next April.
- * Organising big rallies or events like Sonke. This could possibly be done at a regional level in regions which are predominantly rural.

To reach out to farm workers, the following was suggested:

- * Visiting soccer pitches on farms over weekends when games are being played.
- * Meeting farm workers in small towns when they come to town to do their Christmas shopping.

4.4. Communication

It would be important to set up a communication system with the regional office so that teams could report on problems, progress, request speakers etc.

4.5. ID Campaign

- 4.5.1. The ID Campaign is particularly important in rural areas since it is here that many people do not have ID's. When comrades go home they need to assess how many people do not have ID's and then liaise with the regional office to arrange for the Home Affairs to send a mobile unit to this area.
- 4.5.2. If people in Bantustans will be able to vote with their homeland ID's, then a big awareness campaign would need to be arranged.
- 4.5.3. Churches, principals etc. should be spoken to, to help people who do not have birth certificates, get affidavits. Tribal authorities can also be helpful in this regard.
- 4.5.3. In some areas the process of issuing ID's will need to be monitored so that there is no abuse.
- 4.5.4. Migrant workers who have been in the country for more than five years are entitled to become South African citizens and get ID books. This must be explained to them.

5. Manifesto and List Process

5.1 Manifesto / RDP

11-12 December - MDM Conference

Input on Manifesto to be finalised by 12 December

ANC Regional Conferences to take place between 27 Nov - 12 Dec to discuss the Manifesto and the RDP.

ANC National Conference on RDP 7 - 9 January 1994

5.2 List Process

ANC Regional Nominations Conference take place between 1 - 14 Dec. Each COSATU region is entitled to 15% of the delegation with full speaking and voting rights. Regions must begin preparing for this meeting now.

The ANC National Nominations conference is taking place on the 18 Dec. COSATU is entitled to 20% of the delegation with full speaking and voting rights.

ANC NEC meets on 19-20 Dec to finalise the list. Process will be managed by IMSSA.

Regional Election Strategy Workshop

Draft Guideline

Duration: 2 days (preferably weekdays) 09h00 to 19h00 on the first day and 08h00 to 13h00 on the second. Total workshop time is approximately 13hrs excluding breaks

Target Group:	Regional Elections Task Force	Organisers
	Voter Educators	Regional Negotiators
	Affiliate Regional Leadership	Local Office Bearers
	Regional Educators Forum	Regional Womens Forum

General Objectives:

- ☛ To develop a Regional Election Campaign Strategy with the framework of the National Programme.
- ☛ To familiarise participants with the Cosatu Elections Manual and discuss its role in mass voter education.
- ☛ To develop regional systems for the tracking of all trainers, volunteers and beneficiaries of our education programmes.

Specific Objectives:

- ☛ To plan a series of Workers Forums in strategic workplaces during the weeks before the general shutdown and strengthen our participation in the Peoples Forums.
- ☛ To launch the regional elections campaign and in particular the " Each one Reach One Campaign " for rural areas.

Target Regions: Wits
Northern and Eastern Transvaal
OFS / Northern Cape and
Eastern Cape , Border Kei and Transkei.

Resource Persons: Members of the National Election Steering Committee
National and Regional Candidates

Draft Programme

Arrival and registration on the evening before.

During registration it is suggested that to test whether the target group can vote the convenors set up a polling booth and call on them to vote in a mock election. The results of the poll can be used as an ice - breaker during the welcome session of the workshop

Day one

Welcome

Recording of participants expectations

Outline of the objectives and adoption of the workshop programme

Presentation on Research into Regional Voting trends and attitudes

Presentation of the National Campaign Strategy adopted at the November Strategy Workshop

Plenary discussion on strategic areas for regional input

Detailed report on the Regional Work achieved to date including a SWOT Analysis

Discussions following the report

Lunch

Prsentation by the ANC on the work of the Regional VOTT Team.

Briefing on commission work

The workshop breaks up into commissions and will debate the key strategic issues. It is suggested that the commissions focus on the following themes :

- ◆ Developing a practical and workable short term campaign focusing on the Workers Forums and the " Each one Reach One Campaign. Mechanisms for its monitoring during the shut down period and an assessment in January.
- ◆ Building and strengthening election structures
- ◆ Training Trainers and implementing a mass workplace education campaign
- ◆ Engaging employers in order to access resources and facilities
- ◆ Administration systems and support infrastructure that will record and document all elections work eg. tracking all voter educators and developing a network of field operatives. Training targets and numbers that are trained on a daily basis. (eg. the thermometer method to monitor the mass education drive.
- ◆ * Affiliate and Local campaigns and its links to our daily trade union work

Notes for convenors

i) Rather than each commission focusing on different issues it is suggested that for a better focused discussion and debate in groups and in the plenary all groups focus on common themes. This will also give more time for detailed discussion in adopting a programme of action. Another option is for groups to focus on a combination of themes if it makes sense to do so. Regions can decide on this.

ii) In the discussions thought must be given on organisational questions such as current capacity and increasing it, resources, co - ordination within Cosatu and with the alliance and building organisation. In particular we should focus on strengthening our participation in VOTT.

Day Two

Breakfast

Report back from Commissions.

Here it is suggested that one commission be asked to volunteer the first report back. Once their report is concluded, the other commissions then feed their discussions section by section and will add to the first report or highlight areas of agreement, disagreement and debate which are recorded. It is important that newsprint or transparencies be used for report back purposes.

A consolidated programme of action is then adopted by the plenary.
This will be followed by a plenary discussion on:

Implementation

Role of the different target groups in the implementation

Monitoring / reporting mechanisms

Evaluation of the workshop

Lunch and departure

- Notes:
1. Regions will need to finalise time allocations
 2. Regions can decide on the questions for commissions
 3. Compiling recourse packs for each participant which will assist in their work - head office can assist you with documents you might not have.
 4. Regions to submit budgets

If you need any assistance contact the National Elections Committee at Head Office

Cosatu
the Workers Voice
ANC
the Workers Choice

"C"

ANC

4. PROGRAMME FOR THE COMING PHASE OF THE CAMPAIGN

4.1 "People's Forums", Its Your Time - Campaign 1 November to mid January

The objectives of the campaign are :

- a. Begin to convey the messages we have defined above, to all voters but more specifically our less strong supporters and expansion targets,
- b. Change the way the ANC is perceived by many to show we are inclusive and in touch with ordinary peoples concerns, and concerned with what is in the nation's best interests and not narrow ANC concerns. (The research indicates that many perceive the ANC as not being in touch and not being fully inclusive.)
- c. Build broad based support for our reconstruction programme and emphasis how different our list process is.

The programme for this campaign :

- a. Have two high profile press conferences to announce that in the run up to the elections we are initiating transparent and participatory processes, for the list and the reconstruction programme. These will focus attention on how different we are, we have an open list process, we have one third women on the list, we are producing a list with people that can best represent the nations interests, we are consulting people on solutions to problems. This will open the reconstruction process to participation at peoples forums, through toll-free numbers, free post and written responses etc.
- b. We simultaneously launch a major advertising campaign. This is done through both print and radio (if possible) at a national level. The response mechanisms are well publicised.
- c. People's Forums are meetings where we invite a specific group of people or members of a community to speak out on their ideas for solutions to their problems. The emphasis is on a ANC panel of leaders LISTENING to the people and not speaking down to them. The meeting will have a theme determined by the group it

is focused on and we will need to plan carefully to ensure it is well structured in part and is followed up effectively. We will need to ensure major media coverage of these events both with our own and the mass media. Forums of 5000 to 25 000 to be held in :

<i>Natal</i>	<i>13-21 Nov</i>	<i>Squatters</i> <i>Indians</i> <i>N. Natal rural people</i>
<i>PWV</i>	<i>26-29 Nov</i>	<i>Squatters</i> <i>Worker representatives</i>
<i>OFS</i>	<i>early Dec</i>	<i>Farmworkers</i>
<i>N. Tvl</i>	<i>early Dec</i>	<i>Rural women</i>
<i>W. Cape</i>	<i>28 Nov</i>	<i>Coloured voters</i>

- d. Local versions of the forums should take place all over the country with regional or national figures.
- e. The media campaign will focus on broadly advertising the forums, publicising some of the proposals that come out of the forums, encouraging responses and eventually publishing the reconstruction programme and manifesto.
- f. On the List process : the campaign can merely highlight how open our process is and how representative our list is when compiled, but there is room to use part of the process to involve people, if the widest definition is taken of 'MDM' to include the whole range of community formations. This could build much stronger commitment to the ANC list.

4.2 Ongoing Programme of work for this phase :

This programme is based on our old four phase programme adopted in June and an assessment made on 16 October on the progress to date. Phase 3 and 4 remain as they are in broad terms, but details will be discussed in January. The programme below is our bottom line programme - meaning all of it has to be done if we are to in readiness for the real campaign starting early next year.

The strategic bottom line objectives are :

have our full infrastructure in place at all levels from national to local and at least have it tested to know that it works and lastly set the mood and image we want to develop in the next phase.

Task 1 Strategy and planning exercise.

Each region should use the research results and this programme to have at least one strategy discussion for their region. In regions that are likely to part of one electoral region there should be at least one joint discussion on developing a common strategy. The regional plan should reflect the overall strategy we outlined above. The need to inform people about the list process, agree on ratio and delegations to the regional nominations conference must be resolved soonest.

Task 2 Structures

The REC of the ANC and regional leadership of the allies need to begin to play a more effective role in the campaign. This must be done at two levels, one in the REPC leadership should provide strategic direction and within the Co-ordinating team, regional leaders should be involved in teams, preferable as co-ordinators. If as co—ordinators ensure that an assistant with more time and the appropriate technical skills is also appointed.

Strengthening the regional co-ordinating Teams. All regions have teams, but in most cases the teams are not working as teams. Where teams are not fully set up, this is a top priority. The VOTT, Media, Monitoring, Administration and Security co-ordinators must be full time. In most regions allies are not part of teams, this needs to be rectified - priority to be given to allies being involved in VOTT, Media and monitoring teams at least.

Programme from head office to assist N. Natal, S. Natal, Transkei and N. Transvaal regions.

Local structures need to be set up. We should aim at a minimum to have a co-ordinating team with a co-ordinator, head of VOTT/canvassing, monitoring and media distribution person at a local level. This is the absolute minimum requirement.

Task 3 VOTT Structures

Cosatu will have at least 1 f/time person by 1 Nov and 3 by end Nov to concentrate in workplaces. Cosatu to be represented on regional VOTT team to ensure co-ordination and involvement involve workers in local community structures and work.

A strategic weakness in VOTT work at the moment which will need to be addressed is media distribution and displaying of media - especially posters. A special discussion and plan for this task is needed. We printed 1.5m posters the last time - only 10 are visible in public ????

Top priority to be given to building the sub-regional team with the sub-regional office as a base. We should have a team that takes responsibility for regular contact with branches. A team of 6 to 10 people for 20 to 30 branches will be most useful. The tasks of these teams will be to visit branches - give guidance, help plan work, collect reports on progress, help reach unorganised areas, co-ordinate blitzes or mock elections.

Task 4 Media

The key national media to be produced for this period include, a policy pamphlet that links with our people's forum campaign, a Mandela for President sticker, ID posters, Voter education and ANC image video, Now is the Time banners and a major advertising campaign linked to People's Forums and the reconstruction Conference.

Task 5 Mass work at branch level

The most important task for this phase is to get mass work at branch level going and recruiting the required number of volunteers. The rough assessment is that between 30 and 40% of our branches are currently active with election work . The four best regionally organised processes to get branches going are : intensive branch visits where a team meets with the extended BEC or general meeting of a branch, blitzes where each branch in a sub-region is visited and is invited to send 10 people per branch to a particular area for a whole days work including briefing, field work and evaluation, mock elections where a sub-region or region

publicises a mock election and mobilises people to vote at voting stations set up for the day, public events such as house meetings, mass meetings or Peoples Forums.

The main content of our work should be related to, ID's, voter education, distributing our policy pamphlet and mobilising for whatever event is being arranged. The basic challenge remains - REACH EVERY VOTER

ID campaign - use new media, distribute forms and arrange a venue for a form filling in workshop, take large numbers from 20 to 200 people to the local office and lastly monitor progress, by copying a receipt or two from a batch and sending to HO.

The final branch related task is to get a Branch report, based on pages 129/30 of the manual from every branch by end Nov.

Task 6 Training

In this phase the main training will be for Monitors, the full training programme is attached. The training of 3000 monitoring co-ordinators from branches will take place from 5 to 28 Nov.

Regional training teams to train volunteers in branches.

Sub-regional organisers, trainers and administrators will be trained at a national workshop from 9 to 11 January.

The regional teams will work with Veetu to begin planning for the training of all local co-ordinators and VOTT co-ordinators. This 2 per local structure training will take place on the weekends of 14-16 and 21-23 January. The focus will be on the last phase of the campaign, preparing for election day logistics.

The final section of major training will be in March when over 30 000 people will be trained as election monitors for election day.

Task 7 Sub-regional offices

We have set up 37 of the 80 we have planned to establish. This is a top priority task. All 80 offices need to be open by early December. Cosatu will be opening 25 sub-regional offices. This will coincide in part with ANC regions where Cosatu does not have a regional office eg. Welkom.

The main tasks of the sub-regional offices :

Set up sub-regional VOTT teams to co-ordinate branches
Develop a programme to reach unorganised areas, including farms
Arrange blitzes, mock-election etc
Ensure branches are reporting on activity and helping those branches that are not working well.

Task 8 Free political activity : Bop and Farms

Two workshops to co-ordinate strategy around Bop and Farms to be convened by VOTT at national level. These workshops must produce a concrete plan for organising and media work to be done, for how to get voter education agencies involved.

Task 9 Manifesto process

The manifesto process will involve getting branches to discuss the draft, make input and send this in writing to the regional office. The input can then be synthesised for discussion at the joint reconstruction programme / manifesto conference in each region. The regional reports will then be synthesised into the draft presented to the National Conference.

Task 10 List Process

The list process document to be popularised. Nomination open 8 November and close on 24 November. Regional List conferences take place between 28 November and 4 December. National List nominations conference to take place 12 December.

Task 11 Rural areas - holiday programme : Workers and Students

A holiday programme to mobilise workers and students who will be returning to rural areas needs to be mounted. Cosatu and YL to co-ordinate this with regional structures. Regional offices and sub-regional offices should be used as a base where people report. Structures in urban areas to recruit and train people and give them clear points at which to report. In the rural regions we need to prepare to receive people, have a plan for how to deploy, prepare events in rural areas which will help mobilise people - don't make them too serious - have fun.

Task 12 Voter education agencies

Need to develop a conscious programme to work with all voter education agencies to encourage them to go to farms and other difficult areas. Encourage them also to set up major mock election exercises in the region for which we can mobilise participation.

Task 13 Monitoring programme

The main tasks related to monitoring are the setting up of regional and local monitoring teams, the training programme already referred to and the identification of voting stations and the collection of information on the campaign especially opposition tactics.

Task 14 Security

Training of 30 per region to be completed by December, recruit more volunteers, plan to protect offices - including sub-regional offices, personnel and events.

Task 15 Leadership Deployment :

The PR team at national level to work with co-ordinating team and regional PR teams to set up a proper programme of visits, especially for People's Forums. This period should be used to ensure we have a working system in place for next year. The briefing process and the distribution of speakers notes is key.

The SGO at head office to look carefully into deployment of leadership based on our strategy. This is URGENT.



COSATU

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

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TO : REGIONAL SECRETARIES
REGIONAL ELECTIONS CO-ORDINATORS
REGIONAL EDUCATORS

FROM: ELECTIONS STEERING COMMITTEE

DATE : 10 NOVEMBER 1993

REF : JESSE MALULEKE

Comrades

RE : REPORT ON NATIONAL STRATEGY WORKSHOP

1. At the National Strategy workshop held on 5 - 6 November 1993, proposals were made relating to election campaign activities in the regions.
2. For your information find the following enclosed :
 - 2.1 Report of the National Elections Strategy workshop held on 5 - 6 November 1993 marked "A"
 - 2.2 Draft Programme for Regional Election Strategy Workshops. It is also suggested that some regions should hold joint workshops, see document marked "B". We further propose that all regional workshops take place on 23 - 24 November 1993, Regions must make arrangements for lost wages.
3. People's Forum (see document marked "C"). Regions must actively participate in all the People's Forums currently taking place. All COSATU candidates for for the National Assembly must also be involved in the planning of these forums.

Regards

READING E

COSATU'S PROPOSAL FOR A RECONSTRUCTION ACCORD

THE CA
TRADE
LIBR

Third draft, February 1993

Not for publication

Introduction

The COSATU CEC of October agreed on the need to develop a Reconstruction Accord by progressive organisations which should serve as a basis for an Election Platform of the ANC...

This decision has further been discussed with SANCO, and both the ANC and the SACP have accepted the idea. The ANC have renamed the 'Government of National Unity' to one of 'Unity and Reconstruction' and will be holding a Conference on Reconstruction and Development in June. The SACP has made the issue central to their Strategising Conference in April.

What is a Reconstruction Accord?

It is important to differentiate between a Reconstruction Accord and a Social Contract. These are often confused resulting in the concepts being used interchangeably. While a social contract is often a result of negotiations between the state, employers and the unions, a Reconstruction Accord should be seen as setting out a framework within which organisations of the poor and working people will reconstruct the economy in future.

It is an instrument with which we intend to harness and redirect resources to meet the needs of broader society while at the same time empowering grassroots organisations to direct their future and destiny.

Such an Accord should be seen to be in three parts which are part of a whole and stand upon one another. These are:

Election Platform

This should be a brief document outlining broad areas around which our election campaign is based. It should cover constitutional, social and economic areas.

Accord

This is a detailed document outlining those broad areas contained in the Election Platform. It is envisaged that a Reconstruction Accord will only emerge after an ongoing process of discussion, within the framework of an election pact. Its enrichment and development is ongoing and will extend beyond election day.

Not conclusive

PE TOWN
UNION
RARY

PROCESSED

Programme

This outline how and when those areas as outlined in the Accord would be realised, the role that unions, civics and other organs will play in its fulfilment, what constraints will be faced by a democratic state and how to deal with them against the background of our constituency and the "war" that may break between big business and the new state.

Why should there be a Reconstruction Accord?

The South African economy is in crisis resulting in increased levels of unemployment, violence, crime and social disintegration of society. One powerful option to begin to turn this situation around is for all the major parties of the future to commit themselves to 'rebuild' or 'reconstruct' the economy through a Reconstruction Accord

Thus a Reconstruction Accord would not be a separate document of COSATU or of the ANC / SACP / COSATU alliance. It would be part of the ANC-led campaign's manifesto and in particular it could constitute that part of the programme which speaks about the economy.

Traditionally in social democratic countries such accord or pacts have been agreed upon merely between the major trade unions and the major social democratic party. However, we would be looking at a much broader grouping of political and social forces to commit themselves to a Reconstruction Accord.



Tito Mboweni argues that the following should be included in such an Accord: "ANC, union movement, the civics movement, women's groups/movements, youth and student organisations, mass organisations for educational restructuring, associations for the unemployed and the aged, small and medium sized black enterprises, consumer unions, organisations of the rural people and others" (SALB, Nov/Dec 1992).



It follows therefore that we are not looking for an accord which will simply grant benefits to the organised sections of the working class, but which will lead to the reconstruction of society to the benefit of the majority.

An accord also implies duties, obligations and possibly compromises on behalf of the trade union movement as well as the ANC based on the realities we face.

Issues for a Reconstruction Accord

COSATU is proposing that there are five pillars of a reconstruction accord:

1. A democratic political solution
 - principle of majority rule and sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly
 - no entrenchment of the present civil service

- effective government
 - dismantling of apartheid structures
 - effective transitional structures for free and fair elections.
2. A programme of job creation:
 - a relatively short term public works programme
 - a commitment to economic growth to ensure long term sustainable jobs.
 3. National integrated education and training system which would include:
 - Upgrading of workers skills
 - Literacy for all.
 4. An end to poverty
 - A national health system.
 - A national pension system.
 - Housing and electrification.;
 5. Individual and collective rights including:
 - women, worker, youth and unemployed.
 - rights to enable strong civil society.

The phases to a Reconstruction Accord

Below are the initial ideas we have in COSATU. These ideas need to be developed jointly by the Alliance in the light of an envisaged time frame for elections.

Phase One:

- Discussion and consultation in the Alliance
- Discussion with civil society.
- Agreement with the ANC on an election pact.
- Possible establishment of a joint Commission for Reconstruction and Development to:
 - Win further support for a Reconstruction Accord
 - Enable the necessary research and policy development.

Phase Two

- Ongoing discussions on developing the content of the Accord.

Phase Three

- * Once a new government is in place, the Accord would need to be implemented and its implementation monitored.

At the same time, the platform of the Reconstruction Accord would be used as a basis for our negotiations in the national forums we are involved in.

What does a Reconstruction Programme have to offer to the ANC election campaign?

The reconstruction accord can offer practical and concrete solutions to the serious problems of jobs, education and health care which would also go a long way to reducing the socio-economic causes of the political and criminal violence. These are the key problems facing South African voters.

Thus an accord can improve one's electoral chances especially in swing constituencies. Managed and publicised properly, a reconstruction accord can potentially sway more voters, than an election platform of 'empty promises'.

A reconstruction accord addresses the problem of the economy. There is a growing consensus that the problems of the economy can only be addressed with the active involvement and co-operation of the major political and economic players. The organised and institutionalised co-operation of the major trade union, plus other forces of civil society, will be attractive to those forces in society who want the ANC to boost to 'economic confidence' and 'economic stability'.

Despite COSATU's alliance with the ANC, it would be wrong to assume that all COSATU members would automatically vote for the ANC. A reconstruction accord offers something for the non-ANC members of COSATU as well as members other trade unions such as the ex-TUCSA unions to which many coloured and indian workers belong.

This does not in anyway detract from the fact that COSATU would be calling on its members to vote for the ANC while on the other hand accepting the freedom of choice if they do differ.

The way forward for COSATU?

The thrust of the paper have pointed out the gains COSATU can make, but this does not mean that there are also responsibilities and duties for COSATU. It would be important for COSATU to examine the Accord's impact on issues such as:

- Our living wage demands and the likelihood of wage restraint.
- Our approaches to collective bargaining.
- Our attitude to productivity.

Secondly, the Accord could back fire badly on COSATU, if we can't take our membership along with us - now and in the future. The success of dynamising debated in the democratic movement on this issue, rest not on placing final document with workers, ANC members etc, but with how their inputs are canvassed during its development.

In developing this Accord we need to look at how it relates to our organisations 'programme as a whole and adapt our strategies accordingly.

Lastly, we also need to consider how we would relate to business and other private sector institutions such as the Urban Foundation and the DBSA on this issue.

RECONSTRUCTION - THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY

The slogan Freedom and Bread captures the vision of what COSATU wants of the transition from the nightmare of apartheid to a stable, non racial, non sexist South Africa.

Certainly within COSATU the headlines that the events of 1990 would usher in a era of peace and democracy has been replaced by a more sober assessment of the balance of forces and what is required to ensure that the legacy of apartheid is addressed and South Africa is fundamentally restructured at a political, economic and social level.

The core of COSATU's strategy is the economic reconstruction and development programme that must underpin any political transition.

The five pillars on which the programme stands are:

- A major programme of job creation through short term public works programmes that can act as a kick start to the economy as well as direct state resources to extending social services to the excluded black majority living in township ghettos or in rural areas.
- A longer term strategy on industrial restructuring which can create more sustainable jobs and ensure we focus economic growth on those sectors that are going to meet domestic needs and also locate us in the international world economy.
- Secondly a major focus on education and training which will address one of the most disastrous impacts of apartheid, Bantu education and consequent low skill base in the South African economy. This requires a restructuring of the macro education system particularly in regard to the role of secondary and tertiary institutions such as technicons and universities.
- But more crucially for COSATU we must put a national training scheme in place and restructure the National and industry training boards so that it links wages to a grading and skills development programme.
- Thirdly such a programme must address the poverty of the majority and ensure that basic necessities such as housing, education, proper health care, electricity and sewerage are extended to all people.

- ☛ Fourthly the rights of people, both at an individual and collective level have to be protected both at constitutional and legislative level. Such rights should not as the National Party's Bill of Rights protect the privileges of any racist minority. These rights must especially empower grassroots organisation such as civics, women, youth, student, parents, teachers to have power over decisions that affect their lives. In this way we will be able to build an effective countervailing power to that of any unresponsive and unaccountable state bureaucracy.
- ☛ Lastly we must ensure a democratic political solution in the short - term viz a non - racial election within a year and the installation of interim government of national unity based on proportional representation that will adopt such a programme.

COSATU is convinced that there is no alternative to this approach. Any suggestion that attempts to exclude or marginalise the trade union movement or civics will guarantee a continuation of conflict or what Derek Keys aptly put as the economic civil war.

Therefore it is of great significance that institutions such as the National Economic Forum, the restructured National Manpower Commission and a range of industry restructuring committees in such sectors as mining, electronics, textile and clothing, auto as well as issued based forums on electricity, local government, housing have been launched.

These forums are attempting to devise a more coherent approach to issues of economic growth, education and training, job creation, trade and tariff, industrial policy development. The added advantage in that they include for the first time the major players excluded by past apartheid regimes and therefore can be used as legitimate platforms for ordinary people to struggle for their rights.

However these forums or negotiations around the real daily needs and problems of the majority of people can only succeed if employers in particularly big business, and the present governing authority viz the Nationalist Party approach such negotiations in good faith.

COSATU is arguing that the state resources must be redirected towards reconstruction and development. Because of widescale wastage and corruption which is revealed daily much tighter controls have to be instituted over government expenditure.

Our demands for an independent tax and audit commissions must ensure and overhaul of the tax system to ensure that it is equitable, efficient and effective. In particular we seek to ensure that the present tax burden is not shifted to the shoulders of individuals and the poor as this government intends with its proposed increase in VAT, PAYE and petrol. Our view is that the majority of people are sick and tired of paying for government corruption and wastage. Civil servants who steal taxpayers money should not be given a golden handshake but sent to jail.

In the above context of COSATU's drive for a programme of economic reconstruction and development a debate has ensued about the future of the tripartite alliance of ANC / SACP / COSATU.

COSATU entered such an alliance to ensure that apartheid is defeated and that elections are held for a non - racial, non - sexist democracy.

As we move through this transitional phase the obvious issue is what replaces the apartheid system and how to ensure that democracy means more than just a vote every five years.

The programme for economic reconstruction is our answer. We must ensure that the political process is underpinned by such a programme. At present being debated inside COSATU, the alliance and the broad democratic movement is issues of Elections Pact and signing of a Reconstruction Accord with the ANC which the ANC undertakes to implement when it becomes the future government.

On this basis COSATU is able to effectively mobilise its membership and supports the vote for the ANC on a basis of a clear programme that meets their needs.

The issue of the future of the alliance when a democratic government is elected is at present being debated within COSATU. Like any trade union movement in a democratic country we will seek to lobby government not just on the interests of trade union members but the broader interest of the poor in the country. But we will develop our independent programmes at a political, economic, social levels and seek to interact and negotiate with other key players to address the interests of all our people.

Our bottomlines are:

- There must be coherent approach to economic reconstruction and development.
- We need to develop the democratic institutions that include the major stakeholders in decisionmaking.
- Ensure that industry is restructured at both a private and public sector level.
 - To promote efficiency.
 - Eliminate wastage and corruption.
 - To ensure that we become internationally competitive.
 - To ensure proper controls on state revenue and expenditure on state revenue and that employment is linked to provision of effective and efficient service to all our people.
 - Labour standards as enshrined at both an individual and collective level.

This is the package COSATU is prepared to negotiate - what we seek is the commitment of employers, political parties, civil society, the present governing authority to negotiate in good faith and steer this country away from the conflict poverty and confrontation that has been the legacy of apartheid.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

From Apartheid to Peace, Democracy and Development

19 - 21 February 1993

NASREC, Johannesburg, South Africa

DRAFT

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Preamble

The International Solidarity Conference - "From Apartheid to Peace, Democracy and Development" - meeting in Johannesburg, South Africa, from 19-21 February 1993, provided a unique opportunity:

- to analyse the current stage of the struggle to transform South Africa into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society;
- to consider the immediate challenges facing the ANC and the people of South Africa in order to advance the struggle;
- to examine the massive deprivation resulting from the policies of apartheid and the tasks involved in overcoming the legacies of apartheid;

The Conference recognised the important role which the International solidarity movement had played over more than three decades in support of the freedom struggle in South Africa and therefore focussed in particular on the contribution which it can now make in support of the struggle for peace, democracy and development during this period of transition and beyond.

As a result of intense discussion and debate in Plenary Sessions and Workshops the participants drew up the following Programme of Action with the aim of providing a framework around which the international community can be mobilised.

The Conference identified the following immediate priorities:

- Maximizing International pressure on the Pretoria regime so that agreement can be reached speedily on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the date and procedures for the holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly;
- Co-ordinating International campaigning to help end the violence;

FAX	TO: COSATU
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ATTENTION OF: 834 300 8 / 4528	PAGE 1 OF 15
FROM: KINGSTLEY	DATE: 24/2/93
COMPANY: ANC BVA	
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	Post-Net Values from SA



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COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution One
Constitutional Negotiations

1. Noting

- 1.1. The purpose of the present political negotiations is to dismantle the present racist structures of apartheid and replace them with interim structures.
2. In the current negotiations, the Nationalist Party and right wing forces are attempting to entrench these interim powers into the post election period.

2. Therefore resolves:

- 2.1. To re-affirm our previous position that the **Constituent Assembly be completely sovereign**. It should have the right to reverse any provisions contained in the interim constitution, including the question of regional demarcation, except in respect of the Constitutional Principles.
- 2.2. To review the present negotiations on **Fundamental Human Rights** and to campaign against any infringements on the rights of workers.
- 2.3. That the wide-ranging terms of reference of the **technical committees** at the World Trade Centre are unacceptable and must be limited. Technical committees must not tamper with hard-won worker rights.
- 2.4. **Regionalism**
 - 2.4.1. A democratic state can not be based on a system which entrenches regional powers to the detriment of local and national government.
 - 2.4.2. COSATU strongly reinstates its commitment to a unitary state re-incorporating TBVC states, so that we can have an effective government to implement our Reconstruction and Development Programme.
 - 2.4.3. Exclusive powers for regions must be limited and must not include provision of services and infrastructure e.g. water, electricity, policing and correctional services, telecommunications, health, education, transport, roads and housing and jurisdiction over local government. These must be subjected to national standards which must be set at a central government level.
 - 2.4.4. Regional government must not have jurisdiction over labour legislation, collective bargaining and economic planning.

COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution Two
Unilateral Restructuring

1. Noting that

- 1.1. The government has continued its unilateral restructuring in certain areas, despite COSATU's strong oppositions.

As an example, the Director General of Manpower, Joel Fourie has recently been re-appointed for a three year period, without consulting COSATU.

- 1.2. Unilateral restructuring will undermine the capacity of a future government to effectively implement a Reconstruction and Development Programme.

2. Thereby resolves:

- 2.1. To launch a **campaign against unilateral restructuring**, particularly in the following areas:

2.1.1. Renewal of contracts of the civil service including that of Joel Fourie.

2.1.2. Restructuring of government departments especially education and health. Eradicating duplication and inefficiency of the apartheid bureaucracy must be done together with key stakeholders.

2.1.3. Public tender system

2.1.4. Cellular telephones

2.1.5. State pensions

2.1.6. Privatisation

2.1.7. Transport

2.1.8. Management of sea resources

2.1.9. Scrapping of wage determinations

2.1.10. *Industrial Councils & Bargaining Forums*

2.2. Civil service restructuring

- 2.2.1. To demand a moratorium on the renewal of all civil service contracts and on any unilateral changes to the state civil service pension schemes until a democratically elected government is in place.

- 2.2.2. That a law must be passed by the democratically elected government, which would review all employment contracts which were made during the transitional period.

- 2.3. That the role of the **National Economic Forum** must be strengthened as an overall policy and co-ordinating body and as a means to achieve agreement with key constituencies in implementing a Reconstruction and Development Programme.

COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution Four
Building Unity

1. Believing that

- 1.1. Implementing our Reconstruction and Development Programme will depend on the combined struggle of democratic forces both within civil society and government.
- 1.2. COSATU needs to remain strong, democratic and independent and committed to advancing worker's rights in a democracy.
- 1.3. COSATU must play a central role in uniting workers locally and internationally, particularly in the Southern African region. In addition, COSATU must take the initiative in organising and promoting unity between white workers and black workers.

2. Resolves that

- 2.1. COSATU convene a Workers Summit to focus on worker rights in a new constitution, This should take place before the April 1994 elections.
- 2.2. COSATU endorses the initiatives taken by the Alliance to engage with the MDM and broader civil society forces. In this regard two conferences will be held, in November 1993 and February 1994 These conferences will focus on the Reconstruction and Development Programme. COSATU must play an active role in these initiatives.
- 2.3. COSATU re-affirms the 1991 decision to host a Conference of the Left consisting of working class organisations with a mass based constituency. Such a conference should be convened, in consultation with the SACP, before the end of 1994.
- 2.4. To advance unity of South African workers, affiliates must embark upon a rigorous process of building unity at an industry level.
- 2.5. Similarly, to advance Southern African workers unity, affiliates need to intensify co-ordination and co-operation with our sister unions in Southern Africa including concrete programmes of defending worker rights and sharing human and material resources.

**COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution Six
Reconstruction and Development Programme**

1. Noting that:

- 1.1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme must represent a fighting platform of our people and a means to involve our organisations in an open, participatory and democratic process.
- 1.2. It provides the democratically elected government with a clear plan of action after the elections which will need to be implemented with the active co-operation of organs of civil society.
- 1.3. The Draft document presented to Congress is a framework to be developed and detailed in the coming months. When completed it will set out a series of actions and targets for delivery within a specific time frame.
- 1.4. For the Reconstruction and Development Programme to succeed we need to mobilise the support of all sectors of society. The Reconstruction and Development Programme should be a mechanism to extend the real power of the working class at all levels of society.

2. Therefore resolves that:

- 2.1. The Fourth Draft of the Reconstruction and Development Programme be adopted as a guiding document. The process for taking the Reconstruction and Development Programme forward as outlined in the Draft be accepted.
- 2.2. The Reconstruction and Development Programme should unite, organise and involve the entire society. It must form the basis of an election platform of the ANC-led election campaign.
- 2.3. Worker rights should be fully elaborated upon as a distinct pillar within the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the Platform of Worker Rights as adopted by this Congress should be incorporated into the Reconstruction and Development Programme.
- 2.4. COSATU will strive to reach agreement with the ANC on the Platform of Workers Rights as adopted at this Special Congress, which should be included in the ANC-led election platform.
- 2.5. The detailed comments made in this Congress will be presented to the October CEC for finalisation as our mandate for detailing and finalising the Reconstruction and Development Programme. For example the references to macro-economic stability should be substantially reworked.
- 2.6. The COSATU CEC and EXCO should oversee the drafting of the Reconstruction and Development Programme to ensure that our mandates are effectively carried out

RESOLUTION ON THE ELECTION LIST

Noting that:

1. South Africa's first democratic elections is scheduled for 27 April 1994.
2. This election will choose delegates for the Constituent Assembly, which will draft our country's constitution.
3. COSATU has the following key objectives in the process of democratising
 - to include worker rights in the constitution
 - to build tripartite and other negotiating forums through which organised workers can shape macro-economic, industrial and labour market policies
 - to give effect to the Reconstruction Programme
4. To achieve these objectives, COSATU has involved its membership in all affiliates in a process of nominations from affiliates and the federation, and has now finalised the names of which our candidates on the election list, and they are as follows:

1. COSATU Nominees for the National List to the National Assembly

Jay Naidoo - COSATU
Chris Dlamini - FAWU / COSATU
Moses Mayekiso - NUMSA
Alec Erwin - NUMSA
Kgabisi Mosunkutu - POTWA
John Copelyn - SACTWU
Nathie Nhleko - TGWU
Marcel Golding - NUM
Don Gumede - CWIU
Duma Nkosi - SACCAWU
Phillip Dexter - NEHAWU

2. COSATU Nominees for the Regional List to National Assembly

Sipho Gcabashe - S. NATAL	(COSATU / FAWU)
Salie Manie - W. CAPE	(SAMWU)
D. Oliphant - W. CAPE	(NUMSA)
T. Matumadi - N. TVL	(POTWA)
J. Mabudhafasi - N. TVL	(NEHAWU)

Leeuw - OFS	(POTWA)
E. Thabethe - WITS	(CWIU)
S. Shabangu - WITS	(TGWU)
G. Oliphant - N. CAPE	(NUM / COSATU)

In addition to the above, the following names are agreed for the Regional Parliament:

COSATU Nominees for the Regional Parliament

Thami Mhloni - S. NATAL	(COSATU)
Dennis Neer - E. CAPE	(COSATU)
S. Mthethwa - S. NATAL	(NUMSA)

Therefore resolves:

- 1. To endorse the names of the twenty trade unionists, which should be included in the top 51% of the ANC list for the National Assembly Elections,**
- 2. To endorse the names on the Regional Parliament list, and to empower the CEC to add additional names to the regional parliament list.**
- 3. To undertake a similar process for Local Government Elections.**
- 4. To negotiate with the Alliance on staffing and policy in regard to the following critical areas for COSATU:**
 - Reconstruction**
 - Trade and Industry**
 - Labour / Personpower**
 - Mineral and Energy Affairs**
 - Parastatals**
 - Public sector staffing**

COSATU Special Congress
10 - 12 September 1993
Resolution Five
Building Peace

1. Noting that:

- 1.1. Political violence is orchestrated by the state and forces within the state machinery to delay our march to democracy.
- 1.2. The poverty and deprivation created by apartheid and capitalism has created conditions in which political and criminal violence terrorises our communities.
- 1.3. Violence against women and children, including rape and battering, is dramatically rising.
- 1.4. Our organisational weaknesses have made it difficult for us to deal effectively with the violence. Examples of this include the lack of control over self defence units and the rise of gangsterism.
- 1.5. The government has not implemented some of the decisive parts of the National Peace Accord in regard to special criminal courts, prosecutions and control of security forces.

2. And further noting:

- 2.1. The prospect for further intensified violence exists in the run up to the elections and beyond, in an attempt to destabilise the transition to democracy.
- 2.2. The increasing number of attacks on workers in various parts of the country and on the factory floor requires our urgent response.

3. Therefore resolves:

- 3.1. Strong organisation is our fundamental defence against violence. Building unity and organisation must be the cornerstone of all our strategies to create peace. Village committees, street committees, shop floor organisation, youth organisation, workers industrial area defence committees, hostel structures etc. all need to be strengthened to work actively for peace and unity.
- 3.2. A programme of special general meetings of workers in factories and in hostels must be called to reinforce worker unity and combat attempts to create ethnic polarisation.
- 3.3. COSATU leadership must play a pro-active role in seeking peace, including intervening in strife torn areas.
- 3.4. Employers must take responsibility in supporting workers and communities affected by violence. This includes:

- 3.4.1. Not taking disciplinary action against workers arriving late or failing to report for duty, due to violence.
- 3.4.2. Negotiating starting and finishing times in the interests of the safety of workers.
- 3.4.3. Taking responsibility for the welfare of workers and their families suffering as a result of violence.
- 3.5. Reconstruction and Development initiatives, aimed at reducing the causes of violence, such as the peace corps, youth service corps and hostel redevelopment must be urgently undertaken. These must have the support of communities and unions.
- 3.6. An initiative must be taken as a matter of urgency, to address the causes of taxi violence. This includes the regulation of the taxi industry.
- 3.7. An extensive programme of community policing must commence urgently. Police should be drawn from the communities in which they stay and local police should work with communities through joint structures.
- 3.8. COSATU encourages all peace loving police to join POPCRU. COSATU will aid the organisational development and recruitment of police into POPCRU.
- 3.9. We support the establishment of a National Peacekeeping Force, which must include MK and other formations.
- 3.10. Efforts to monitor the violence must be intensified. In particular:
 - 3.10.1. The numbers of international monitors should be increased and the monitoring system made more effective.
 - 3.10.2. COSATU must contribute thousands of peace monitors from within our structures. We must negotiate with employers the release of workers and the provision of facilities to monitor violence during the elections.
- 3.11. To endorse the National Peace Campaign and to seek to direct it to achieve our demands in relation to the security forces and covert forces, reconstruction for communities affected by violence and the public display and control of weapons.
- 3.12. To call for a broad Peace Conference to bring all organisations, including civics, rural organisations and the right wing, into a single peace process.
- 3.13. To call on the Goldstone Commission to take steps to ensure that their recommendations are implemented.
- 3.14. To condemn irresponsible utterances such as the call for civil war or attacks on hostel dwellers.
- 3.15. To call on all parties to pledge their commitment to accept the outcome of a free and fair election.

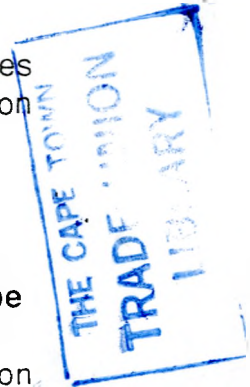
COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution One
Constitutional Negotiations

1. **Noting**

- 1.1. The purpose of the present political negotiations is to dismantle the present racist structures of apartheid and replace them with interim structures.
- 1.2. In the current negotiations, the Nationalist Party and right wing forces are attempting to entrench these interim powers into the post election period.

2. **Therefore resolves:**

- 2.1. To re-affirm our previous position that the **Constituent Assembly be completely sovereign**. It should have the right to reverse any provisions contained in the interim constitution, including the question of regional demarcation, except in respect of the Constitutional Principles.
- 2.2. To review the present negotiations on **Fundamental Human Rights** and to campaign against any infringements on the rights of workers.
- 2.3. That the wide-ranging terms of reference of the **technical committees** at the World Trade Centre are unacceptable and must be limited. Technical committees must not tamper with hard-won worker rights.
- 2.4. **Regionalism**
 1. A democratic state can not be based on a system which entrenches regional powers to the detriment of local and national government.
 - 2.4.2. COSATU strongly reinstates its commitment to a unitary state re-incorporating TBVC states, so that we can have an effective government to implement our Reconstruction and Development Programme.
 - 2.4.3. Exclusive powers for regions must be limited and must not include provision of services and infrastructure e.g. water, electricity, policing and correctional services, telecommunications, health, education, transport, roads and housing and jurisdiction over local government. These must be subjected to national standards which must be set at a central government level.
 - 2.4.4. Regional government must not have jurisdiction over labour legislation, collective bargaining and economic planning.



COSATU Special Congress
10 -12 September 1993
Resolution Two
Unilateral Restructuring

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1. **Noting that**

- 1.1. The government has continued its unilateral restructuring in certain areas, despite COSATU's strong oppositions.

As an example, the Director General of Manpower, Joel Fourie has recently been re-appointed for a three year period, without consulting COSATU.

- 1.2. Unilateral restructuring will undermine the capacity of a future government to effectively implement a Reconstruction and Development Programme.

2. **Thereby resolves:**

- 2.1. To launch a **campaign against unilateral restructuring**, particularly in the following areas:

- 2.1.1. Renewal of contracts of the civil service including that of Joel Fourie.
2.1.2. Restructuring of government departments especially education and health. Eradicating duplication and inefficiency of the apartheid bureaucracy must be done together with key stakeholders.
2.1.3. Public tender system
2.1.4. Cellular telephones
2.1.5. State pensions
2.1.6. Privatisation
2.1.7. Transport
2.1.8. Management of sea resources
2.1.9. Scrapping of wage determinations

2.2. **Civil service restructuring**

- 2.2.1. To demand a moratorium on the renewal of all civil service contracts and on any unilateral changes to the state civil service pension schemes until a democratically elected government is in place.
2.2.2. That a law must be passed by the democratically elected government, which would review all employment contracts which were made during the transitional period.

- 2.3. That the role of the **National Economic Forum** must be strengthened as an overall policy and co-ordinating body and as a means to achieve agreement with key constituencies in implementing a Reconstruction and Development Programme.

2.5. Local government

- 2.5.1. Within the Local Government Negotiating Forum, attempts are being made by the government side to delay agreed interim arrangements while right wing councils are opposing any transition from apartheid local government. COSATU will campaign to ensure effective, inclusive, democratic local government within the shortest possible time frame.
- 2.5.2. Once democratic local government is in place, COSATU will encourage the resumption of service payments by residents on an affordable basis.
- 2.6.. The **NEC's of the Alliance partners must meet** to discuss the question of mandates in relation to the political negotiations and the TEC.

1. Noting that:

- 1.1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme must represent a fighting platform of our people and a means to involve our organisations in an open, participatory and democratic process.
- 1.2. It provides the democratically elected government with a clear plan of action after the elections which will need to be implemented with the active co-operation of organs of civil society.
- 1.3. The Draft document presented to Congress is a framework to be developed and detailed in the coming months. When completed it will set out a series of actions and targets for delivery within a specific time frame.
- 1.4. For the Reconstruction and Development Programme to succeed we need to mobilise the support of all sectors of society. The Reconstruction and Development Programme should be a mechanism to extend the real power of the working class at all levels of society.

2. Therefore resolves that:

- 2.1. The Fourth Draft of the Reconstruction and Development Programme be adopted as a guiding document. The process for taking the Reconstruction and Development Programme forward as outlined in the Draft be accepted.
- 2.2. The Reconstruction and Development Programme should unite, organise and involve the entire society. It must form the basis of an election platform of the ANC-led election campaign.
- 2.3. Worker rights should be fully elaborated upon as a distinct pillar within the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the Platform of Worker Rights as adopted by this Congress should be incorporated into the Reconstruction and Development Programme.
- 2.4. COSATU will strive to reach agreement with the ANC on the Platform of Workers Rights as adopted at this Special Congress, which should be included in the ANC-led election platform.
- 2.5. The detailed comments made in this Congress will be presented to the October CEC for finalisation as our mandate for detailing and finalising the Reconstruction and Development Programme. For example the references to macro-economic stability should be substantially reworked.
- 2.6. The COSATU CEC and EXCO should oversee the drafting of the Reconstruction and Development Programme to ensure that our mandates are effectively carried out.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION
COSATU Special Congress September 1993

1. Resolutions arising out of Secretariat Paper on the Current Situation and the Role of COSATU.

1.1 Constitutional Negotiations

Focusing on sovereignty of Constituent Assembly and powers of the regions.

PROCESSED

1.2 Unilateral Restructuring

To focus on the issue of the renewal of contracts and new appointments in the civil service, including the renewal of Joel Fourie's contract and the future of state pension funds as well as cellular telephones.

1.3 Site Tax

To include report on state of negotiations with Receiver of Revenue, our demands and the nature of the campaign we intend to launch.

1.4 Building Unity

To include unity with the mass democratic movement, Conference of Civil Society, Workers Charter and Workers' Rights conference and Conference of the Left.

2. Alliance Reconstruction and Development Programme

The resolution should indicate our support for the Programme, any significant amendments to the draft document and how we see the Programme being taken forward. Also to be resolved is the issue of the Accord and whether it should focus on the Reconstruction Programme or specifically on the issue of worker rights.

3. COSATU Platform on Worker Rights

The resolution should adopt the entire document with amendments made by the Congress.

4. Election List

The resolution should indicate why COSATU is putting up candidates to the ANC election list, the criteria agreed upon, the process and the names of people nominated.

5. Congress Declaration

This should include our commitment to fight for an ANC victory in the elections, the need to build and strengthen COSATU and retain its independence and our support for Reconstruction and Development to meet the basic needs of our people.

6. Declaration on COSATU's way forward

7. Resolution on peace

RESOLUTION ON THE ELECTION LIST

Noting that:

1. South Africa's first democratic elections is scheduled for 27 April 1994.
2. This election will choose delegates for the Constituent Assembly, which will draft our country's constitution.
3. COSATU has the following key objectives in the process of democratising:
 - * to include worker rights in the constitution
 - * to build tripartite and other negotiating forums through which organised workers can shape macro-economic, industrial and labour market policies to give effect to the Reconstruction Programme
4. To achieve these objectives, COSATU has involved its membership in all affiliates in a process of nominations from affiliates and the federation, and has now finalised the names of which our candidates on the election list, and they are as follows:

1. COSATU Nominees for the National List to the National Assembly

Jay Naidoo - COSATU
Chris Dlamini - FAWU / COSATU
Moses Mayekiso - NUMSA
Alec Erwin - NUMSA
Kgabisi Mosunkutu - POTWA
John Copelyn - SACTWU
Nathie Nhleko - TGWU
Marcel Golding - NUM
Don Gumede - CWIU
Duma Nkosi - SACCAWU
Phillip Dexter - NEHAWU

2. COSATU Nominees for the Regional List to National Assembly

Sipho Gcabashe - S. NATAL	(COSATU / FAWU)
Salie Manie - W. CAPE	(SAMWU)
D. Oliphant - W. CAPE	(NUMSA)
T. Mafumadi - N.TVL	(POTWA)
J. Mabudhafasi - N. TVL	(NEHAWU)

Leeuw - OFS	(POTWA)
E. Thabethe - WITS	(CWIU)
S. Shabangu - WITS	(TGWU)
G. Oliphant - N. CAPE	(NUM / COSATU)

THE CAPE TOWN
TRADE UNION
LIBRARY

In addition to the above, the following names are agreed for the Regional Parliament:

COSATU Nominees for the Regional Parliament

Thami Mhloni - S. NATAL	(COSATU)
Dennis Neer - E. CAPE	(COSATU)
S. Mthethwa - S. NATAL	(NUMSA)

Therefore resolves:

1. To endorse the names of the twenty trade unionists, which should be included in the top 51% of the ANC list for the National Assembly Elections,
2. To endorse the names on the Regional Parliament list, and to empower the CEC to add additional names to the regional parliament list.
3. To undertake a similar process for Local Government Elections.
4. To negotiate with the Alliance on staffing and policy in regard to the following critical areas for COSATU:
 - * Reconstruction
 - * Trade and Industry
 - * Labour / Personpower
 - * Mineral and Energy Affairs
 - * Parastatals
 - * Public sector staffing

PROCESSED

Resolution on Women - by SACTWU

This Congress noting:

1. The need for trade unions to take up the problems of women.
2. That these problems include rights and facilities in the factories and in law, attitudes and prejudice which women face in the society, the lack of active participation in the leadership of trade unions and the other organisations and the special health and social problems which women have.
3. That the trade union programmes to date have been based on the creation of separate women structures or setting of quotas for women on leadership structures and that these have failed to address the problems adequately

Resolve:

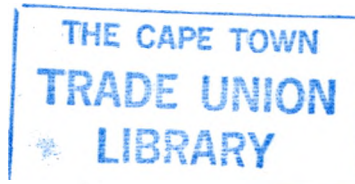
To initiate a new programme to address the problems which women face and that this programme be based on the following:

1. That no separate women structure be set up, but instead that the women issues be placed prominently on the agenda of all structures of the federation, locally and nationally.
2. To keep regular statistics on the participation of women in union structures and education activities and to ensure that Locals and Regions are encouraged to promote the participation of women.
3. To embark on a campaign of education to:
 - increase the skills and confidence of women shop to enable them to take their rightful place in the leadership structures
 - remove prejudice against women in the union and society
 - to embark on campaigns in our industry to fight for the rights of women which include paid maternity leave, child-care facilities and equal promotional opportunity.
4. To provide facilities where practical (such as child-facilities), to enable women to take an active part in trade union activities.
5. To ensure that the rights of women to legal and social and equality in a new South Africa are incorporated in the constitution of a post-apartheid South Africa, and that a new state be committed to a programme of affirmative action for women.

PROCESSED

**DISCUSSION PAPER ON
INDUSTRY DEMARCATATIONS**

What is the scope of COSATU unions?



1. CAWU

1. Building Industry
2. Civil Engineering Industries
3. Heavy Clay and Allied Products Industry
4. Stone crushing Industry
5. Cement Manufacturing Industry
6. Cement Products Industry

2. CWIU

1. Chemical Manufacturing Industry.
2. Plastics Industry.
3. Products of Petroleum and coal Industry
4. Rubber and Rubber products Industry.
5. Glass and Glassware Industry
6. Candles Oils and Fats
7. Minerals Industry
8. Gas industry.
9. Crude, Petroleum and Natural Gas Industry.
10. Pottery, China Earthenware Manufacturing Industry.

3. FAWU

1. Baking
2. Biscuits Manufacturing
3. Brewing
4. Cool drinks
6. Fruit and vegetables
7. Fish Processing
8. Meat Packing and Processing
9. Milling

10. Poultry and Eggs
11. Nuts and Snacks
12. Sweets and Chocolate
13. Tea, Coffee and
14. Wine and Spirit Manufacturing
15. Tobacco
16. Sugar Manufacturing and Refining
17. Cold storage, Distribution and Fresh Produce.
18. Salt

4. NEHAWU

1. Hospitals
2. Old age homes
3. Crèches
4. Health Institutions
5. Education Institutions
6. Provincial administrations
7. Regional administrations (including homelands)
8. Central government
9. Public utilities.

5. NUM

1. Mining industry

Means that industry where employers and workers are associated for, mining extracting, processing or refining minerals and includes those undertakings, enterprises, services and operations which are ancillary or incidental to the mining industry.

This includes electricity supply

6. NUMSA

1. Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries.
2. Electrical Engineering Industry.
3. Electrical Constructing Industry.
4. Lift and Escalator Industry.
5. Locksmithing Trade
6. Plastic Industry.
7. Automobile Manufacturing Industry.
8. Motor Industry.

9. Tyre and Rubber Manufactures Industry.
10. Battery Manufacturing Industry.

7. POTWA

1. Post and telecommunications
2. Allied Industries.

8. PPWAWU

1. Pulp and Paper Manufacturing Industry.
2. Waste Paper Industries.
3. Dissolving Pulp Manufacturing Industry.
4. Plywood Industries.
5. Wood Working Industries
6. Forestry Industries.
7. Paper and Parking
8. Printing Industry
9. Furniture Industries.

9. SACCAWU

1. Auctioneering trade
2. Boarding house/Holiday Flats Trade
3. Distribution and Manufacturing of Jewelry Trade
4. Distribution and sale of precious Metal Trade.
5. Financial Institution
6. Coal Trade
7. Commercial Distributive Trade
8. Confectionery Trade.
9. Entertainment Establishment Trade
10. Hairdressing Trade
11. Hotel and Liquor Trade
12. Meat Trade
13. Musical Record and Tape Manufacturing and Distributing Industry.
14. Packages and Parking lots Trade
15. Publishing Trade
16. Shops
17. Sports Club Trade
18. Tollgates Trade
19. Tearoom Restaurant and Catering Trade.

10. SACTWU

1. Garment Industry
2. Textile Industry
3. Wool washing Industry
4. Wool, Mohair, Hides and Skin Trade.
5. Leather and footwear Industry
6. Knitting Industry.

11 SADWU

1. Domestic workers
2. Gardeners
3. Cleaners
4. Cooks
5. Housekeepers
6. Employees of nursing homes and old age home other than professional staff and other service workers.

12. SAMWU

1. Local authorities
2. Local and regional government and related undertaking

13. SARHWU

1. Transnet
includes harbours and air ports

14. T&GWU

1. Road Passenger Transport Trade
2. The Goods Transportation and Storage Trade.
3. Stevedoring
4. Water transportation and Storage Trade.
5. Cleaning Services Undertaking
6. Watch Patrol and Security Service Undertaking
7. Laundry and Dry Cleaning Industry.
8. Car Parking Undertaking
9. Tollgates

10. Civil Aviation

The scope of the unions overlaps in some areas or there is a very thin line dividing the scopes of unions.

1.	Plastic Industry	CWIU/NUMSA
2.	Rubber and Rubber products industries	CWIU/NUMSA
3.	Old age homes	NEHAWU/SADWU
4.	Crèches	NEHAWU/SAMWU
5.	Regional governments	NEHAWU/SAMWU
6.	Energy	NUM/NUMSA/CWIU
7.	Electrical Engineering Industry	NUMSA/POTWA
8.	Dissolving pulp manufacturing industries	PPWAWU/CWIU
9.	Printing and electronic media	PPWAWU/POTWA
10.	Coal trade	SACCAWU/T&GWU
11.	Meat Trade	SACCAWU/FAWU
12.	Packages and parking-lots trade	SACCAWU/T&GWU
13.	Publishing trade	SACCAWU/PPWAWU
14.	Toll gates trade	SACCAWU/T&GWU

There has been a number of clashes amongst a number of affiliates in the past for example CAWU and NUMSA on civil engineering, and sheet metal contractors. There is a recent dispute between SACCAWU and SACTWU.

We need a long term solution to these problems without compromising our principle of "one union one industry".

What are the possibilities?

1. One public sector union

National congress resolution says there should be unity between all COSATU unions organising in the public sector. The merger congress involving POTWA, SAMWU and NEHAWU with a possible participation of SADTU, POPCRU, UDUSA and other staff association and unions will take place in the first part of 1994.

There are a number of grey areas in the process arising from the discussion held for the formation of a service union. There is a valid questions which has been raised by POTWA with regard to the process:

They are:

1. What is the public sector, are the parastatals part of the public sector or not? e.g. ESCOM
2. Is transport in particular Transnet not part of a public sector?
3. Should teachers and nurses form part of a public sector union?

2. Transport unity

National congress resolutions says there should be mergers between T&GWU and SARHWU. The merger congress will take place in August/September 1993.

A report was tabled in the last CEC indicating problems which hopefully will be resolved prior the merger congress or immediately after the mergers.

3. Service Sector

As an attempt to find a solution to an obstacle in the mergers of T&GWU and SARHWU three meetings has so far been held between T&GWU, SARHWU, SACCAWU and SADWU. Four options were developed and reported in the last CEC. The options presented were:

1. Restructuring of one of the unions and transfer cleaning and security workers from T&GWU into such union.
2. Formation of the broad service sector union which on description of what is service will include workers organised by SACCAWU, SAMWU, POTWA, NEHAWU, SADTU, SADWU, POPCRU, T&GWU and SARHWU.
3. Formation of a private sector service union which on description of service include workers in SACCAWU, SADWU, T&GWU, SADTU.
4. Leave things as they are without changes

Below is the set of questions on the implication of each of the above options:

Option 1

If COSATU decides not to interfere, delay or disrupt the process of public sector or the transport unity. The union we are talking about are SACCAWU and SADWU.

These are some of the considerations to be made:

* Would the restructuring and transfer of cleaning and security workers in T&GWU help to strengthen SADWU? There are about 13 000 workers in T&GWU which belong to the cleaning and security sector. SADWU membership is 16 462. Can 13 000 cleaning and security workers be a core to a restructured SADWU and help it become a viable and self sufficient union?

* Will the restructuring and transfer of cleaning and security workers in T&GWU assist SACCAWU? SACCAWU has a membership of over 105 000. It is difficult to service small establishment which the majority of SACCAWU and cleaning and security are made of. Will this not increase problems of lack of qualitative service? This however will be a more viable option because a strong core in SACCAWU will be able to support subsidiary operations. Some international experience like in Holland or organisations in this sub-sections are supported by the federation.

Option 2

There are grey areas in the public sector unity process, for example SADTU organise teachers in both public and private schools, NEHAWU organise hospitals and schools in both public and private sector. This option can overcome these grey areas.

However at what expense? There is well underway merger process of the public sector and transport unions. This option involves six of COSATU's affiliate and the number will definitely grow as it is more likely that SADTU and other staff association will formally apply for affiliation in COSATU. The six COSATU affiliated unions have a total membership of 298 930.

Option 3

This option is similar to the first option however by implication it involve mainly SACCAWU and SADWU. The grey area is that when applied rigidly it may divide workers of the same sector between private and public, e.g. teachers and nurses and other hospital workers.

Option 4

This is undesirable as it has led to these discussions being held. It would mean we continue with the current problems in particular the obstacles in the mergers between T&GWU and SARHWU

3. Single Farm workers union

The 1991 national congress decided that a farm workers union consisting of farm workers in SACTWU, FAWU and PPWAWU be formed. At the last CEC it was reported that PPWAWU maintains that forestry workers are not farm workers and therefore fall outside the COSATU resolution. This is or may be not the feeling of PPWAWU alone.

PPWAWU argues that forestry workers are not necessary farm workers. Conditions in the forestry industries are not the same as in an ordinary farm, and it is an advantage to the union to continue with the same arrangement as some forestry workers are owned by companies in the sector they are organising and thereby increase their collective bargaining and organisational strength.

The last point is of crucial importance and needs thorough consideration before a decision is made. However this argument in favour of "vertical integration" as a strategy for organising does not apply to PPWAWU alone. SACTWU has organised cotton farm workers and this links to manufacturing processes in the industry it organises. FAWU organises food farms and this links to processing plants in the industry they are organising. The question now is how far should the links extend? Should the links/vertical integration be restricted to the chain of production? Or should the links/vertical integration also include retail and commercial sectors. Or should the retail and commercial sectors be organised separately as at present?

These consideration can apply to all other industries.

There has been an initial research by FRRP. on what is the international trend on the issue. Though with exceptions the international trend seems to suggest that forestry or plantation workers should be part of the a single farm workers union.

4. FAWU/SACCAWU

FAWU congress has resolved to initiate talks with SACCAWU for a possible mergers. Refer to the farm workers portion for the basis of such unity viz. vertical or horizontal strategy.

5. NUM/NUMSA/CWIU

There has been talks of unity between NUM and NUMSA or between NUM and CWIU. The basis of such unity is mainly influenced by the international developments and overlaps in scopes of the three unions. For example the

Miners International Federation will merge with the International Chemical and Energy Federation. NUM and CWIU are affiliated to these federations. NUM mines coal, CWIU uses coal to produce petrol. Power stations are organised by NUM internally energy is organised by chemical unions.

NUM mines iron which NUMSA processes into steel. NUM mines coal, NUMSA uses this coal the in the iron and works. In Sweden miners and metal workers unions has merged into one union. NUMSA and CWIU are overlapping in organising plastic and rubber.

6. PPWAWU/CWIU

There has also been talks of unity between PPWAWU and CWIU. The basis of such unity is as follows:

Pulp and paper industry which is organised by PPWAWU uses chemicals in order to produce papers. CWIU supply with such chemicals. In the printing industry PPWAWU uses Chemicals in order to produce a pamphlet.

Internationally both PPWAWU and CWIU are affiliated to ICEF (International Chemical and Energy Federation which caters for pulp and paper.

If we were going to use this trend in particular the unity talks between MIF and ICEF this would mean there is a need for unity between PPWAWU, CWIU, NUM and NUMSA?

7. SACTWU/SACCAWU/CWIU

There has been no formal discussion in SACTWU in this regard.

There are however two areas where SACTWU overlaps with other unions.

Firstly in the textile fibres = CWIU and secondly with SACCAWU in the closing and retail. Refer to the farm workers portion viz. vertical or horizontal strategy.

8. CAWU

We could not get the constitution of CAWU in the time.

POTWA RESPONSE - DISCUSSION PAPER ON INDUSTRY DEMARCATIONS

- 1.0 The discussion document presented by COSATU organising department reveals important data on COSATU affiliates structures, industries organised by constituent unions and the apparent overlaps. This information presents a challenge to COSATU's principle of 'One Union One Industry' and our emphasis on eliminating general unions.
- 2.0 Our view is that, more and more unions by the nature of their constitutions are becoming general unions. This aspect is reflected on the nature of overlaps outlined on page '5' of the document is page iii of the EXCO documentation.
- 3.0 POTWA's proposals based on the discussion paper.
 - 3.1 All overlaps must be eliminated by defining the link between the industrial unions and the overlapping sector. If the link is a 'weak link' we need to define a 'strong link'. What should be the criteria for such concepts 'weak or strong link'. There is no simple answer to this question, however our principle of 'centralised bargaining' should serve as a guide i.e only sectorial links that are conducting negotiations within the main industrial sector.
 - 3.2 All public sector entities i.e companies controlled by the, directly or indirectly should form part of the Public Sector Union including parastatals.
 - 3.3 A 'service sector' should be developed within the constraints of a private sector i.e. All service sectors outside state control. We believe this approach will resolve overlaps inherent within SADWU, SACCAWU and T & GWU
 - 3.4 Unions outside COSATU including those enjoying conditional affiliation should also be broadly consulted around our ideas of re-demarcation to avoid duplication once their affiliation is confirmed or ratified.
- 4.0 When this discussion draws to a consensus, we propose that COSATU should adopt a position that union constitutions with overlaps should suspend such provisions i.e recruitment should cease or be geared towards the main industrial unions. Transference of membership should become central within affiliate discussions
- 5.0 Lastly, our view is that the COSATU special Congress should take a final

position on these matters, that will also address the SARHWU/T&GWU merger and developments within the Public Sector Unity Process.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

INTRODUCTION

Cosatu adopted a resolution on socialism, as the process towards addressing the oppression and exploitation of the working class.

We recommit ourselves to the principles and ideas of socialism and our international approach and relationship will be guided by our socialist programme.

The collapse of the Soviet Union created grounds for the imperialist forces led by the United States of America to move freely with their agenda of Capitalism and invade countries who do not dance to their tune. The world is in danger of domination of capitalist system.

In almost in all liberated countries from colonialism who pronounce socialism as their path in liberating their countries are facing internal conflict led by rebel force with the imperialist influence or material support from these imperial forces.

In the African continent some of these countries, we used them to wage our struggle against the brutal regime who also use forces of aggression against them.

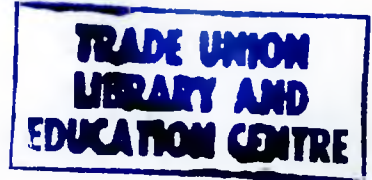
Angola

Since the liberation and taking over power by the MPLA in Angola, thousands of people lost their lives in the hands of the rebel forces of Unita supported by the United State of America.

Even after the Democratic election recognised by the United Nation after the MPLA won the election, Unita decided to continue with the war which murdered thousands of the innocent people. It took time for the USA to recognise the outcome of the democratic election in Angola.

3. That the government of national unity must form strong relationship with decolonised countries and work strategies of developing ourselves, politically and economically to be able to compete with the developed countries.
4. The Government of National Unity must open trade with Cuban People and open diplomatic link with them.
5. To send in these countries material support and political support to encourage them in their struggles.
6. Cosatu and SACP must set up a coordinate structure of solidarity with the working class in other countries. Paid officials of these organizations must donate on a monthly basis money in the solidarity fund. Workers must be conscientised to sacrifice part of their overtime to the solidarity fund.

Composite resolution on Local Government Elections
by NUM, NUMSA, SACTWU



Noting that:

1. The democratic movement has never participated in local government elections before.
2. Local Government structures are an important delivery mechanism and have the capacity to frustrate our vision as set out in the RDP.
3. That the LGTA has many flaws and shortcomings and needs amendments through an inclusive process of negotiation.

*Local Govt Democratisation Process E much more
coordination.*

We therefore resolve that COSATU:

1. Be fully committed to the campaign for local government elections, with resources committed to this.
2. Supports the forthcoming local government elections and that the election campaign should be ANC led.
3. Supports and encourages the greatest level of decentralised decision-making in terms of the selection of candidates for local governments elections, and ensure the on - going stability and continuity of the leadership of the trade union movement. COSATU should not produce its own list of candidates as had been done for the April election but rather support the list coming from the MDM formations at the local level.
4. Will support within such lists candidates who have the confidence of the local community and supportive of organised labour and working class politics.
5. We are totally opposed to having only full-time paid councillors and committed to a position that the remuneration of Councillors be based on the following:
 - 5.1 Predominantly on Councillors remaining as part time except to a limited extent in so far as Council Executive Committee duties in Metro Council or large cities necessitate full time payment.
 - 5.2 On an allowance being payable for actual meetings attended or duties performed outside of normal working hours.
 - 5.3 On duties performed or meetings attended during working hours being reimbursed as "lost wages".
 - 5.4 Through determining national standards for such allowances which take into account average workers wages in the municipal sector, in the shops, factories, mines, farms and pubic services.
6. All residents of areas must be enabled to vote and proper steps must be taken in the registration of voters to ensure that migrant workers within and outside of South Africa are entitled to vote.



7. We reject and will campaign against any determination of boundaries which does not include neighbouring mine hostels or smaller communities which are economically dependent on the major town.
8. That an Advisory Council immediately be established to deal with amendments to Local Government law and which is representative of Organised Local Government, trade unions, SANCO and Provincial Governments.
9. That we will seek amendments to the law which will :
 - 9.1. Overcome flaws in the LGTA which are hindering the democratic transition.
 - 9.2. Make it obligatory for employers to provide time off for worker councillors to attend to duties and not have their job security jeopardised.
 - 9.3. Provide effective recall mechanisms for councillors.
10. To take up the issue of national coordination of local Govt with the defence and arms including the proposals concerning the ministers of local Govt or Cabinet level or any other appropriate national coordination.



INDEX

1.	OVERVIEW OF NEGOTIATIONS WHERE COSATU IS INVOLVED - FORUMS	01 - 24
2.	EXTENSION OF LABOUR LEGISLATION TO FARM WORKERS	25 - 32
3.	ROLE OF COSATU NOW AND IN FUTURE	33 - 42
4.	ALLIANCE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME SECOND DRAFT	43 - 53
5.	RESTRUCTURING THE APARTHEID STATE	54 - 65
6.	COSATU ELECTION PROGRAMME	66 - 69

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PROPOSED AGENDA

1. REPORT FROM
 - 1.1. COSATU CEC
 - 1.2. VARIOUS FORUMS
2. DISCUSSION ON COSATU POSITION PAPERS
Regions to come-up with comments which would be sent to Cosatu Congress.
3. RESOLUTIONS
4. ANY DISCUSSION AROUND THE FORUMS
5. ANY OTHER IMPORTANT BUSINESS

OVERVIEW OF NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH COSATU IS INVOLVED

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to provide an overview of:

- 1.1 the forums in which we are currently represented
- 1.2 the agenda and state of progress in the forums
- 1.3 the linkages between the work of these forums
- 1.4 process to increase co-ordination of the forums
- 1.5 the relationship between the work being addressed and COSATU programmes, in particular the Reconstruction programme
- 1.6 the names of COSATU representatives
- 1.7 issues which COSATU must debate to formulate improvements in our current strategies

This report is primarily process related. From the attached reports and the reports which will follow, the CEC will be able to enter a discussion on the content of the economic debates and programmes which are taking place in the forums and which links to the perspectives of the reconstruction programme

2. FORUMS IN WHICH COSATU IS REPRESENTED

- 2.1. National Economic Forum
 - Short Term Working Group
 - Long Term Working Group
 - Process Committee
- 2.2. National Manpower Commission
- 2.3. National Housing Forum
- 2.4. National Electricity Forum
- 2.5. Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF)
- 2.6. National Training Board
- 2.7. Education and Training Negotiating Forum
- 2.8. Science and Technology Initiative
- 2.9. Regional Economic Development Forums:
 - Western Cape
 - Eastern Cape
 - Border/Kei
 - Natal/KwaZulu
 - Orange Free State
 - Pretoria/Wits/Vaal
 - Eastern Transvaal
 - Western Transvaal
- 2.10. Local Economic Development Forums
- 2.11. Industry Task Forces

- Auto - NUMSA
- Clothing and Textile - SACTWU
- Electronics - NUMSA
- Mining - NUM
- 2.12 Site tax negotiations
- 2.13 Investment initiatives
- 2.14 Telecommunications
- 2.15 Steel and aluminium mega-projects
- 2.16 Water and sanitation committee
- 2.17 Health Forum
- 2.18 Drought Forum
- 2.19 Vat Co-ordinating committee
- 2.20 Socio Economic Reconstruction and Development committee of the Peace Accord (SERD)
- 2.21 "Commission for Reconstruction"

3. RESEARCH PROJECTS WITH WHICH COSATU IS ASSOCIATED

- 3.1. Macro-Economic Research Group (MERG)
- 3.2. Economic Trends Group (ET)
- 3.3. Industrial Strategy Project (ISP)
- 3.4. Local Government Project (LOGOPOP)

4. INTERNAL COSATU STRUCTURES

4.1. The key processing structures at national level are:

- 4.1.1. Economic and development task force (EDTF)
- 4.1.2. Labour market institutions task force (LMITF)
- 4.1.3. Political task force (PTF)

4.2. The key processing structure which covers most of the forums is the EDTF. The EDTF consists of roughly 40 members and meets on a two monthly basis for two days at a time

4.3. The LMITF deals essentially with the NMC and NTB, while the PTF deals with the LGNF and nominally covers the SERD since it deals with the peace structures. Both the LMITF and PTF consist of roughly 20 members each. The LMITF meets monthly on a planned schedule and the PTF meets irregularly but on average once in six weeks

4.4. Reports from these task forces are presented monthly to the EXCO or CEC. Given that there is vast number of issues, and that at best two hours is available to discuss the entire report covering all three task forces, the report tends to be selective focussing on areas on which a decision is required.

4.5 At regional level, some regions have created COSATU forums which plan and strategise for the Regional Economic Development forums. This exists in Western Cape - Natal - one forum for both regions and Wits. Other regions appear to rely solely on the regional constitutional structures with some informal processes of discussion.

5. PROGRESS REPORTS

Available reports are attached hereto. Comprehensive two page summary reports for all forums will be made available for the CEC workshop in August.

6. CO-ORDINATION OF FORUMS

6.1 Attempts to co-ordinate between forums have been initiated from a number of quarters.

6.2 The NEF has convened several bilateral meetings with a number of forums and has resolved to host a meeting of all the regional forums soon. After this meeting it will decide whether to create a post for a person who will be charged with the responsibility of liaising with the regional forums.

6.3 The Labour Market Task Force has discussed the relationship between the NMC, NEF and NTB and has the following recommendations to make which need to be taken further in the workshop:

6.3.1. Guided by the Reconstruction Programme, we need to have an integrated national labour market programme.

6.3.2 Education and training must be a critical component of such a programme.

6.3.3 Education and training must not be separated from each other.

6.3.4 The NEF should fulfil at least the following two roles:

- * developing a broad economic framework.
- * co-ordination

It should become a statutory body in the longer term.

6.3.5 The NEF should thus set the broad framework for labour market policy. Details and mechanisms should be worked out by a labour market council/forum/structure.

6.3.6 In the interim, the process agreed upon at the last NMC should be endorsed i.e. that

- * there should be regular meetings and exchange of documents between the two forums
- * that wherever an issue overlaps, only one body should handle the issue at any one time

6.3.7 In relation to overlaps between the NMC, NTB and NEF, a similar situation should prevail. Overlaps should be allocated to one body at one particular point in time.

6.3.8 Greater co-ordination is needed within COSATU in relation to labour market policy. A process needs to be set up involving COSATU comrades involved in the long term working group of the NEF, human resources working group of the NMC and labour market institutions group of the NTB.

6.4 The LGNF has attempted to convene an inter-forum caucus of Alliance delegates to the NHF, Electricity Forum, NEF and LGNF. In view of other attempts to begin co-ordination at a more senior level of the Alliance, no further progress has been made at this level.

6.5 COSATU has lately resisted attempts to form additional new forums, particularly those involving consultants, proposing rather that either the issue should be referred to the NEF or that a democratically appointed commission should be set up to formulate a proposal to all relevant "stakeholders".

7. ALLIANCE CO-ORDINATION

7.1 In general, co-ordination with our Alliance partners is very weak. In particular forums, co-ordination and unity of perspective varies widely. In Natal, COSATU and the ANC have recently criticised each other publicly in the media in regard to developments in the Natal/KwaZulu REDF. We have also had public disagreements with the ANC nationally regarding the NEF. However, in the LGNF it appears that there is very effective co-ordination and unity of purpose.

7.2 At a national level, our principle relationship has been to the Department of Economic Planning which deals with macro economic policy. Recently, our communication and interaction with the Departments dealing with Social welfare, Health, Housing, etc has started to improve.

7.3 There has been very limited contact with the SACP on the forums as the Party does not participate in any forums.

7.4 In a major effort at co-ordination, we have agreed with the ANC to host a broad meeting with delegates from all key departments, regions and leagues on

their side and the COSATU negotiators, general secretaries and regions. The SACP will also be invited. Approximately 100 delegates are expected to be present.

7.5. This meeting will take place from the evening of 20 August and continue on the whole of the 21st until 9 00p.m. It will deal with three items:

7.5.1. The reconstruction programme - a third draft programme will be available which should incorporate the various comments being made.

7.5.2. The negotiating forums - an overview will be presented and key priority issues will be dealt with. Co-ordination for the future and the longer term role of the forums will also be discussed.

7.5.3. The election platform - a draft eight page manifesto for election campaigning purposes will be presented and discussed.

8. THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME AND THE FORUMS

8.1. The forums are generally preparing the ground for the Reconstruction programme in that they mirror the priorities identified in the draft programme. The forums are developing a research and negotiation capacity through which the needs are being quantified, the priorities being agreed, and an institutional framework for delivery is being created.

8.2. There is no doubt that there will have to be a rationalisation of forums and the functions they fulfil. For example, in many regional forums much time and energy is being misspent by duplicating the NEF agenda rather than developing a regionally-specific agenda. The composition of some forums is unwieldy with an over reliance on consultants and a large secretariat.

8.3. However, despite these limitations, the forums represent a means through which the democratic movement can enforce delivery of the goods to the people. They have the potential to shape the role and functioning of the government bureaucracy, particularly after the elections. In addition, it serves as the means through which forces in civil society are included in democratic decisionmaking processes.

9. KEY STRATEGIC ISSUES FOR THE CEC TO DISCUSS

9.1. Forums vs specific issue negotiation

There has been a tendency to attempt to create a forum for all issues. While there is a need for forums, there are times when it is more useful to engage government or the employers directly on the specific issue. Forums generally develop a broad agenda, a complex process, and are slow moving in taking decisions and in delivery. Recent examples of specific issue negotiations are Site tax and Abacor.

9.2. Maintaining internal democracy and workers power

Forums reflect the balance of forces. If used intelligently, they can open possibilities for increasing workers power. However, they can also disempower workers by removing all decisions to levels and terminology way above their heads. COSATU has been poor in building an effective democratic process. This has caused numerous tensions internally at times. An effective programme needs to be devised to improve communication, mobilisation of workers and to restructure COSATU to cope with a broad institutional involvement. The CEC workshop is itself an indication that, in the normal course of events, COSATU structures are not able to cope with its current institutional involvement. Post the democratic election, the need for such an involvement is likely to be at least the same as now.

9.3. Rationalising the forums

The linkages between the forums are at this point very limited. Already vested interests in the form of secretariats, consultants, etc are appearing. Outside of the forums, the old style of business to lobby to their own gain rather than negotiate agreements is threatened by the existence of forums. There are also some who expect to be soon in government who over-optimistically believe they will be better able to govern without having to negotiate in forums. It is advisable sooner rather than later to develop a strategy for rationalising and linking the essential forums with a view to strengthening the reconstruction programme after the election. This could have the effect of clarifying the role and relationship the essential forums will have to government and insuring their continued usefulness and existence.

10. IMMEDIATE ISSUES REQUIRING CONSIDERATION

10.1. GATT and debt rescheduling

The Government is involved in a number of international negotiations which have a profound impact on our future. It is not possible to seek to delay all these negotiations until after the elections. In particular, on GATT and the rescheduling of the debt, COSATU will have to give its feedback on the Government's proposed offer to GATT on tariff reductions in the Trade policy task group set up by the NEF.

On debt rescheduling, the ANC has been in contact with the Government on this matter. COSATU will have to consider the proposed terms of rescheduling and its implications for a reconstruction programme and how best to respond.

10.2. Investment

With the establishment of the TEC's the policy of sanctions will be ended. Efforts have already started to focus on the question of investment. Agreement has been reached on the need for a South African platform to be finalised in August. This will enable us to retain the initiative in directing investment to reconstruction purposes with protection for labour rights and standards. COSATU needs to take steps to ensure the successful outcome of this process.

10.3 Budget committee

The Government has invited Labour and Business to place two delegates each on the Budget functional committee which meets in September/October. The purpose of this committee is to co-ordinate proposals from different inter departmental function committees for next year's budget.

The ANC has indicated it will participate and business has already accepted the offer. The Budget committee will in effect advise the Finance minister and the TEC for Finance. In view of the government's stated goal of reducing state expenditure, intervention in such a committee may have an important value for the public sector unions. In addition, the budget will determine the extent to which the reconstruction programme will be implemented in the post election period.

On the other hand, it may be that there will be limited influence from our side on the process given the current political constraints, and that our participation will merely undermine any criticisms we may wish to voice at a later stage. COSATU will have to balance the merits of participating versus not participating and take a decision at the CEC.

10.4. Appointed interim local government councils

The LGNF has agreed to replace the exist system of councils with appointed councils which both combine the white and black areas into one, and tak over the functions of the existing councils. This process is scheduled to begin soon.

Approximately 300 appointed councils are expected to be established. The appointed councils will each have half of the existing councillors and half from the democratic movement. The democratic movement's half is to be appointed by a local forum made up of all relevant organisations in the locality. Decision making procedures in the appointed council are still under discussion at the time of writing. COSATU will have to decide its attitude to the agreements of the LGNF and whether it will participate in the appointed interim councils or not.

10.5 Housing Accord

The NHF has prioritised negotiations around two areas - a short term accord on how best to use the R400m allocated to it from government funds, and a procedure for multiparty control of the Housing departments. A report will follow once the latest update is received. COSATU will have to consider these proposals.

10.6 Five year plan on electrification

The Electricity Forum has set the goal of 3 000 000 connections within a five year period. A proposal will be presented to the CEC as soon as it is available. COSATU will have to take a decision on the terms of the proposal.

To All Affiliates General Secretaries

From Javendra Naicoo

22 July 1993

Dear Comrade

Re: Implementation of the NEF agreement

Various committees and deadlines have to be set up in consequence of the NEF agreement. The NEF Process Committee will meet on 27 July to finalise this matter. Following various consultations, we would like to propose the following at the meeting. Affiliates, and names proposed, are asked to consider this and revert with feedback before the NEF meeting, preferably on Monday 26 July 1993.

1. Centralised bargaining - a programme of industry level workshops be set up with not less than three industries meeting by mid - September. The industries to be prioritised should be Chemical, Paper, Retail, Civil engineering, Motor.
2. Targetted assistance programme task group - Labour should be represented by Marcel Golding and Bernie Fanaroff. Deadline for a report by end August.
3. Public sector restructuring committee - Labour to be represented by Salie Manie, Phillip Dexter and one from FEDSAL.
4. Restructuring the UIF - deadline for a report to be end August.
5. Labour based construction - meetings with various Govt. departments by mid August.
6. Job creation technical committee - Labour delegates from Kate Phillips Enoch Godongwana and FEDSAL.
7. Small business technical committee - Labour delegates from Tony Ruiters, Johnny Copelyn and one from NACTU.
8. Restructuring on SBDC - report from Govt. by end of July.

9 National Development Corps - Labour delegates to be Matthews Cliphant and Obed Zimande

10 Trade Policy task Group - depending on the number of delegates eventually agreed. at least Alec Erwin, Ebrahim Patel and Nactu.

11 Investigation into Public works - Lisa Seftel and Cunningham Ngcukana

12 Monitoring of the Customs and Excise agreement - monthly reports to the STWG convenors

13 Statistics study - Jane Barrett and Charles Meth

14 Meeting on Investment between NEF and other initiatives - deadline by mid August.

Regards.

14

10

National Manpower Commission

1. Composition

Employers 11 representing: SACCOLA, Chamber of Mines, Afrikaans Handels Institute, NAFCOG, FABCOS, Municipal employers.

Labour 10 representing COSATU 3, NACTU 2, FITU 2, SACOL 1. There is a dispute about the 11th representative

Department of Manpower 2 representatives

Chairperson and vice-chairperson

Independents: 7 representing unemployed, women, economics, dispute resolution concerns

2. Status and powers

Officially: statutory body to advise the Minister of Manpower on labour matters. Debate at moment re how powers and scope can be extended. COSATU sees this NMC as 'interim' until it is further restructured.

3. Scope

Labour relations. We are however debating that its scope should be extended. This depends on how we see the relationship between the NEF and NMC.

4. Structure

A plenary meeting happens once every two months. There are three working groups on Employment Law, Human Resources and Labour Market Institutions. These appoint sub-committees from time to time with specific short term briefs. A steering committee made up of the chair, vice-chair and one each from labour and business discuss procedural issues

The NMC from state funds runs a small bureaucracy with administrative officials and researchers. To date, the NMC plenary has been unable to influence the role such people play.

5. Agreements so far

- 5.1. No legislation affecting labour should go to parliament, without being discussed in the NMC. As a result the NMC tried unsuccessfully to slow down the passage of the Public Sector LRA and amendments to the health and safety legislation and more successfully sent the Equal Opportunities Bill back to the drawing board.
- 5.2. Structures, functions and powers of the various working groups.
- 5.3. Right to strike in the interim Bill of Rights
- 5.4. That there needs to be progress in relation to domestic worker rights and that the

BCEA must be passed in September session

5.5 That there must be harmonisation of bantustan labour legislation

5.6 That amendments to the LRA must be made in two phases:

- * In short term, those of a technical nature in line with the ILO FFCC recommendations
- * In longer term, more fundamental restructuring.

7. Names of COSATU delegates

Mike Madlala (FAWU)

Peter Daantjie (NUMSA)

Calvin Makgaleng (CWIU)

Les Ketteldas (NUMSA)

Dixon Motha (PPWAWU)

Dorothy Mokgale (COSATU)

National Local Government Negotiating Forum

1. Composition

The forum consists of 50 members: 25 from the 'statutory organisations' and 25 from 'non-statutory'. The non-statutory includes SANCO, ANC and COSATU.

2. Aim/Scope

The aim is to contribute to the democratisation of local government and bring about a democratic non-racial, non-sexist and financially viable local government system.

3. Status and powers

It is a negotiating forum and its decisions are binding. At a national level it is meant to negotiate guidelines for the restructuring of local government.

It sees its work and status changing in the pre-election phase, interim phase and final phase.

4. Structure

There is a plenary forum, management committee and secretariat which is responsible for day to day decisions. There are three working groups:

- * Legal and Constitutional
- * Services and Finance
- * Management, Administration and Training

5. Agreements reached so far

See annexure *in supplementary documentation*

6. COSATU participants

To be added

This report is incomplete - still looking for documents.

National Consultative Forum on Drought and Rural Development

This forum, initially set up as a response to the drought has recently changed to become the forum on drought and rural development.

1. Composition

Over 70 national organisations including business, civics, churches, donor agencies, government, liberation movements, NGO's, parastatals, trade unions and welfare organisations.

Regional forums have been established in Border/Kei, Natal/KwaZulu, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal and Northern Cape. They are restructuring to become community based and in some areas moving to zonal structures.

2. Structures

A plenary meets once every three months, and a steering committee every two weeks. The day to day operations are carried out by an Operations Room with an secretariat, information department and capacity building programme.

Regional fora attend the steering committee and are meant to drive the forum. It has recently been decided to increase representation on the steering committee of labour, business, churches and civics

The following task forces report to the steering committee: water supply, employment, agriculture, nutrition and national early warning system. (See annexure)

2. Status and powers

It is to become a semi-permanent structure. There is also a move towards greater control and decision making at the regional level, with the national body servicing regions and providing a co-ordinating role

3. Objective/Scope

The objective of the forum is to ensure that rural communities strengthen their capacity to deal with drought and other development needs.

4. Agreements reached so far

It is more useful to talk about the work that has been done:

4.1. Nutrition task force establishing a national nutritional surveillance system and monitoring government relief programme.

4.2. Capacity building for regional forums

- 4.3 Supplying emergency water to crisis areas. Also moving to greater focus on development issues, teaching communities maintenance of their water installations
- 4.4 Employment task force proposal to the NEF re public works programme, assistance to regional fora

5. COSATU participants

Steering Committee: Kate Philip

Employment Task Force: Kate Philip
Lisa Seftel

National Electrification Forum

1. Composition

African National Congress, Association of Municipal Undertakings, Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Eskom, NUMSA, NUM, SANCO, United Municipal Executive, Chamber of Mines, SACOB

2. Aim/Scope

To develop and implement a strategy that will lead to general access to affordable electricity for the population as rapidly as possible.

3. Status and powers

It is seen as attempting to resolve problems around power at local and regional levels (e.g. between Eskom and the BLA's around electricity supply to townships)

4. Structure

A plenary, management committee and seven working groups dealing with:

- * a regulatory framework,
- * structure and policy,
- * human resources,
- * supply technology,
- * setting up a data base
- * financing and tariffs
- * facilitating the transition of the distribution industry
- * end-use of energy and electricity

5. Agreements reached so far

Was not able to get a report.

Note: Representatives from extra-parliamentary groups (including COSATU and the ANC) have been appointed to the Electricity Council

6. Names of COSATU participants

Bernie Fanaroff, NUMSA

Gwede Mantashe, NUM

Possibly others.

National Housing Forum

1. Composition

ANC, Azapo, Association of Mortgage Lenders, COSATU, Construction Consortium, DBSA, IDT, Inkatha, Kagiso Trust, Life Officers Association, Material Manufacture and Supply Sector, SACCOLA, SA Housing Trust, SANCO, Urban Foundation

Government is not part of the forum. The NHF negotiates with government

2. Aim/Scope

The aim of the NHF in the long term is to draw up a national housing plan. In addition a number of urgent issues are being addressed such as sale of state land.

The scope of the forum includes land issues, infrastructure, financing etc. Is attempting to include rural housing issues

3. Status and powers

The NHF is seen as a negotiating forum to negotiate policy and an agreed way forward among all the parties.

4. Structure

A plenary meets four times a year and a co-ordinating committee consisting of one representative per organisation meets regularly and oversees the work of the following six working groups:

- * Land and services
- * Delivery services and housing types
- * Hostels
- * Restructuring the built environment
- * End user finance
- * Institutional structuring, roles and fund mobilisation.

5. Agreements reached so far

The NHF saw their work in three phases: research of the existing situation, development of policy options, agreement on policy options. The first phase is complete and the second in progress.

The NHF is about to reach agreement with the government on joint administration of the housing budget with the government and on the principles involved in the delivery of housing. (See Annexure A)

It has also reached agreement with the Department of National Housing to establish a National Hostels Co-ordinating Committee to jointly control the R326 million the government set aside for upgrading hostels

6. Names of COSATU participants

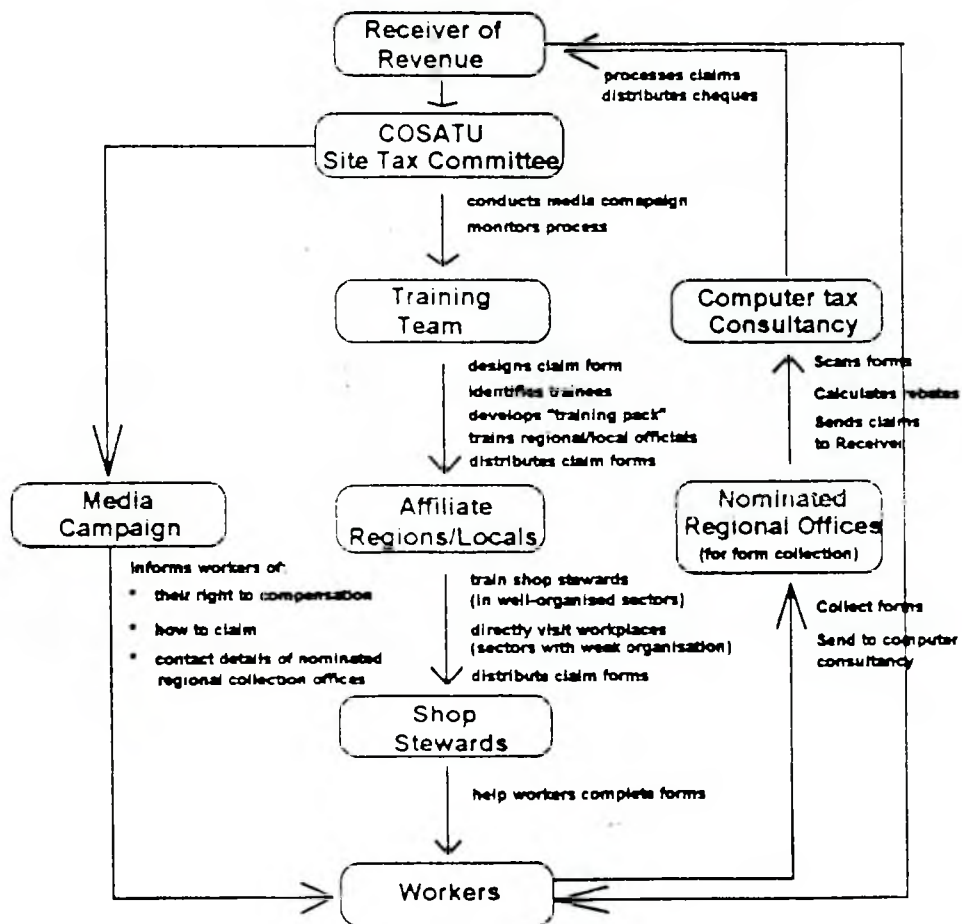
Co-ordinating Committee	Duma Nkosi, SACCAWU
Hostel sub-committee	Sipho Gqabashe, COSATU Southern Natal
Delivery systems and housing types	Dan Mohapi, CAWU
End user finance	Duma Nkosi, SACCAWU
Trainee	Henry Chawane, NUM

Site Tax Refund Programme: Implementation plan

The following assumptions have been made in order to develop this plan:

- Most claim administration to be facilitated by shop stewards, with a fall-back position of administration via officials at local and regional offices, where structures are weak or sectors unorganised
- Training to be delivered to union officials at local and regional level, directly by training team
- Regional/local officials to deliver training to shop stewards in each region
- National communication and training campaign to aimed at reaching all workers on the ground, particularly where COSATU does not have access
- Cheques distribution to be responsibility of Receiver of Revenue¹

How will it work?



¹ Cheque distribution could equally be performed by the computer tax consultancy - either way it does not greatly affect COSATU's role

NATIONAL EDUCATION & TRAINING FORUM (NETF)

1. The education crisis.

The crisis around education has been going on for a long time and it was clear that the government did not have the will to address this crisis. This crisis manifested itself around:

- * exam fees
- * teachers retrenchments
- * teachers' salaries
- * unilateral restructuring
- * state's refusal for a negotiation forum

In response to the systemic crisis confronting education in South Africa, the challenge of education and training reconstruction for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and just South Africa, and the need to develop an integrated approach to education and training which will better serve national reconstruction and the human, social and economic development needs of our country, the stakeholders in education and training agreed to establish a National Education & Training Forum (NETF).

2. Process to date

March 1992

- * The National Education Conference held Broederstroom resolved to engage the state and raise the need for an education and training forum.

March 1992 to March 1993

- * Bilateral talks between the NEC and Government to try and set up an education and training negotiation forum, but the government became intransigent.

March 1993 to May 1993

- * The NEC proceeded with a process of consultation on the establishment of a forum with a wide range of stakeholders including business organisations; education providers; civic and parents organisations; self governing states; national education NGOs; Committee of University Principals; Federal Committee of Technical College Principals; Teachers organisations all of whom agreed in principle with the idea of a negotiating forum.

May 1993

- * An informal meeting between NEC/Business/Government was held on the 21st of May 1993 where in it was resolved to call a meeting of major stakeholders to facilitate the process of setting up this forum.
- * Education Stake holders meeting held, and attended by the CUP; CTP; NTB; Manpower; NEC; Business; Government and Teacher Organisations which was attended by 23 participants. This meeting agreed on:
 - constituting itself as a facilitating team
 - to identify other potential players
 - to work on a draft founding document
 - to organise a consultative meeting on the NETF

03 July 1993

- * A consultative meeting was held to report to other possible players about progress to date.
- * the consultative meeting mandated the facilitating team to act as an interim executive of the forum.
- * mandated the facilitating team to set up two working groups, one on the current crisis and the other one on restructuring of education and training system.
- * to facilitate the launch of the forum by the end of July 1993.

3. Composition & Structures of the NETF

PLENARY

- * consists of all NETF stakeholders
- * is the highest decision making body of the NETF
- * has the right to delegate powers
- * ratifies decisions of principles and policy
- * meets as required, no fewer than two times per year

EXECUTIVE

- * to consist of representatives of the stakeholders
- * plans, co-ordinates and drives the Forum
- * constitutes and manages the Working Groups
- * makes recommendations to the Plenary

SECRETARIAT

- * designated by the Forum
- * directed by the Executive committee
- * provides logistical and administrative support.

WORKING GROUPS

- * nominated and co-ordinated by the Executive Committee
- * investigates various matters referred to it by the Plenary or EXCO
- * may include specialists who are not necessarily members of the Forum

4. *Scope/Mission*

To initiate, develop and participate in a process involving major education and training stakeholders, to establish agreements on:

- * resolution of crises in education
- * restructuring of the education system
- * formulation of policy frameworks for the long term restructuring of the education and training systems
- * human, social and economic development needs of South Africa

5. *Status*

The forum will be formally launched on the 7th of August 1993 where stakeholders will sign a founding agreement.

Technically we do not have forum as yet, because the founding agreement has not been signed, but the process has moved to the extent that any party that may think of pulling out at this stage will be seen by the public as obstructing progress and can be isolated by a broad spectrum of forces.

6. *Agreements*

The following agreements have been reached:

- * the facilitating group to act as an interim executive of the forum

- * a working group on short term issues (current crisis) was set up and agreed on:
 - NETF will negotiate an acceptable, broad, co-ordinated national point of view concerning future rationalisation, which takes into account amongst others, maximal effective use of education personnel and minimum disruption of education.

 - the current process of rationalisation will be effected on the basis that only teachers who have indicated their desire to leave service will be considered for the retrenchment package, and that efforts will be made to ensure that these teachers leave service only at the end of 1993 so that the educational programme are not disrupted.

- * a working group on restructuring was established which was given the following tasks:
 - to develop a common framework of principles that would serve as a guide to a future education system, the outcome of which will form the basis for evaluation of current education restructuring.

 - to consider appropriate ways of engaging the state with its current initiatives of re-arranging/restructuring the education and training system

7. *Proposed Stake Holders*

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| * Central Government | * Tertiary Sector Educators |
| * NEC | * Students Organisations |
| * Business | * Parents |
| * Self Governing Territories (SGT's) | * Providers - Tertiary,
Private, Non-formal |
| * TBVC States | * Training Sector |
| * Labour | * Teacher Organisations |

National Consultative Forum

PO Box 23 Auckland Park 2004

REGIONAL DROUGHT & DEVELOPMENT FORA

Border/Kei, Natal/KwaZulu, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Northern Cape

- Principles of these fora include inclusivity, non-partisanship, and strong community representation.
- Objectives of the fora include information sharing, building the capacity of rural communities to respond to drought, and promoting the need for development in rural areas.

WATER SUPPLY TASK FORCE

- Priority focus on emergency water provision to rural communities, implemented by teams of engineers and Community Liaison Officers
- Pumps, windmills, and boreholes have been established or repaired in more than 400 communities in Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Natal/KwaZulu and Border/Kei
- Community Liaison Officers help build the capacity of communities to provide on-going maintenance and repair of water installations

EMPLOYMENT TASK FORCE

ETF includes representatives from COSATU, NUM, DBSA, Government, IDL, and experts in the field. Work has included:

- Planning and design of a National Public Works Programme using labour-intensive, community-based methods
- Promoting community access to job creation funds through lobbying and education efforts
- Making interventions on existing programmes to more effectively realise objectives of employment creation

NCFD

- ◆ Established in June 1992 as an inclusive structure of national organisations and regional fora to co-ordinate response to the drought.
- ◆ Objective: To ensure that drought-stricken rural communities receive relief efficiently and are empowered in their struggle against poverty
- ◆ Day to day operations carried out by Task Forces and an Operations Room with a Secretariat in Information Department, and a Capacity Building Programme focused on strengthening regional fora.

AGRICULTURE

The Task Force on Agriculture established at NCFD's inception has not been active. How best to re-activate the Task Force is currently under discussion.

MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

- Over seventy national organisations participate in the Forum while maintaining their own line functions & programmes
- include business, civics, churches, donor agencies, Government, liberation movements, NGOs, para-statal, trade unions, and welfare organisations

NUTRITION TASK FORCE

NTF is comprised of health planners, NGOs and government, it functions through working groups on Food Relief and Surveillance and Monitoring. Key activities have included:

- Establishing the framework and consensus for a National Nutrition Surveillance System
- Deepening the debate on how to best prevent malnutrition and starvation due to poverty and drought
- Developing policy alternatives and making recommendations for improved government programmes, particularly the NNSDP and PEM Scheme

NATIONAL EARLY WARNING SYSTEM

Early Warning Systems gather and analyse data about drought and those affected by drought in order to provide information necessary to effectively implement relief, economic planning, and development. The NEWS Task Force has reached agreement with government that such a system will be established and is currently finalising a comprehensive proposal outlining objectives, indicators, structure, and operation of a future National Early Warning System.

33

24

MEMORANDUM ON THE EXTENSION OF LABOUR LEGISLATION TO FARM WORKERS

1. Negotiations between SAAU and COSATU, under the auspices of two independent chairpersons, namely Piet Van der Merwe (the ex-Director General of the Department of Manpower) and John Brand, are continuing. The parties are seeking to have labour legislation extended to the agricultural sector introduced and passed in the September 1993 parliamentary session and have indicated that they are looking to the Minister and the Cabinet to accommodate them in this regard.

2. The present position of the Minister is as follows:

"September 1993 will see a short session of Parliament. It is unlikely that Parliament would be able to deal with legislation that would require the hearing of evidence by Joint Committees. If consensus can therefore be reached between SAAU, COSATU and the Department on the legislation before 5 August 1993, I undertake to facilitate the passing of such legislation through Parliament. In this regard it must be understood that such legislation is still subject to Cabinet's approval and the Parliamentary processes."

3. COSATU has voiced its objection to the Minister's position, which flies in the face of his undertaking of 6 November 1992, to introduce into parliament, with a view to passing in the 1993 parliamentary session, legislation to appropriately extend the LRA and the Wage Act to the agricultural sector.

4. Notwithstanding the difficulties which the Minister's position creates for COSATU, it was felt important to continue with the negotiations in an attempt to reach consensus concerning legislation.

5. The present status of these negotiations is set out in subsequent paragraphs. The COSATU representatives in these negotiations tried to obtain a mandate on these issues from the LMI Task Force at its July 1993 meeting. The LMI Task Force felt that since they had certain reservations, and since questions of a policy were

involved, a mandate was required from the CEC.

6. As already indicated, the deadline for the drafting of legislation is 5 August 1993, if this legislation is to be introduced and passed in the September 1993 parliamentary session. COSATU has requested an extension until 6 August 1993 so as to obtain a mandate from the CEC. A meeting is scheduled for 16h00 on Friday 6 August 1993 to convey COSATU's position to SAAU and the Department, and in an attempt to finalise this stage of the negotiations.

7. It should be noted that the parties are not working from the drafts prepared by the Department, which drafts were extremely problematic and were strongly opposed by COSATU. The present arrangement is that insofar as consensus can be reached, SAAU and COSATU, with the assistance of a state law adviser, will draft the necessary amendments to the legislation so as to limit the Department's role in the drafting to an absolute minimum. It is envisaged that parallel to the amendments to the legislation, SAAU and COSATU will conclude an Accord which will deal with outstanding issues.

The extension of the LRA to the agricultural sector

8. After extensive negotiations, SAAU has eventually agreed to the extension of the entire LRA to the agricultural sector subject to certain important amendments, namely:

8.1. The establishment of a special labour court within the existing structures of the Industrial Court,

8.2. The special labour court shall determine disputes between an employer and an employee regarding alleged unfair labour practices (i.e. it is envisaged that if a party wishes to refer a dispute between an employer and an employee in the agricultural sector regarding an alleged unfair labour practice to Court, that

party shall be obliged to refer a dispute of this nature to the special labour court):

- 8.3. Once a dispute has been referred to the special labour court (it is envisaged that in the interests of the speedy resolution of such disputes, the parties bypass industrial councils/conciliation boards), this court shall, as soon as possible after receipt of this reference, determine the dispute on such terms as it may deem reasonable, including but not limited to the ordering of reinstatement or compensation;
- 8.4. Where either party to the dispute objects to the referral of the dispute to the special labour court, as opposed to the Industrial Court, the presiding officer, after hearing argument on this issue, shall be required to decide this issue, and any party who is aggrieved with that decision may appeal to the Industrial Court;
- 8.5. The special labour court may of its own accord at any time refer a dispute referred to it to the Industrial Court for determination;
- 8.6. The special labour court shall not be a court of record, but the presiding officer shall take minutes or cause minutes to be taken of any determination;
- 8.7. Subject to that stated in 8.4 above, and what is stated in this paragraph concerning reinstatement, a determination of the special labour court shall be final and no appeal may be made from it. In circumstances where the special labour court makes an order either granting or refusing reinstatement, either party may appeal to the industrial court, but the appeal shall only relate to the relief granted or refused. Thus, only evidence relating to the relief will be allowed in the industrial court;
- 8.8. On the question of representation, both parties agree that there should be no

legal representation, nor representation by consultants, in the special labour court. The question of representation by a member of one's organisation or by para-legals is presently being negotiated;

8.9. The special labour court may make no order as to costs;

8.10. SAAU is strongly opposed to the LRA provisions concerning strikes and lock-outs applying to the agricultural sector. It is proposing that an amendment to s46 be made in terms of which farming operations would be defined as an essential service, subject to a provision that by agreement between the parties they could contract out of this section so as to allow the normal provisions of the LRA concerning strikes and lock-outs to apply. SAAU is willing to continue negotiations about the possibility of certain sectors within farming being excluded from essential services.

The extension of the Wage Act to the agricultural sector

9. The present proposal is that the extension of the Wage Act to the agricultural sector be held over for further negotiations and that the parties agree to continue negotiations as soon as is practically possible concerning the issue of voluntary collective bargaining in the farming industry, including sectoral and regional collective bargaining.

Amendments to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act

10. SAAU is proposing that the BCEA, as presently extended to the agricultural sector, be amended in certain minor respects as regards the following issues:

10.1. The definition of seasonal workers;

10.2. Flexible working hours;

10.3. Payment for Sunday work; and

10.4. Inspectors.

The issue of one statute or the simple extension of the existing statutes

11. SAAU has indicated that it has severe difficulties persuading its constituency to shift from the notion of a single labour statute for the agricultural sector. COSATU has consistently opposed the notion of a single statute. The present possible compromise which is being discussed is that there be a single statute, which in Chapter 1 of the statute would amend the Basic Conditions of Employment Act in respect of the issues referred to above, and which in the Chapter II would extend the provisions of the LRA, subject to the abovementioned amendments, to the agricultural sector. Whilst there is little logic in this option, and whilst COSATU hopes to persuade SAAU to come round to its position, this may be the only possible compromise. The important point is that whichever way one structures the legislation, it is simply a question of form, since the substance of the existing legislation will have been extended to farm workers.

Issues to be dealt with in an Accord between COSATU and SAAU, parallel to the amendments to the legislation

12. Parallel to the amendments to the legislation, it is envisaged that COSATU and SAAU will enter into an Accord which will reflect the following:

12.1. On the question of the Court, the parties agree to put forward joint submissions to the president of the Industrial Court concerning the rules and certain administrative measures which could be taken with a view to improving the functioning of the Industrial Court and the special labour court;

12.2. One of the reasons why SAAU initially opposed the extension of the LRA,

was that it feared the interests of the agricultural sector being swamped by the NMC. As a means of addressing SAAU's concerns, it is proposed that the parties agree to request the NMC to establish a sub-committee to address matters which are of particular concern to the agricultural sector. SAAU's position is that insofar as the concerns of this sub-committee are not addressed by the NMC, the sub-committee could submit a separate report to the Minister. (SAAU has indicated that in addition to participating in this sub-committee, it would participate in the rest of the NMC in the normal course - no doubt via its membership of SAFCOLA);

- 12.3. On the question of strikes, mention has already been made of the fact that the parties agree to continue negotiations on the possibility of excluding certain sectors within farming from the definition of essential services;
- 12.4. The parties are also in agreement that negotiations will continue concerning the position of farm workers who strike in breach of the provisions of the LRA as extended to the agricultural sector;
- 12.5. On the question of the Wage Act, and as already indicated, the parties agree to negotiate as soon as is practically possible on the issue of voluntary collective bargaining in the farming industry, including sectoral and regional collective bargaining;
- 12.6. As regards the question of access, the parties agree to continue negotiations concerning this issue. SAAU has indicated that it is prepared to consider an agreed code on the question of access.

Concluding comments

13. COSATU has made it absolutely clear in these negotiations that it has no mandate to agree to most of the above issues, and it is for this reason that a mandate is being

sought from the CEC.

14. It is understood that what is presently on the table will obviously give rise to strong reservations on the part of the CEC, and is far from what COSATU would ideally want.
15. The debate is whether COSATU ought to agree to what is presently being proposed with a view to at least extending certain rights and protection to farm workers, or to wait until an ANC government is in power in the hopes that a far more favourable extension of labour legislation to the agricultural sector will occur. If the latter option is preferred, it must be borne in mind that it may be many months before the interim government turns its attention to the extension of labour legislation to the agricultural sector, during which time farm workers will be completely unprotected, save for provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.
16. On the question of reinstatement, it must be pointed out that initially SAAU was completely opposed to a special labour court being empowered to order reinstatement, and the present proposals therefore represent an improvement in this regard.
17. On the question of compulsory arbitration, whilst this is obviously problematic, consideration must be given to the fact that trade union organisation within the farming sector is presently weak, and it may be far easier for farm workers to win rights by way of compulsory arbitration, rather than by striking in circumstances where they are particularly vulnerable. There is nothing to stop a legislative review of this provision at a later date.
18. Given the attitude of both the Department and SAAU, it was extremely difficult to attain agreement on the extension of the Wage Act to the agricultural sector, and it is felt that the agreement concerning negotiations on the issue of voluntary collective bargaining in the farming industry is at least a step forward in this regard.

Moreover, if compulsory arbitration is agreed to, COSATU or the relevant official could declare a dispute with SAAU on wages, which dispute would have to go to arbitration.

19. As regards access, it was unlikely that the right of access would be won for farm workers, when it is not even a statutory right which industrial workers presently enjoy. Again, the agreement to pursue negotiations on this issue is felt to be important. The point concerning compulsory arbitration is equally applicable here.
20. Finally, the way in which it is envisaged that labour legislation be extended to the agricultural sector is obviously problematic in that it creates a separate statute for the agricultural sector. Thus, amendments to the LRA will not automatically be made to the LRA provisions as extended to the agricultural sector. However, this is possibly a short term problem, as in the future the NMC will be addressing the harmonisation of all labour legislation and this problem could be dealt with at that stage.

DRAFT INPUT PAPER - CURRENT SITUATION AND THE ROLE OF COSATU NOW AND IN THE FUTURE - FOR SPECIAL CONGRESS:

1 INTRODUCTION

Our country stands at crossroads. After years of delays by this regime and its allies, it has finally been forced by internal struggles and international pressure to agree to the holding of the first democratic elections on the 27th April 1994.

While this together with other agreements being negotiated around holding a free and fair election are significant, already this victory is being threatened by the emergence of a rightwing alliance of conservative to neo-nazi anti-democratic forces still attempting to protect their wealth, privilege and power created by apartheid. The sweeping violence in our townships, the assassination of Cde Chris Hani, the attempt on the life of Cde Walter Sisulu and the attack on the World Trade Centre by AWB bandits are a sign of things to come. These anti democratic forces, desperate in their weakness, is a sign that our country is entering in this transition to democracy one of our most difficult and dangerous periods.

At a socio-economic level, we see a steadily declining economy, thousands of retrenchments, increasing food prices, greater migrations of people fleeing poverty and hunger of the rural areas and Southern Africa towards our cities, the breakdown of health services leading to an explosion of diseases from tuberculosis, malnutrition to Aids.

In this context, violence, the mindless murder of innocent men, women and children in our schools, taxis, trains, communities, rape and battering of women and children is on the steady increase. It is estimated that half of all women in our township will be raped and the fact that millions of women across the race line are beaten still remain a hidden crime.

The critical challenge facing COSATU, ANC, SACP, SANCO and all the mass democratic formations is not any longer whether these are going to change, but what is the form and content of that change. Will democracy mean anything more than a vote for constitutional change on April 27th. Will it deliver houses, jobs at a living wage, education and training, proper health care, an end to violence and crime, and the concrete addressing of poverty and deprivation that is the real World that the majority of people live in? How do we strengthen our mass organisation to defend the gains we have made and ensure the fundamental transformation of our country? What is the specific role COSATU plays both in the transition and the future under a democratic government?

2 THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

The reconstruction programme elaborated by the alliance represents a fighting platform to involve our people in real struggle around their needs and aspirations. The programme sets our clear objectives, establishes a coherent framework to reach these goals, includes mass organisations previously excluded by apartheid in a participatory way.

The programme focuses around our demands for job creation and job security, human resources and skill development, restructuring the state and institutions such as the department of manpower, security forces, civil service etc. It also deals with winning of worker rights from centralised bargaining to the right to organise and strike, to the broader socio-economic programs that addresses mass poverty from housing, electricity to water and sewerage. The reconstruction programme has its origins in our demands of struggle around the Freedom Charter and the Workers Charter and every policy resolution of our previous congresses.

It firmly establishes the role of COSATU not only in a transition but in a post apartheid South Africa. It locates economic growth in a Southern African context which will mutually reinforce our capacity to become an economic giant by creating a common infrastructure, harmonising labour and trade relations, developing tourism, and looking at job creation around both our domestic and international markets.

3. TRANSITIONAL STRUCTURES:

We have begun to see a move away from the racist structures of apartheid. At a political level, the multi-party negotiations will lead to, in the short term, a Transitional Executive Committee with multi-party control on security forces, finances, foreign affairs, regional and local government as well as independent electoral and media commissions.

At a municipal and local government level, struggles are leading to the establishment of one city / one tax base and through negotiations at the Local Government Restructuring Forum, to the imminent establishment of hundreds of interim non racial structure.

In the National Education and Training Forum, negotiations are set to restructure the macro education system and address centrally the racist allocation of resources that has led to more than 73% of African teachers being under qualified and 86% of white children passing secondary schooling compared to only 16% of African children.

At an economic level, COSATU took the following decisions at our Economic Conference

- The blocking of unilateral restructuring of the economy
- The unlocking of state resources in a way that eliminates wastage, corruption and inefficiency and delivers the goods to the people.
- The building of democratic institutions which would involve the democratic forces in decision making.

The NEF following the successful anti-VAT strike in November 1991 compelled government and employers to enter into negotiations around economic issues affecting workers, in particular job creation, centralised bargaining, industrial restructuring, restructuring the public sector, customs and excise duties to more longterm negotiations on foreign investment and trade policy.

The restructuring of the NMC led to negotiations on more active labour market policies looking at consolidating the LRA, extending rights to all workers, addressing gender and racial inequality to restructuring other labour market institutions such as the Department of Manpower, the WCA, NTB and the UIF Board.

The National Training Board itself restructured to represent the major players such as COSATU will lead us to a national training system that would ensure that workers experience is recognised, that skills training courses must broaden the understanding of workers around issues of technology, numerically, mathematics and communication. This will lead to higher levels of work organisation and production methods. In this way also, affirmative action programme mean more than just black face in a corporate boardroom. It would mean millions of workers would be able to get skills that allows them to choose a career path that advances their job opportunities.

However these structures are not meant to perform miracles. Through these negotiations we secure an enabling framework that empowers us to struggle at an industry, regional or enterprise level.

Secondly, we need to concretely address the mass poverty in our country. The economy is declining daily contracting by up to 2% in 1992. These forums allows us to build a broader consensus in society on the basis of the reconstruction programme put forward by the alliance. The alliance is not going to be able to legislate jobs, houses, food. We will have to engage other powerful forces on society both internally and internationally to achieve these.

A real concern raised is whether this is a corporatist deal which would lead to the co-optation of the organised working class and the creation of a labour aristocracy? This argument ignores the fact that the majority of COSATU members earn wages nearer the minimum living level and that the average income in an African household in 1990 was R521.00 per month.

It also ignores the fact that many of the issues in these forums have nothing to do with the narrow needs of COSATU members but reflect the concerns of broader social and resistance movement that COSATU has been in the past and intends to be in the future.

Also, real policy affecting our lives will be and is being decided in these tripartite and multi-lateral forums. The challenge is to move from the relative security of past mode of opposition to one of engagement and reconstruction.

However, the crucial factors in our success will be the way we develop the mass component of our negotiations strategy.

- The development of an integrated negotiations strategy which co-ordinates our actions in a coherent way.
- The way we address the need to improve our mandating and reporting procedures to ensure that our people and members are part of decisions that are very complex and sophisticated. However it is important to remember that many of these forums, and the very political fact we are in a periods of transition to democracy is a tribute to the mass struggle for the masses of our people. The crucial issue is whether the alliance is able to sustain in this crucial period and beyond the capacity to inspire and lead our people to final victory

4. ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE

The alliance has always been the engine of our struggle as the broad anti-apartheid forces to destroy what the United Nations described as a crime against humanity. What has been our capacity to resist and fight apartheid must now become the vanguard of defending democracy and ensuring reconstruction and the vote meet the needs of the majority.

With the rightwing threats and the Savimbi option raising its ugly head, the defence of democracy becomes the most important goal. With the AWB and the CP vowing not to accept an ANC government, the alliance on whose platform the ANC will have won, will have to stand up as one to defend the revolution.

Secondly we have resolved in COSATU that we would mobilise all our resources to ensure a massive victory for the ANC in the coming election. We have made this decision not on romantic or sentimental grounds but the political reality that the ANC has

- Historically represented the aspiration of the black people in general and the Africa people in particular;
- Is the largest non-racial political party that has in a consistent and mass way drawn in and called for the support of other national groups and which in 1955 adopted a guiding policy document, the Freedom Charter, that " South African belongs to all who live in it, black and white"
- Is still the only party which is the home of the overwhelming majority of poor and disadvantage and which has adopted the programme for reconstruction as a principle framework for a new South Africa.

In this context, we must reiterate the foundation on which our alliance with the ANC and SACP is built. That each organisation is totally independent and that our programme of action are based on those objectives we share in common and that one component of the alliance cannot unilaterally impose its programme on other partners in the alliance. Therefore, all of us agree that COSATU must stay strong, democratic and independent.

However our alliance is not cast in stone. It is a dynamic mechanism that allows us to mobilise and organise our forces in the struggle for peace, democracy and reconstruction. Certainly in the period past the election, our relationship with the - ANC as the political party leading the democratic government has to critically be assessed and evaluated. That is a debate that will be held openly, frankly and with no hesitation. Whatever the decision, it must allow us to implement together with a democratic government our reconstruction programme. We must be guided by our vision of the National Democratic Revolution.

Critical to the issue of the tripartite alliance is our alliance with civil society organisations. Preparations have to be made with other leading civil society organisations representing mass based formations to call a conference of civil society later this year.

Many formations that we have worked with in the past around issues of peace, anti-VAT, child care, women rights, health, from churches to consumer groups, poverty relief groups, education groups, don't want direct associations with political parties but are prepared to back a programme for peace, democracy and reconstruction. One of our tasks is to win the organised support of all

sections including critically the intelligence professionals technicians who are important for our reconstruction programme to succeed. Our reconstruction programme while fundamentally addressing inequalities of apartheid has to rebuild the fabric of society and must identify a positive role for all sections of society.

Another critical task is to unify the organised working class. As we move into constructing a democracy, the democratic trade union movement must ensure that workers rights are protected and advanced. The work towards a workers charter of rights that would establish a concrete basis for the unity in action of the trade union movement must continue. The conference of all trade unions to debate these issues needs to be urgently convened. Already, cooperation with FEDSAL, NACTU and a range of other unions are taking place at the level of the NEF, NMC, and public sector coordination to oppose unilateral action of this government.

The central thrust of all these initiatives should be to develop our capacity and build a united organisation to defend and advance the transformation of our country.

5. BUILDING ORGANISATION

In all our work we must continue to strike a balance between our interventions at a macro level on political and economic issues and the real source of our strength which is our shopfloor organisation.

The task facing worker leaders and officials today are very different from those of the past. We are having to confront critical questions of industrial restructuring, establishing a macro-economic balance, restructuring training system and work place reorganisation. These requires a capacity building programme that is able to generate the active participation of thousands of leaders and millions of workers.

The success of all our efforts and reconstruction must be in us having the loyalty, and involvement of our members. Many difficult sacrifices face us in the restructuring process such as the down scaling of the mining industry in a manner that does not destroy mining towns and communities and developing the efficiency and rationalising those economic sectors which cannot survive today in the modern world economy. Our programmes should not raise false expectations but provide a coherent and permanent way to build sustainable economic growth.

This means that we have to service our members. Rhetoric slogans and high flown theories do not put bread on the tables of millions of hungry people. Workers want to be defended against unfair dismissals, they

want grievances promptly handled, they want working conditions improved, they want job security. That is the organised pillar on which we are able to construct our vision of democracy and socialism.

In particular we need to turn our energies towards organising the unorganised. Millions of workers don't belong to unions. In our organised factories, mines and shops, there are tens of thousands of non-union workers. Let us build towards a million and a half members by the time of our Congress next September. More concrete programmes must be drawn up to organise farm workers and workers in the service, domestic and public sectors.

A critical vehicle to restructure the public sector and ensure that employment in the civil service is related to the provision of efficient services to all our people and that our programme of reconstruction are not sabotaged by racist vested interests, is a powerful public sector union. We therefore proudly announce that the Public sector launch is scheduled for May next year with over two hundred thousand members.

The demarcation debate in this context need to be finalised. We should be moving towards a further process of mergers so that we build unions powerful enough to lead the industrial restructuring process. This would also provide the material resources necessary to create an efficient service and infrastructure to meet the needs of our members and broader society.

Stress must also be laid on organising skilled workers, professionals and deepening our organisational strategies amongst White, Indian and Coloured communities.

6. ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND SELF - SUFFICIENCY

As we proceed forward, strategies to build the self - sufficiency of COSATU and its affiliates becomes critical. Real independence will come with our ability to finance from our own sources all our activities. Crucially, a central part of our own reconstruction programme will be to ensure that billions of rands in the worker pension and provident funds are brought under union control. That our investment policies are dictated by the need to provide real benefits to our members as well as directing investment into our programme of economic reconstruction.

Linked to this must be a push by COSATU for an urgency - closed agreements that will ensure that the free riders who benefit from our collective bargaining negotiations pay for these services. We must ensure that such arrangements are democratic and don't lead to

bureaucratic unionism. COSATU should also ensure that worker education and vocational programmes benefit interventions we make at a macro and micro level. It also depends on the right of worker leaders to have paid leave.

In this context, we must ensure that COSATU does not go the way of many labour centres internationally. No union no matter how strong and financially independent it is going to resolve its problems alone. The labour movement to intervene decisively has to maintain a strong labour centre which is the only vehicle through which organised labour can play a key role in leading the socio-economic reconstruction. Therefore in the period leading up to our next regular Congress, this issue has to receive priority attention.

7. **ROLE IN ELECTIONS**

The greatest challenge of the current period is to ensure that there is a free and fair election and that the ANC wins a decisive victory. Simultaneously, we have to ensure that COSATU remains strong and independent. This requires a clear debate about which is the team that goes onto an ANC list for the Constituent Assembly and which is the team that stays in COSATU. The process of the list selection should ensure we send a winning team into the campaign representative of key constituencies to ensure that the constitution and legal rights we seek are achieved. The key areas of government that are of concern and impact on COSATU particularly in relation to staffing and policy are labour relations, trade and industry, mineral and energy resources and the parastatals.

We need to discuss which candidates COSATU is prepared to release what process and criteria apply and what is the particular contribution the COSATU people could make by being on the list. A critical challenge remains to mobilise our thirty thousand strong shopsteward layer to ensure that millions of workers know how to vote and that they get to the election polls.

8. **STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM**

One of the major debates is how our overall programme of reconstruction relates to the struggle for socialism. It is recognised by all that the events of Eastern Europe have had a decisive impact on our struggle for socialism in the whole world. No one can claim to have a blue print for achieving democratic socialism.

However everyone agrees that a successful democratic transition creates the only viable basis for building socialism. Fundamentally, we must ensure that democracy delivers jobs, houses, health care, education and training and worker rights to our people. We have to increase the power of ordinary people through our mass organisations of society to have control over their lives.

The reconstruction programme while not a socialist programme in itself enables ordinary people to organise, mobilise and struggle around their daily problems. Every democratic and accountable shopsteward committee, street committee, village committee, SRC, women and youth committees build up the organs of peoples power.

However we must accept that a major weakness has been our paralysis in opening up a real and open debate about the future of socialism. COSATU is part of the left forces committed to building socialism with the SACP, SANCO and other mass based organisations has not convened the broad conference of the left that our last Congress spoke about.

We must accept however that the building of socialism should be seen as a process rather than a set of events. In the current period however our energies are going to be directed to achieving a democratic victory. In this process of the election campaign, the main organisational drive should be to build the mass base of our working class formations.

9. CONCLUSION

This Special Congress marks a watershed for the labour movement as a whole. It will lay the basis of the future role of COSATU and will have a decisive impact in determining the content of a future South Africa. It allows us to launch our campaign which should result in overwhelming victory for the democratic forces politically and organisationally.