



198 Broadway • New York, N.Y. 10038 • (212) 962-1210

Tilden J. LeMelle, *Chairman*
Jennifer Davis, *Executive Director*

TO: Key Labor Contacts
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Friends,

It has been an historic and dramatic summer in South Africa, a summer that saw the political initiative suddenly -- and perhaps decisively -- shift from the apartheid government to a resurgent democratic movement.

Until July, everything seemed to be going the government's way. State President F.W. de Klerk had firmly established his reformist credentials overseas and international sanctions were crumbling. The African National Congress appeared uncertain about how to respond to either the escalating township violence or the maneuvers of de Klerk's National Party as it moved to occupy the "reasonable center" of South Africa's new politics. The June meeting in Washington between President Bush and bantustan Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, followed three weeks later by the repeal of American sanctions only seemed to confirm de Klerk's political mastery at home and abroad.

But by the end of July the bubble of government invincibility had burst -- shattered by the Gatsha-gate revelations of covert government sponsorship of Buthelezi's reactionary Inkatha party and of security force involvement in so-called "Black on Black" fighting. The scandal badly damaged de Klerk's personal credibility and has put the government on the political defensive. More importantly, the ANC emerged from its first full national conference inside South Africa in 30 years with new leadership, new confidence, and an assertive agenda for rapid democratic transformation.

It was against this backdrop that the 1.2 million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions met at the end of July for their fourth national conference. The issues before the congress ranged from the Gatsha-gate scandal to economic democratization and the role of women in the labor movement. As a full partner in South Africa's anti-apartheid alliance, COSATU's decisions and debates will have a major impact on events in the months ahead -- and on solidarity work here in the United States.

With an eye to our own efforts, I have enclosed an article on the COSATU congress that appears in the July/August South African Labor Bulletin, FYI. As the struggle moves to the "terrain of negotiations" it will be increasingly important for U.S. activists to keep up the pressure on apartheid by maintaining local anti-apartheid laws, targeting anti-labor and sanctions-busting American corporations and strengthening union-to-union links. Keeping pressure on apartheid's allies in Washington will also be important, as the Bush administration moves to shore up the de Klerk regime and its anti-democratic, anti-labor surrogates.

In Solidarity,

Mike Fleshman
Labor Desk Coordinator

COSATU



elections, voting, new blocs:

Congress



what does it all mean?

Labour Bulletin was there. KARL VON HOLDT analyses the changes taking place in COSATU.

check it. The non-racial trade union movement, with COSATU at its centre, is now a more influential social force than it has ever been. It is a key player in drafting labour legislation and in restructuring the National Manpower Commission. It is beginning to negotiate on economic issues with the state and employers. It is the main pillar of organised support for the ANC, and as such will have a major impact on national negotiations and the transition to democracy.

COSATU is gearing up to influence the future order with its constitutional proposals and workers charter, and is preparing itself for a central role in

formulating an economic strategy for a democratic South Africa. If a new baby is being born in South Africa, COSATU is determined to be one of the parents.

But COSATU's role and influence will not be automatic. It will have to organise to assert itself and its policies. Great new organisational, political and economic challenges face the federation.

The theme for COSATU's Fourth National Congress, held in Johannesburg at the end of July, points to some of these challenges: 'Organise for democracy, economic reconstruction and socialism'. Many important resolutions were passed. Yet

strangely, there were no surprises among the decisions taken by the congress, and few profound or heated debates.

This is not necessarily a sign of weakness on COSATU's part. Rather, it points to the increasing organisational cohesion and sophistication of the federation. Many policy positions are debated or researched by specialist committees, in workshops and conferences, or in the Central Executive Committee (CEC) itself. Consensus positions are achieved in these forums. Thus many of the congress resolutions are simply endorsed with minor amendments.



Fourth National Congress: organisational cohesion, underlying unity, no surprises

Photo: Abdul Shariff

On the other hand, major issues which still require debate, analysis and research were referred by congress back to other forums. Thus the development of a framework for COSATU's economic policy was referred to a future economic conference; the question of COSATU's role in negotiations was referred to the CEC; and key constitutional amendments were referred to next congress, because affiliates had not discussed them adequately.

This left very few important issues to be debated through on the congress floor. The most significant debates took place on the 'many hats' issue, the question of affirmative action for women, and whether to establish a single union for

farmworkers. Even on these issues the speakers were often restating positions that have been developed in debates in other forums.

If these trends are not a weakness, they do raise serious questions about the role of the national congress in COSATU's internal life.

More voting

There is a new readiness in COSATU to resort to a vote when it is clear that consensus cannot be reached. Resolutions on a union for farmworkers and on the 'many hats' issue went to a vote, and voting was only just avoided on the resolutions on women workers. A resolution to give the COSATU CEC powers to intervene when there are divisions in an affiliate was

also defeated in a vote.

In previous congresses there was an extreme reluctance to vote, both because the culture of unity in struggle was so important, and also because political tensions were so deep in the federation. In the third congress (1989) all resolutions were adopted by consensus. The 1988 special congress managed by a hair's breadth to avoid being split down the middle by a vote on political strategy, but went to a vote on whether to call a three-day or two-day stayaway. The second congress (1987) avoided a vote on adopting the Freedom Charter because opponents were unable to forge a united position. Thorough caucusing in 1985 meant there was no need for

a vote at COSATU's founding congress.

The willingness to vote reflects a confidence among affiliates that differences on various issues will not threaten the fundamental unity of the federation. There is a large measure of consensus on the key political questions, and affiliates no longer see congress as an ideological battlefield.

Leadership elections

This is also the first COSATU congress where the election of national office-bearers has been contested.* This, too, is a sign of confidence and underlying unity.

Elijah Barayi - generally regarded as a popular but somewhat ineffectual leader - stood down as president, and Chris Dlamini (first vice-president) stood against John Gomomo (second vice-president) for this position. Gomomo was nominated by NUM, NUMSA, CWTU, SACCAWU and TGWU - unions which tend to have more nuanced or complex political views because they combine different political currents.

Dlamini was nominated by the more orthodox 'national democratic' unions: FAWU, CAWU, SARHWU, POTWA, NEHAWU and PPWAWU. Voting was by secret ballot, and Gomomo won narrowly (1175 to

1045), leaving Dlamini unopposed as first vice-president.

There seems to be no clear political significance to this contest. Dlamini - an incisive and witty chairperson - has effectively been the acting president of the federation for the past few years. He comes from the 'national democratic' background of FAWU, while Gomomo, a seasoned worker leader and shopsteward at Volkswagen, comes from the 'independent worker' tradition of NAAWU and NUMSA. But like so many of COSATU's leadership, they now share a common political perspective. Both are on the internal leadership core of the SA Communist Party.

Jay Naidoo was re-elected general secretary. The popular TGWU president Sam Shilowa (see Profile, p 90) was elected as assistant general secretary, replacing Sydney Mufamadi who goes to the ANC full-time. There were two nominees for second vice-president: Godfrey Olifant, a NUM shopsteward at De Beers and chairperson of COSATU's Northern Cape region, and Salie Manie, chairperson of SAMWU's Cape Town branch. However, only two union's nominated Manie, and his nomination was withdrawn without a vote. Ronald Mofokeng was re-elected treasurer unopposed.

Three of COSATU's six national office-bearers are active leaders of the SACP - Gomomo, Dlamini and Shilowa.

chuck

NUM/NUMSA alliance

Many of the resolutions were jointly sponsored by the two biggest affiliates, NUM and NUMSA. In fact, on all the issues that went to a vote, NUM and NUMSA voted together: against restrictions on wearing more than one hat, for a single farmworkers union, against CEC intervention in the affairs of affiliates. Both also supported the nomination of Gomomo (a NUMSA member) for president, and Olifant (a NUM member) for second vice-president.

The Big Two make a powerful bloc: over 1 000 delegates out of a total of 2 500. Their alliance arises out of several factors. Historically, NUMSA was the heavyweight union in the 'workerist' camp, while NUM was the heavyweight in the 'populist' camp. Political debates would see them slugging it out against each other.

Thus, when there was a growing consensus and recognition that unity was important in COSATU, it fell to these two unions to hammer out compromises. This was evident in the 1989 congress: NUM and NUMSA frequently debated against each other, but were

* There was a minor challenge to Makhulu Ledwaba's candidacy for second vice-president at the launching congress.

prepared to listen to each other and reach compromise.

In this years congress, however, the two cooperated even more closely with each other. The only debate which found them on opposing sides was that on advancing women's leadership. This cooperation is based on

- the historical responsibility they both shared in building unity
- an increasingly similar political perspective
- on their common experience as very big trade unions.

Thus they tend to have similar views on many of the organisational and bargaining issues facing COSATU as a rapidly growing giant federation.

While the co-operation between NUM and NUMSA has greatly strengthened and unified COSATU, it does hold some dangers. In particular, it may lead to frustration among the smaller unions as it is close to impossible for them to win a vote unless they can split the big two or win them both to their point of view.

Thus the smaller FAWU-PPWAWU- SACTWU bloc had virtually no prospect of winning their position (right or wrong) on farmworkers, once NUM and NUMSA had come out against it.

An increasing use of secret ballots may reduce this risk by eroding the tendency for union delegations to vote in blocs. Currently the practise is to vote by show of hands unless the majority



Delegates vote by show of hands: secret ballot in future?

Photo: William Motlala/COSATU

calls for a secret ballot. In fact, FAWU made a strong plea for the farmworker issue to be decided by secret ballot but failed to muster support.

The contest between Dlamini and Gomomo was decided by secret ballot, though. It provided an interesting foretaste of how this can erode bloc-voting. The unions which nominated Gomomo had 1401 delegates present, yet he received only 1175 votes. The unions supporting Dlamini had 542 delegates present.

The unions which did not nominate either candidate had 526 delegates present. There were 18 spoilt papers and 222 abstentions.

Thus a significant number of delegates in the unions nominating Gomomo must have broken union ranks by either abstaining or voting for Dlamini. There may well be a push for an increased use of secret balloting in future congresses, especially from the smaller unions.

Congresses and democracy

The willingness to take resolutions to a vote and the contestation of elections are signs, not of tension and division, but of increased democracy and unity in COSATU. The relative lack of heated and complex debate also reflects the organisational cohesion and sophistication of the federation. These trends seem to have given the office-bearers a new confidence.

The chairing of previous congresses was characterised by careful neutrality, so that points of order or procedure were endlessly debated by the house. This year both Gomomo and Dlamini chaired firmly, not hesitating to rule on procedure, to guide debate or call on the secretariat for clarification.

There may, however, be new dangers lurking in the current situation. Between 1985 and 1989 the national

Affiliate membership figures

[chuck]

UNION	1990	1991
CAWU	21 000	30 123
CWU	35 151	45 147
FAWU	77 507	129 480
NEHAWU	14 295	18 110
NUMSA	188 013	273 241
NUM	212 000	269 622
POTWA	16 842	21 467
PPWAWU	31 215	42 962
SADWU	14 525	16 462
SAMWU	23 638	60 304
SACCAWU (CCAWUSA)	72 883	96 628
SACTWU (ACTWUSA/GAWU)	177 908	185 740
SARHWU	16 400	36 243
TGWU	23 182	33 324
TOTAL	924 559	1 258 853

congresses used to be the forum where affiliates met to thrash out – or do battle over – the key issues of the day. For example, political policy and alliances in 1987; political strategy and tactics in 1988; consolidating unity and preparing for national political negotiations in 1989. Debates were passionate and complex, and the outcomes were not always predictable.

Whether the final resolutions were contested or were based on compromise and consensus, they set the political and organisational direction of COSATU. Thus delegates to congress were participants in major debates and decisions shaping the federation.

This is less true now. As argued above, issues are worked through and debated in a range of forums outside the national congress. In some ways the congress simply endorses decisions

that are already formulated elsewhere. If debates have not been resolved and involve complex analysis, it is unlikely that they will be thrashed out on the congress floor. Rather, they tend to be referred to specialist committees, the CEC, or future conferences. One of the ironies of the congress this year is that, while the theme identified the key issues, the congress was unable to discuss two of them – economic reconstruction and socialism!

Yet congress is the highest decision-making body in COSATU, and the largest assembly of worker leaders. If the tendency for decisions to be made in other forums increases, it could undermine the democratic power of the congress.

This problem is simply one aspect of the central challenge facing COSATU: how to retain and deepen workers control and

democracy as the organisation becomes ever bigger and deals with an ever-wider range of more and more complex issues.

The answer to this problem is probably not to try and reverse the trend by saddling congress with every policy decision, but rather to use each congress to assess organisational progress since the previous congress, and to focus only on the major organisational and political challenges which will face the union movement in the future.

It seems that the federation is already moving in this direction. Constitutional amendments approved by congress explicitly empower the CEC to give broad policy direction to COSATU, and provide for national congresses to be held every three years rather than every two years. This implies that congresses will be used to set broad organisational and political direction, rather than decide a range of policy issues. ♦



Organisational issues

The secretariat report to congress notes that COSATU has made great gains in membership, particularly in the public sector. But it also points out that many regions and affiliates are weak. The weakest sectors are the public sector, and

organisation of farmworkers, domestic workers and the unemployed. NEHAWU is regarded as particularly weak.

The congress decided to strengthen the public sector by working towards the formation of one public sector union. The CEC was mandated to "develop, together with the affected unions, a programmatic approach towards consolidating and expanding organisation in this sector" and also to lead public sector campaigns. This programme should also involve organisation outside COSATU, such as SADTU and POPCRU.

The congress also put pressure on SARHWU and TGWU to speed up their merger process by setting a deadline of the end of this year.

The debate over farmworker organisation was a controversial one, and was eventually resolved through a vote. The three unions which organise farmworkers, FAWU, PPWAWU (forests) and SACTWU (cotton farms), argued that COSATU should support and assist them, rather than trying to establish a single separate union for all farmworkers.

Organisationally, they argued, the entry point of unions is through industrial processing. Once a union has an organisational base in the processing plants, it has some leverage to organise the workers on the farms which supply the factories. They added that it would be difficult to find the personnel

Economic policy

Discussion of resolutions dealing with economic and industrial restructuring, and raising questions about economic bargaining, a social contract, and socialism, was referred to an economic conference to be convened by COSATU. This reflected the prevailing view that there was insufficient time to discuss these issues fully, and that worker leadership are not fully involved in the formulation of policy. The economic conference will be expected to formulate an overall economic policy framework for COSATU.

The congress did, however, adopt a powerful resolution on immediate economic negotiations in the 'Jobs for all - No retrenchments' campaign (see p. 22) ❖

and resources to launch a new, separate farmworkers union.

From an economic point of view, they argued, the farms are increasingly integrated into industrial processing. The employers on the farms and in the factories view their operations as one sector, and try to formulate overall economic policy for it.

COSATU should approach economic restructuring in the same way, and this would be facilitated by organising workers on cotton farms in one union with textile and clothing workers, or workers on food farms in the same union as workers in the factories which process food.

But these arguments were opposed by NUM, NUMSA, SACCAWU and CWIU. They argued that COSATU is based on the principle of one industry, one union, that farming forms one industry, and should be organised as such. Many unionists feel

FAWU, PPWAWU and SACTWU are motivated more by sectional interests than by the interests of farmworkers as a whole. Eventually this went to the vote, and a single union for all farmworkers was endorsed by a majority of about 400.

Campaigns

The secretariat report noted that campaign coordinating structures have been developed and campaigns are more successful than before, but pointed to a number of weaknesses. Affiliates do not prioritise campaigns, nor do they put sufficient resources into campaigns or report back adequately to their membership. The report also argues that there have been too many unconnected campaigns and separate actions.

The congress resolved to streamline campaigns by "having

- ☐ one campaign at a time
- ☐ one set of demands to one

- negotiating forum, involving both state and employers
- ☐ strong links with affiliate issues and struggles
- ☐ realistic timetables and deadlines
- ☐ a programmatic approach."

Worker control

The same resolution also aims to enhance worker control by "ensuring that

- ☐ workers are well-informed about campaigns
- ☐ all campaign committees consist of a majority of workers, elected and accountable to structures
- ☐ there is one worker-dominated campaign coordinating structure
- ☐ all COSATU subcommittees be directly accountable to constitutional structures."

This resolution echoes a concern in the secretariat report that the complex political and economic issues COSATU is increasingly engaging with, and the accelerating pace of negotiations in different forums, are undermining worker control. "An in-depth understanding of the nature of the economic crisis, industrial restructuring, etc, is generally limited to a small layer of officials and worker leaders. We need to develop a programmatic approach to developing worker leadership and generating new cadres for the union movement."

The congress resolved to strengthen staff development



Birth of giant: COSATU launch, 1985. Six years later maturity brings new challenges for worker control

Photo: Paul Weinberg/Southlight

and training and shopsteward education in order to try and address these problems.

More power to COSATU

There were several organisational proposals that were placed before congress with the aim of strengthening COSATU as a federation. Currently COSATU is constituted wholly by its affiliates: it has no autonomous structures of its own.

COSATU locals, for example, are not represented in any of the higher structures of the federation at regional or national level. Likewise, regional structures have no representation at national level. Both the CEC and the national congress are constituted exclusively by delegations from the affiliated industrial unions.

Not all national trade union federations are structured like this. In both the CGIL in Italy and CUT in Brazil, the local federation

structures have strong representation in regional federation structures, while the regions are also represented in national structures. In CGIL, for example, half of all delegates at regional congresses come from the local structures of CGIL, while half of the delegates at national structures represent the regional congresses. These delegates represent the federation rather than its affiliates. This gives federation structures real constitutional power in decision-making. It can be argued that this strengthens the ability of the federation to unify the working class by breaking down sectoral chauvinism.

Two resolutions before congress suggested that COSATU might consider developing along these lines. One proposed that two delegates from each region should attend the CEC, either with speaking or speaking

and voting rights. Another proposed that all office-bearers of COSATU locals should attend regional congresses, and that the chairperson and secretary of each local should attend regional executive committee meetings. These proposals would considerably enhance the power and authority of federation structures and office-bearers.

Unfortunately they were not debated, as they had not been adequately discussed in affiliates. Nor were proposals to specify more clearly the role, duties and powers of these structures. Another resolution proposing to expand the national office-bearers with the addition of a second assistant general secretary and a third vice-president was also not debated. Instead, the CEC was mandated to evaluate all the structures and functions of the federation, and submit any changes it felt necessary to the next congress.

Although these resolutions were not discussed, they indicate the direction of future constitutional debate. There will probably be resistance to strengthening the structures of the federation, as many affiliates are jealous of their autonomy. This was clear in the opposition to a resolution, motivated by PPWAWU, to give the CEC power to intervene in affiliates which are internally divided. It was rejected by virtually all affiliates. ♦



Women workers

The debate around how best to enhance the role of women workers was infinitely more advanced than at the last COSATU congress. The debate centred on the question of separate women's structures. Most unions argued for separate women's forums.

Some argued that women's forums should have representation on constitutional structures. CWIU argued there should be proportional representation of men and women in all structures, and that at least one national office-bearer should be a woman. No other union supported the latter proposal.

The unions with the highest proportion of women members (SACTWU and SADWU) and the lowest proportion (NUM) argued against separate structures. SACTWU reported that they had had great success with a programme of affirmative action within ordinary union structures, and quoted figures to prove it. They argued that everyone needs to take responsibility for affirmative action, and that there is no proof that separate structures are effective.

When it was clear that no agreement would be reached, the chair adjourned the debate to the following day. On the next day it was reported that union

caucusing had produced consensus on the need to employ a full-time women's coordinator, but unions remained intransigent on the issue of separate structures.

However, as the issue was about to go to the vote, SACCAWU proposed a compromise in which the status quo of separate structures (local and regional forums and a women's subcommittee of the national education committee) be maintained rather than expanded, and at the same time COSATU should call regular meetings of affiliates to discuss gender issues, as SACTWU wanted.

All unions agreed to the compromise. This was important. The resolution endorsing separate structures would probably have won in a vote, but at the cost of opposition from SACTWU which is the key women workers union.

The most important point is that COSATU will now have a full-time gender coordinator, whose task will be to monitor, assist and strengthen affirmative action in the federation and all affiliates. This should provide a significant boost to the participation and leadership of women workers. ♦



Political resolutions

As expected, the 'many hats' debate was the most contentious political issue.

CWTU, seconded by SACTWU, proposed that national office-bearers and members of Exco (in effect general secretaries and presidents of all affiliates) should not be allowed to become national leaders of other organisations. CWTU argued that wearing more than one hat would compromise the independence of the unions, over-extend leadership, and make it difficult to unify the trade union movement.

SAMWU stated that "we have fought very hard to unban our organisations, and we cannot leave them to be weak." If unions adopt a position that "forces comrades to resign from one or other organisation, we will play right into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries." Nonetheless, SAMWU felt that national office-bearers should not wear more than one hat, and that affiliates should continue debating the issue.

NUM opposed these views, arguing only that an office-bearer could not hold more than one full-time job, and that those who hold office in other organisations should prioritise union work. NUMSA seconded NUM, but added that COSATU office-bearers should represent COSATU's views when on federation business. FAWU supported the NUM-NUMSA resolution, voicing its suspicion that those who raised 'two hats' as an issue had "their own agenda".

With all parties standing firm on their positions, the chair was forced to take the

Inkathagate and mass action

The congress was outraged by the Inkathagate scandal, in which secret government funding for Inkatha and UWUSA was exposed a few days previously. A statement was drafted giving expression to this outrage. It called for the full disclosure of all secret funding and covert operations, the resignation of the government and installation of an interim government, for employers to stop deducting PAYE tax from wages, for employer bodies to make public any collusion between employers and the "forces of violence", and for employers and the international community to pressurise the regime to disclose the truth. COSATU also demanded that the regime pay reparations to the victims of violence.

The declaration threatened a mass campaign against paying of all taxes, including VAT, and promised to consult its allies and convene a patriotic front meeting to map out a programme of mass action to force the government to resign.

Calls for a general strike, stayaways, and a boycott of taxes were received with militant enthusiasm by delegates. Inkathagate may yet be the spark that re-ignites mass action by the resistance movement in South Africa. ❖

issue to a vote. The outcome was 1500 for the NUM-NUMSA resolution, 617 for CWTU-SACTWU, and 126 abstentions. The outcome was predictable, but a SACTWU official commented: "We have proven that our concern is not just the concern of a few intellectuals, but of a large bloc of delegates representing a quarter of COSATU's members. It will be back on the agenda at the next congress."

Tripartite alliance and negotiations

The outcome of the 'many hats' debate does not mean unionists are abandoning their independence. The congress "reaffirmed the organisational independence

of COSATU", and reserved "the right to be politically active and to oppose any decision that detrimentally affects us, both now and in a future non-racial democratic South Africa". The congress resolved to strengthen the ANC and SACP and build the tripartite alliance, but endorsed an assertive role for COSATU: there would be constructive self-criticism by alliance partners, full information about alliance meetings, and no alliance partner could unilaterally change decisions agreed upon by the alliance.

The negotiation resolution reiterates COSATU support for a constituent assembly and interim government, and supports participation in an

all-party conference by all national parties and organisations. The congress resolved not to decide on whether COSATU should participate directly in negotiations, but empowered the CEC "to review the negotiations process and our participation in it on an ongoing basis. ❖

International affiliation

The key decision on international issues was the decision to affiliate to the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and "empower the CEC to develop a programme to make an effective contribution to this organisation". The congress resolved to "pay attention to strengthening the union movement throughout the



OATUU's Hassan Sunmonu at COSATU

Photo: Abdul Shariff

sub-continent", to continue participating in the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC), and to work with it for the "adoption and popularisation of a Southern African Workers Charter incorporating demands for basic social, economic and union rights for workers in

the region".

Reflecting a positive assessment of recent meeting with unions of the Pacific Rim and Brazil, the congress also resolved to strengthen links with unions of the Pacific Rim, the Indian subcontinent, South America and Australasia, which are seen as "crucial to our economic future".

On North-South links, congress resolved to "normalise" relations with ICFTU, WFTU and WCL, while rejecting affiliation to any of them. The resolution argued that relations with national union centres in the industrialised countries should be retained, but COSATU should "reduce our emphasis on receiving material aid from these centres and move towards a more general solidarity and sharing of expertise and resources." ☆

Resolutions

The Tripartite Alliance

1 We reaffirm our commitment to the tripartite alliance with the ANC and SACP. This alliance is the engine of our struggle for fundamental transformation.

2 Building the Alliance

2.1 We remain committed to building the alliance at local, regional and national levels.

2.2 We commit ourselves to educate and encourage our members to join the ANC and SACP.

2.3 The alliance at a national level should look at the question of demarcation at lower levels to ensure the smooth functioning of the alliance at these levels.

3 We reaffirm the organisational independence of COSATU and our policy not to affiliate to any political party. We retain the right to be politically active and will act against any decision that detrimentally affects our members, both now and in a future non-racial democratic South Africa.

4 We see the alliance being based on:

- democratic principles of mandates and report-backs
- consensus decisions
- full disclosure of information
- the full independence of each organisation
- effective co-ordinating structures at all levels
- a unifying, mass-based programme of action
- joint planning and organisation of agreed alliance campaigns
- prior consultation on major policy issues and mass actions
- constructive self criticism of the alliance partners within the broad framework of our programme.

5 No party to the alliance can unilaterally change any decisions agreed upon at an alliance level. We see the alliance as involving equal partners.

6 We will prioritise within the alliance:

- joint mass campaigns which complement and

strengthen the negotiations process

- a long-term strategy to deal with the problem of violence
- the promotion of policies and decisions which reflect working class interests

7 Patriotic Front

7.1 We support the establishment of a broad Patriotic Front whose primary focus is to unite organisations of the oppressed and all those who support the call for a Constituent Assembly.

7.3 The tasks of the PF should be a united mass campaign and programme of action for:

- peace,
- unity,
- a constituent assembly based on one person one vote on a common voters role.

7.4 A preparatory committee should be established as a matter of urgency and liaise with present formations in preparation for the building of the PF at local, regional and national levels.

7.2 All participating organisations should have a culture of political tolerance.

7.5 COSATU should be part of the Patriotic Front.
Jobs for All, No Retrenchments Campaign, and Saccola/State Negotiations.

1.1 Objectives

1.1.1 To achieve the short term programme described above we need to embark on a process of negotiations with employers and the state.

1.1.2 Our objective should be to combine a programme of negotiation and action to pressurise the employers and the state to take steps to end retrenchments, create jobs and put into motion a programme that will ensure that the economy grows to the benefit of the majority of the people.

2 Principles to underlie the campaign.

2.1 We should have short and medium term demands. If we are able to win some demands fairly quickly, it will build morale, mobilise our members and commit affiliates to the process.

2.2 This means we will need to prioritise certain demands so that we can show some results fairly quickly. This does not mean that we should not pursue the other demands: however, those demands will take much longer to negotiate to completion.

2.3 This should be COSATU's major campaign for the next 18 months and affiliates must prioritise it. Other initiatives and campaigns must be linked to this so that we have one set of demands.

2.4 The campaign needs to be accompanied by intensive education and mobilisation of our members so that we can take effective mass action if the negotiations deadlock.

2.5 We need to keep our allies, fraternal organisations and other forces in the patriotic front

informed about the campaign and consult with them wherever necessary. A joint forum for this purpose needs to be established with the alliance.

2.6 We need to strive to involve other trade union federations and independent trade unions in the negotiations process, in support of our demands.

3 Demands

COSATU should fight for a moratorium on all retrenchments

3.1 Priority demands

(I) Job creation and an end to job loss.

SACCOLA and the State must agree to negotiate:

a) major job creation programmes (e.g. affordable housing, affordable electrification etc.) Job creation schemes need to be negotiated centrally as much as possible.

b) SACCOLA and the State must guarantee:

- No job loss
- Union rights in all companies so that workers can be fully involved in the discussion of these issues;
- Negotiation of:
 - changes to the organisation of production and skills;
 - use of profit;
 - investment decisions;
 - decisions about what to produce;
 - research and development;
 - introduction of new technology and new production techniques.

(II) An end to privatisation, commercialisation and investment of state money without negotiation with the labour movement.

(III) Workers should be retained not retrenched. There should be a nationally integrated education and training framework.

(IV) No VAT on basic foodstuffs, medicines and trade union subscriptions

(V) SACCOLA should agree to fund a feasibility study on the reconversion of hostels.

(VI) Government to stick to its commitment to restructure the NMC and negotiate with the labour movement on all legislation which affects workers.

3.2 Other demands

(I) An end to racial discrimination in social pensions, and reduction in normal retirement age to 55 years for men and women.

(II) Wage gaps should be reduced.

(III) A 40 hour week.

(IV) Affordable and accessible national health care system.

(V) Efficient, affordable and safe public transport.

(VI) A living UIF for unemployed workers.

(VI) There should be centralised bargaining. ♦