

Forward to  
COSATU's  
3rd National Congress  
July 12th - 15th  
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Educate,  
Consolidate and  
Advance to  
Victory!

COSATU - a giant is born  
COSATU was formed in  
December 1985 in the middle  
of the first State of  
Emergency of the eighties. 33  
unions, with a paid-up  
membership of nearly half a  
million workers, attended the  
launching Congress in  
Durban.

COSATU's founding  
principles were : one union  
one industry, one country one  
federation; non-racialism;  
worker democracy and worker  
control; paid-up membership  
and national co-operation and  
solidarity action. COSATU, in  
the preamble to its  
constitution, committed itself  
to "a unified democratic  
society free of oppression and  
economic exploitation" and  
said that "this can only be  
achieved under the leadership  
of a united working class".

By COSATU's Second  
National Congress in 1987 -  
which took place in the  
middle of the 3rd State of  
Emergency - COSATU's  
paid-up membership had  
grown to 712,000 workers  
organised into 13 national  
industrial unions. Almost all  
affiliates had merged to form  
single industrial unions.

COSATU's paid-up  
membership for the 3rd  
National Congress will be  
about 900,000 members. This  
includes the 122,342 combined  
membership of POTWA and  
GAWU whose members have  
joined COSATU since the last  
Congress. In terms of growth  
alone, this is an enormous  
achievement virtually  
unequaled by the working  
class anywhere else in the  
world. Although we have a lot  
to be proud of, we still have a  
great deal to achieve.

COSATU has survived  
countless attacks including  
bombings of our premises and  
seizures of Our documents and  
media; severe restrictions on  
our activities; the detention of  
thousands of our members;  
the murder of many of our  
members and leaders and the  
mass dismissal and  
retrenchment of tens of  
thousands of workers.

At the same time COSATU's  
Living Wage Campaign ,  
Hands Off COSATU  
Campaign and the anti-LRA  
Campaign have succeeded in  
mobilising millions of workers

in mass action. These actions include mass stayaways on May Day, June 16th and March let as well as the three day general strike against the LRA and restrictions on our organisations in 1988. The organised working class came of age in this period. The mass democratic movement is based on the leading role of the working class in our liberation struggle; on building national mass-based democratic organisation controlled by its members and struggling for an end to oppression and economic exploitation. The goals of the working class - the vast majority of the population - are the goals of all oppressed people.

COSATU

National Congress

What is it ?

COSATU's National Congress is held every two years. It is the highest decision-making body of the federation.

Paid-up membership of affiliates is represented at the Congress on the basis of 1 delegate for every 500 members. The Congress can make changes to COSATU's Constitution, discuss and adopt policy resolutions and elect the national office-bearers of the federation.

Who will attend besides affiliates ?

Many comrades from fraternal organisations are being invited to attend the Congress. Representatives from our allied organisations in the mass democratic movement will attend the whole Congress as observers with speaking rights. In addition numerous guests from trade union organisations in many countries have been invited. We invited trade unions from Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia to attend the Congress. In line with our policy of active non-alignment we have invited trade union centres from non-aligned countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, India, Ghana, Nigeria, Angola and Mozambique. Western countries including Sweden, Norway, Holland, Denmark and Finland and Italy have

been invited as well as  
socialist countries like  
Hungary, the Soviet Union  
and Czechoslovakia. In  
addition international .  
federations like OATUU and  
CTU C are coming. Many

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fraternal organisations from South Africa have also been invited. Especially important in this years Congress will be invitations extended to the independant unions and NACTU in line with our policy of building unity.

What will be on the agenda ?

Draft agenda:

- Openingaddress ,
- Credentials Report
- Presidents Addres
- Secretariat Report
- Namibian speaker
- MDM speaker
- Short address by church representative
- Short address by a representative of our fraternal allies internationally
- Confirmation of minutes of the 2nd National Congress
- Discussion on Secretariat report
- Constitutional amendments
- Resolutions
- Elections
- Closure

What else will be happening ?

COSATU's 3rd Congress will

How will the unions be represented?

COSATUS credentials committee has decided on the following delegations for each aiEliate on

the basis of their gaid-ut) membershig:

With our signed-up membership COSATU represents over 1 million members.

also be the occasion for a celebration of peoples culture.

011 the 7th there will be a panel discussion called "Education and Media before and after apartheid'. On the 8th there will be a day of culture with MDM cultural wing speakers, a book launch, poetry, music and a photographic exhibition.

On the 9th there will be a whole day of plays poetry, music, dance and speakers.

Almost all the cultural events will take place at NASREC - including the Cultuttal Open Day where there will be many hours of non-stop music.A R5 donation will be payable at this event. All workers must mobilise to get as many comrades as possible to the Open Day where cultural actvists from throughout the country will present their work.

How will it happen ?

Every union is expected to come to the Congress with a mandate from its members on allthe issues to be discussed

at Congress. The broad areas  
of discussion on resolutions  
are those issues arising out of  
Union Membership Delegates

ACTWUSA 72408 145

CAWU 21000 42

CCAWUSA 69823 140

CWIU 35151 71

GAWU 105500 211

FAWU 77507 156

NEHAWU 1 4 2 9 5 2 9\_

NUM 212 000 424

NUMSA 188013 377

NUWCC \_ ' 25

POTWA 16842 34

PPWAWU 3 1215 63

SADWU 14525 30

SAMWU 23638 48

SARHWU 16400 33

T&GWU 23182 47

TOTAL 921497 1875

our struggle in today's  
context.

COSATU's 3rd National  
Congress is taking place at a  
momentous time in our  
history when our society is in  
the process of being  
transformed from the  
nightmare of apartheid and  
capitalist exploitation to a  
society free from the shackles  
of economic and political  
enslavement.

It has been almost two years  
since COSATU last met to  
chart the way forward. In  
that time COSATU has '  
travelled a path emblazoned  
Page3

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by the heroic struggles.  
sacrifices and victories of the  
organised working class. Not  
only has COSATU emerged as  
the centre of organised and  
militant workers but is  
playing an increasingly  
central role in our liberation  
struggle.

We will meet at a time when  
the Fourth State of  
Emergency is barely one  
month old. The intensity of  
the apartheid reign of terror  
has not decreased. The right  
to speak, write, meet and  
organise is still being  
suppressed. Bannings and  
restrictions on scores of  
organisations and hundreds  
of activists continue unabated.  
Thousands of people have  
been murdered by well-armed  
vigilantes licensed by the  
apartheid state. The regime  
has not just brought misery  
and suffering to the oppressed  
people of SA but to millions  
on the sub-continent.  
One of the greatest  
achievements of democratic  
mass organisation has been  
its survival in spite of 4 years  
of emergency rule. The  
emergency period has also  
seen the growing ideological  
coherence and unity in action  
between COSATU, the  
affiliates of the UDF and  
FOR H21 RI)

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other mass formations. This  
phenomenon expresses itself  
as the mass democratic  
movement - a powerful  
alignment of democratic forces  
in our country.

The challenges that face the  
MDM at this juncture are :

- ' the strengthening and  
building of grassroots  
structures in all sectors
- ' the building of structured  
links between the different  
sectors of the MDM at local  
and regional level
- 0 deepening the ideological  
content and clarity in our  
ranks by encouraging open  
discussions on the  
constitutional guidelines,
- ' achieving democracy and  
socialism in SA,
- 0 the issue of negotiations  
and other aspects of our  
vision of the future and our  
path to their realisation
- 0 making it impossible for the  
apartheid regime to regain

the political initiative  
0 mobilising the broadest  
support of our people for the  
struggle against the LRA  
0 building the mass  
movement for peace in  
Natal

0 mobilising mass solidarity  
for SWAPO and the people  
of Namibia

' building the anti-apartheid  
co-alition

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When COSATU was born on  
December 1st 1985 under the  
first State of Emergency we  
said :

'A giant is born that will make  
its mark on South Africa.'

Let us in this 3rd National  
Congress and the period  
hereafter make this a reality.  
Let us take our debates,  
decisions and resolutions and  
make them the iron fist of  
liberation.

let us march forward on the  
theme of this Congress - "  
Educate, consolidate and  
advance to victory"

Your preparations for  
Congress

Every worker attending the  
Congress must make sure  
that all of these issues have  
been properly discussed and  
debated in your union  
BEFORE coming to the  
Congress.

Every delegate must make  
sure that the position of your  
union at the Congress is the  
mandated position that the  
membership have given to  
your union's delegates before  
the Congress. This is the only  
way that COSATU Congress  
can truly be a Congress of the  
organised workers of South  
Africa; a Congress that speaks  
with the voice of rank and file  
workers.

CONGRESS



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ongress  
Cultural  
I 8th - 9th July  
at Book launch at MDM cultural wing speakers at music  
it poetry at t-shirts i: photographic exhibition it plays  
3': dance  
Venue: NASRECauditorium 8.30am - 8.30 am  
I16th July  
COSATU Congress Cultural Day  
People's Music Day Donation: R5  
NASREC Hall 7  
For information contact  
your COSATU Regional Educator  
UCI your cultural groups ready!

FINAL DRAFT AGENDA

COSATU NATIONAL CONGRESS

12th - 15th July 1989

WEDNESDAY 12-7-89

Congress begins at 1 Cam with National Anthem

1. Opening remarks
2. Opening address
3. Credentials Committee and Resolutions Committee reports
4. Presidential Address
5. Confirmation of minutes of 2nd National Congress
6. Speaker from the Churches
7. Secretariat Report

Messages of support will be read out between the various addresses

Discussion on Secretariat Report

Focus on :

- Assessment of COSATU
- LRA Campaign
- Peace in Natal
- Negotiations
- Anti-Apartheid Coalition

Congress adjourns at 7.30pm

SUPPER - 7.30pm to 9.30 pm

THURSDAY 13-7-89

Congress begins at 10am

1. Speaker from Donors
2. Speaker from Mass Democratic Movement
3. Constitutional Amendments
  - 3.1 National omce-Bearers T&GWU
  - 3.2 Clause 12.1 Increase in afmiation fees CWIU/FAWU
  - 3.3 Clause.7.4.3 Reference to gender CWIU
  - 3.4 Clause 6.4.4 Deanition of 0133ch NUM
4. Political policy resolutions
  - 4.1 Constitutional Guidelines NUM
  - 4.2. Workers' Charter - Composite NUM. ACTWUSA, T&GWU
  - 4.3 Constitutional Guidelines and the Freedom Charter T&GWU '
  - 4-4 Building the mass democratic movement T&GWU, CWIU, NUMSA

4.5 Process of political settlement NUMSA

4.6 Anti-Apartheid Coalition NUM

4.7 Save the Patriots NUM

4.8 Building shop floor structures CWIU

Congress acyouns at 1 0.30pm

FRIDAY 14-7-89

Congress begins at 1 Cam

1. Labour Relations Campaign Composite NUM. NUMSA

2. Building trade union unity Composite CWIU, NUMSA

3. Unity in CCAWUSA Resolutions Committee

4. Natal peace Resolutions Committee

5. Violence NUMSA

6. Organising in the homelands NUM

7. Co-operatives NUM

8. Unemployment as per CEC decision

9. Anti-aids campaign T&GWU

10. Self-sufficiency Composite CWIU, FAWU

11. Womens leadership T&GWU

12. Sexual conduct T&GWU

13. National Womens Organisation NUM

Congress adjourns at 10.30pm

SATURDAY 15-7-89

Congress begins at 1 0am

1. Speaker from Namibia

2. Namibia NUM

3. International Policy PPWAWU

4. Disinvestment CWIU

5. Sanctions Resolutions Committee

6. Domestic Workers SADWU

7. Privatisation/deregulation SARHWU

8. Elections

9. Closure

MEAL TIMES:

LUNCH - 1pm to 2.30pm

SUPPER - 7.30 to 9.30pm

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LannznnLiannL: National Centres

Enznng: Sweden (L0). Finland (SAX). Denmark EE9)'

Holland (FRY). England (TUC), France (CFDT. Lu).

Italy (COIL). Ireland (TUC). German? (093).

Aininn: Namibia (NUNW), Zambian (ZCTU). Nigeria

(NLC). Ghana (TUC). Kenya (COTU). Angola.

Mozambique. Zimbabwe (ZCTU), Swaziland. Botswana.

Lesotho.

German Democratic Republic. USSR. Hungary. Cuba.

Czechoslovakia, Rumania.

Anzlnn

Canada (CLC). Nicaragua. Brazil (CUT). Chile.

Bolivia. AFLCIO. Caribbean countries.

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India. Philippines (KHU), Japan.

Ananzalia

Australia (ACTU). New Zealand

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Palestinian trade union.

Federations International Organisations

?OATUU - Organisation of Trade Union Unity

CTUC\_- Commonwealth Trade Union Congress

HFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions

ICFTU - International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

UN - United Nations

ILO - International Labour Organisation

SQMIH\_AERICA&

3 Unions: NACTU. all Independent unions

b. HDH : 2 per region # 2 from national

c. RELIGIONS: 1 per organisation. SACC. SACBC. ICT.

IDAHASA. Call of Islam

d. SPORTS: 2 per organisation SACOS, NSC & Soccer.

0. TEACHERS:

Those guests should be allowed observer status for the whole congress. '

NUNW SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO COSATU THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS.  
Revolutionary salutations on the accession of the Cosatu Third National Congress. Apologies from Ya Otto, Shaetonhodi and other NEC members invited to this Congress but who could not attend due to other commitments.

2. Solidarity: Cde President our presence at this vital congress has historic and traditional roots; and is a manifestation of the spirit of practical and revolutionary solidarity between the Namibian and South African workers as well as the broad oppressed/exploited/colonised masses under the leadership of their vanguard tested and proven liberation movements SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa.

Our simple message to this Congress and the people of South Africa is:

Yesterday it was all independent Africa, today it is Namibia and tomorrow it will definitely be South Africa to achieve the long sought ideals of mass democracy, freedom and self-determination. However, these will not occur by chance or as favour from some individual or super power, but through our own strength, sweat, blood and dedication.

Our coloniser and exploiter - racist minority S A regime - has also been your oppressor and humiliator. Our victory, therefore, will pave the way and speed up your freedom and mass democratic rule to enable the people to govern.

At the level of labour: the capitalists and multi-nationals who exploit Namibian and South African natural and human resources are the very same people: De Beers, Rio Tinto Zinc, Goldfields, etc. Through various meetings and seminars between Cosatu and NUNW as well as their various industrial union affiliates we are trying to investigate the activities and policies of capitalists, exert solidarity pressure within the same company in South Africa or Namibia, and educate our members. Yet Cde President, we have industrial unions under Cosatu and NUNW who do not have any direct contact with their counterparts in Namibia and South Africa. Let all of us reach out to our comrades in arms.

3. Cosatu Third National Congress

There is no need for me to emphasise the crucial importance of this Congress to South Africa, the sub region and the world. We are all awaiting your conclusions on the way forward. Various forces inside and outside S A are considering various solutions for the political as well as the economic crisis. Some prominence is being given to "negotiated settlement" and "a negotiated W" -

For decades the word negotiation did not exist in the vocabulary of racist S A (and if negotiations must be conducted with Blacks it was doubly impossible). What happened then?

Militarily racist S A has been defeated in various battles in Angola, concluding in the significant battle of Cuito Cuanavale by gallant fighters of Cuba, Angola, PLAN and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Various boycotts, sanctions, strikes and the emergence of a united strong labour movement; and after Cuito racist S A is being forced to opt for the humiliation of a "negotiated settlement".

We have no doubt that the only suitable and lasting solution will emerge from within South Africa from the mass democratic movement. However, this mass democratic movement must have unity of purpose and action. The truth is that we are to achieve this unity under the most abnormal conditions (you have ... ongoing State of Emergency; restrictions, detentions and hanging of patriots and activists, - new Labour Relations Act; army, para-military and security police infiltrating the townships. For your information most of the units that used to operate in Namibia are fully deployed within the boundaries of South Africa); and within a short period and by a divided or fragmented mass democratic movement.

Notorious pro Units of the racist army (previously based at Omenga (Khoi-San), Kambambi as well as the Portugese speaking buffalo units have been moved totally to 8.1. and are based at Vryburg and elsewhere in S.A. They are being trained in Pretoria and will be used in townships, to break up strikes and demonstrations, or operate UNITA-RENAMO style in Namibia. It seems as if we are not divided due to different ideologies or political membership and religion ("communists and Marxists" of different variations, and socialists) only but also "charterists" and "workerist". Cde President for a solution advise or allow me to refer Congress to the theme of the Third National Congress: Egugate. Consolidate ggg Advance to Vigtgry. Congress must honestly but critically evaluate the past, view through resolutions the economy and socio-political realities of S A and indicate the Way Ahead. Alongside these gigantic tasks millions remain still unemployed and unorganised. No doubt, the leadership of Cosatu and NUNW will continue discussions to find ways and means of realising practical solidarity between the workers of SA and Namibia. There are Namibia Solidarity Committees on national, regional and local level within the federation and industrial unions. On the NUM resolution on Namibia congress could consider COSATU initiating or being part of monitoring groups visiting Namibia on a rotating basis to scrutinise the registration, election and general social conditions in Namibia. The NUM resolution on Namibia and the FAWU T shirt on a SWAPO victory are strongly recommended.

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Besides battles to organise and mobilise workers NUNW affiliates are threatened by privatisation of the public sector (transport and service institutions to hospitals, schools, Pension Fund worth R900 million etc. have already been privatised); unions are denied registration while sweetheart unions without members are registered. Various committees exist in domestic sector and nursing profession, but thousands are still unorganised (agriculture) and many more unemployed.

During June 1989 NUNW had its First Consolidation Congress bringing together for the first time its external and internal wings inside Namibia.

## 2. SWAPO:

(a) RES 435: Bloody implementation on 1 April 1989, but it is still on track and despite slight delays we are hopeful that after over 104 years of colonisation we are going to the polls for the very first time in November 1989 and establish a Swapo government in Namibia. It is not a secret that racist SA cannot be trusted to be an impartial broker in the implementation process (favouritism towards its puppets; ethnic administrations, army and Koevoet will remain on their payroll during transition period; and biased reporting by SWABC).

The original number of 7500 for UNTAG and full deployment all over Namibia must be adhered to if not doubled. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary General must fulfil the powers bestowed on him by Res.435 and the Security Council, and not allow SA to control or intimidate Untag.

(b) Repatriation: Thousands of Namibians are returning back under quite unfavourable conditions. War zone not normal and they are getting R10.00 and monthly food, limited rations once they leave the camps. Some comrades are the only survivors of Kassinga and other massacres, or born and bred in exile; they have difficulties in tracing their relatives; workers have to accommodate them in already overcrowded match-box houses and on their starvation wages.

(c) Registration /Voting: Some 100 000 out of a potential /650 000 voters have already registered, others have a chance until 15 September 1989. Difficulty of reaching each and every potential voter in a large country with low scattered population. Limited time of operation of the said offices: Monday to Friday 08H00 - 17H00, Saturday (08H00 to 13H00). Capitalists tend to influence and force their workers to vote in favour of SA puppets in order to keep their jobs. SA whites born in Namibia to Namibians are going to register/vote in Namibia for racist SA puppets.

We call upon the mass democratic movement to organise and assist all South Africans born in Namibia or to one or both Namibian parents to go to Namibia to register and vote for SWAPO.

International Labour: Cosatu has taken the road of non-alignment and benefit from all possible progressive establishments. The fact is that the International Labour Movement is divided into various camps (capitalist and socialist being the major trends). Cde President, allow me the arrogance of suggesting the near to impossible. We the revolutionary struggling workers of the Third World have the duty to implement the original desire of the working class: "Workers of the World Unite" because the capitalists are united in their multi-nationals; as well as their unity of purpose in starving and exploiting the working class. Let us unite in purpose and action as workers.

Congress has been introduced to some interference and anti liberation NACTU/affiliates' activities inside Namibia. NACTU as a reported affiliate of ICFTU is undertaking to be an agent in transferring ICFTU funds to NTU and other puppet structures, claiming that NUNW's

existence is only due to SWAPO and that our federation will crumble as soon as SWAPO loses the election. NACTU and ICFTU, please let racist S.A. give you some practical experience and advice. The SACWU has been reported as issuing membership cards to our MANWU members in Walvis Bay working for a construction company. Through you comrade President, we invite the NACTU delegation to clear these matters with us.

B: NAMIBIA

Cde President allow me to brief Congress on Namibia.

1. Labour

NUNW and its affiliates (NAFAU, MUN, MANWU, NAPWU, NATAU and NANTU) have adopted resolutions to give their full moral and material support to Swapo in the Resolution 435 campaign - a decision originating from the overwhelming Swapo membership amongst the said unions, and the historical role the workers played in the origin of both SWAPO and NUNW. Furthermore it is known fact that only SWAPO can win a free and a fair election in Namibia, while racist SA and its puppets are all out to prevent the realisation of a Swapo victory.

The only mass democratic student body in Namibia, NANSO, at its recent congress adopted a resolution not only to give moral and material support but also to affiliate to SWAPO.

Despite the fact that we are operating under outdated colonial labour legislation we have had various strikes, demonstrations and disputes with the capitalists and racists eg a Wiehahn Commission of enquiry has been established to look into labour legislation in Namibia and make recommendations.



(d) victimisation /Intimidation: Puppets are erecting posters misleading workers that only their members are to register there. Koevoet/Kanyas serving in police, workers are not allowed to register during working hours, limited permanent registration centres in rural areas are some of the forms of victimisation and intimidation..

(e) Walvis Bay: Racists claim that it is not part of Namibia, no registration centers exist there and workers will be forced to register and vote in Swakopmund (some 37 km away). Swapo is not allowed to own property or an office in Walvis Bay, but the DTA (SA puppet) has an operating office. Namibians born in Walvis Bay and their children are barred from registering and voting.

(f) PLAN Fighters: Racists demand that these sons and daughters of Namibia be restricted to base in Angola beyond the 16th parallel, while Koevoet and army are amongst the people. Last week thousands of workers and students (NANTU, NAPWU, NATAU and NANSO members) staged a protest strike for 3 days against privatisation, Koevoet presence in police...). Racist AG Pienaar failed to get a court order terming the strike illegal and politically motivated.

(g) Election Manifesto: Following up on its vanguard role over nearly 3 decades on the political, diplomatic and military fronts Swapo of Namibia started its election campaign on 2 July 1989 with the introduction of its election manifesto at a mass rally attended by 26-30 thousand people. This document is not a constitution but gives indications on the philosophy, the state, foreign policy, citizenship, language, state 5 religion, economy, science 6 technology, health, education, culture, rural development, housing, women, youth & students, labour movement, armed forces, mass media, corruption, public finance and electoral policy of Swapo. Cde. President allow me to avail this document to Cosatu and its affiliates to share with the membership.

(h) Releasing Detainees

While Swapo has released all the racist SA agents and some have arrived in Namibia while Namibian political detainees are still being detained and the racist regime is attempting to classify some of them as criminals. However, the very same terrorist regime is selfishly classify its bandits captured in Angola as Prisoners of War.

But, why Swapo? Swapo stood firm in defending the rights and interests of Namibians where others weavered and compromised and even got co-opted and compromised and even got co-opted by racist colonialists. Taking over and concluding the heroic struggles of Maharero, Mandume, Witbooi and many sons and daughters Swapo remained just Swapo for nearly 3 decades while many others vanished.

i. Racist SA and puppets are busy with futile attempts to lure with empty promises Herero speaking Botswana citizens ( about 40,000) to Namibia in order to vote for them.

j. Public servants (teachers, nurses and clerks) are forced into political neutrality by racist demands not to occupy leadership positions or play an active role during and after work, in political parties and their activities. In conclusion, Cde President, allow to me to extend to you, Cosatu and its affiliates our gratitude and . appreciation for the warm hospitality accorded to es since our arrival. We felt at home, shared in your experience during debates, speeches, culture and the spirit of congress .

Finally: Educate, Consolidate, Advance to Victory; and let the People govern.

OFFICE BEARERS ELECTED AT COSATU'S THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS  
PRESIDENT ELIJAH BARAYI  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT CHRIS DLAMINI  
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN GOMOMO  
TREASURER I RODNEY MOFOKENG  
GENERAL SECRETARY JAY NAIDOO  
ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY SYDNEY MUFAMADI

## NUM Resolution on Constitutional Guidelines

This Congress noting that:

- (a) The apartheid regime and the racial policies of the National Party have sown deep division and encouraged interracial hostilities among South Africans to uphold white minority rule.
- (b) Under the brutal racist regime fundamental human rights are denied to the majority of the population purely on the basis of colour.
- (c) Rampant exploitation of the working class continues unabated.
- (d) The panic-stricken white minority ruling clique is presently experiencing the worst crisis ever since the Nationalist came into power in 1948.

And believing that:

The apartheid constitution was not aimed to protect the interests and basic human rights of the majority of South Africans.

Apartheid and capitalism can be destroyed in a restructuring process of the state based on the

Freedom Charter can begin now, aimed at achieving a non-racial society and thereby provide a firm

basis for national reconciliation and cooperation between the different communities.

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) Discussions be intensified by the mass democratic movement with a view to shaping a democratic constitutional model of a future democratic South Africa.
- (b) These discussions must centre around the Constitutional Guidelines as proposed by the African National Congress.

- (c) COSATU and its allies must initiate open discussion and debate in its structures at local, regional and national level.

## TGWU Resolution on Economic Trends

This Congress noting:

1. That the Constitutional Guidelines raises points about the future economy.
2. That the workshops within COSATU on economic trends have been a source of important discussion on understanding the present economy and putting forward principles for the future.
3. That such discussions need to be intensified within COSATU and that ideas need to be exchanged with our allies.

Therefore resolves:

To intensify discussion within our structures, and with our allies, towards:

1. developing a clear understanding of how the South African economy works.
2. developing a clear plan as to how to restructure the economy to meet the needs of our people in a non-racial democratic South Africa.

## NUMSA Resolution on the Process of Political Settlement

This Congress noting:

1. That the South African regime has effectively banned all internal progressive political opposition, restricted COSATU and detained without trial hundreds of our people under emergency security legislation.
2. That the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement remains imprisoned or exiled, with the ANC, SACP and other organisations banned and their activities outlawed.
3. That the SAPIADF still occupy our township to enforce emergency rule by instilling terror in the lives of the masses.

Further Noting:

1. That imperialism and Thatcher in particular are intent on initiating a settlement that protects their interests and those of the racist minority.
2. That there can be no negotiation without full freedom of political assembly and association for the oppressed and exploited masses.
3. That if there is any negotiated settlement it can only have meaning where there is free and open political association, assembly and debate in the true spirit of worker control and democracy.

Therefore resolves:

1. To reject any attempt to impose reformist solutions which do not address our fundamental

tal social

and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Attica.

2. That there can be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to such negotiations is

unilaterally created by the South African regime by fulfilling the following conditions:

2.1 Unconditional unbanning of all banned organisations.

2.2 Unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners.

2.3 Unconditional return of all exiles.

2.4 Confinement of SAP/SADF to barracks.

2.5 Lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of all security legislation.

2.6 The end of all political trials and executions.

3. To call upon frontline states. OAU and all international forums to increase pressure on the regime

to meet the above requirements so that a climate conducive to negotiation prevails.

4. To ensure in the event of negotiations taking place that the masses of our people are involved in \_

shaping the process so that no negotiations take place without the democratic participation of the

people.

5. That only a sovereign body mandated by the people and accountable to the people as a whole can

have the authority to develop a new constitution and decide on the method of implementation.

6. To avoid any settlement being imposed on our masses the MDM should initiate discussions aimed

at developing a common position.

7. To reiterate our demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa based on one person one vote.

## BUILDING THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

### NOTING

1. That the 1987 Cosatu policy resolution called for the building of permanent structures at local, regional, and national levels with the other sectors of the democratic movement.
2. That we have not taken this part of our resolution seriously and have not been effective enough in putting it into practice.
3. The need for a working class programme of action for unifying and strengthening the working class.
4. That Cosatu is an integral component of the MDM.

### BELIEVING

1. That despite the most vicious repression under emergency rule the spirit of defiance and the mood to resist remains strong amongst the mass of the people as evidenced in the June 1988 protest and the October 1988 elections.
2. That some structures of the community organisations have been weakened by repression and by strategies of the state and capital to divide the working class. Consequently we need to rebuild and strengthen clearly defined structures with mass support in our communities.
3. That organised workers have a duty and responsibility to contribute to the building and strengthening of independent working class organisation within the broad democratic movement. This is Cosatu's principal task.
4. That Cosatu is an integral part of the MDM and together with other sectors of the MDM we must constantly reassess and adapt the structures of the MDM, based on our past experience in order to effectively prosecute the struggle.

### THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. To further reaffirm our belief in the leading role of the working class in struggle for democracy and socialism.
2. To reaffirm our commitment to the strategic alliance of Cosatu and UDF as crucial for unifying a wide range of anti-apartheid organisations from all classes and sectors of our people.
3. To continue with a process of reassessment of the structures of the MDM designed to rebuild and strengthen them. To avoid the weaknesses of excessive fragmentation we should focus on the following three major areas :-
  - 3.1 Every street having a street committee democratically elected , every area an area committee, every town a local general committee, every region a regional committee of elected representatives from all towns and building a centralised national civic structure from elected representatives of the regional committees. The civic structures should be open to any oppressed and exploited resident who is elected to a street committee irrespective of political persuasion, ideology or affiliation.
  - 3.2 Ensuring effective co-ordination between the civic structure and other sector organisations.
  - 3.3 Encouraging sector organisations such as youth, women, students etc to consolidate and develop national structures which have effective and democratic structures at branch, regional, and national levels.

### WE FURTHER RESOLVE IN REGARD TO COSATU

1. To reaffirm that the trade union movement should retain their independence and decision making structures.
2. To reaffirm that Cosatu should strengthen and extend its disciplined alliance with the mass democratic structures at local regional and national levels and develop a joint programme of action around national, regional and local issues to facilitate the rebuilding and strengthening of the structures of the MDM at all levels.
3. Union members should become active members and participants in strengthening and rebuilding local, regional and national structures. In this process of rebuilding we should :
  - 3.1 Actively support community campaigns.
  - 3.2 Encourage our locals to jointly organise joint education programmes and debates with community organisations.
  - 3.3 Direct Cosatu locals to actively identify what is happening

in the communities and to liase with community organisations on issues.

3.4 Direct locals in liason with community organisations to be responsible for planning defence activities against all forms of state repression and violence.

4. That at local and regional levels Cosatu shall be free to form tactical alliances with anti apartheid organisations of other sectors of the community. These alliances should be ad hoc alliances depending on local conditions.

5. Cosatu rejects any strategic alliance with representatives of big capital and participants in apartheid state structures.

# NUM RESOLUTION ON ANTI-APARTHEID COALITION

NOTING.

1. South African people are divided by the apartheid regime committed to tyranny;
2. There are no guarantees of human rights;
3. The state has tried to use repression to crush the MDM by;
  - 3.1 banning the UDF and other progressive organisations;
  - 3.2 imposing restrictions on Cosatu
  - 3.3 introducing the Labour Relations Amendment Act;
  - 3.4 banning the Anti-Apartheid Conference.
4. Increasing fragmentation of the social base of the Nationalist Party is leading to the disintegration of their political and ideological cohesion.

BELIEVING THAT;

1. It is important to isolate apartheid.
2. The process of building an Anti-Apartheid Coalition has began in practice through initiatives such as building peace in Natal, Workers Summit, unity in the sports, teachers, Cultural workers.
3. The need to formulate a unifying perspective and develop a programme that not only unites the core forces of the MDM but defines the terrain of struggle outside itself.
4. It is important to win over all anti-apartheid forces to our side.
5. At this stage we do not envisage inviting representatives of companies and big business such as Anglo American Corporation, ECI, SACCOLA and so forth.

THEREFORE RESOLVES;

1. To reconvene the AAC by not later than October this year;
2. That such a Conference draw in all forces that are opposed to apartheid.
3. To develop a unifying perspective around the demands for;
  - 3.1 one person one vote in a democratic and unitary South Africa free from racism;
  - 3.2 the unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations
  - 3.3 an end to the State of Emergency and all other forms of repression
  - 3.4 freedom of press, political association and other political expression;
4. While Cosatu and the UDF are to play a leading role in such a coalition we must draw in and involve from the beginning all major forces)
5. To this extent, we should establish a convening committee representing the major social forces who shall immediately start making plans for the process leading to the Anti-Apartheid Conference and after.
6. That all organisations in such an MC shall retain their own autonomy and decision making structures but be united by the perspective arising out of the Conference.

QEIU RESOLUTION ON BUILDING guop FLQQR STRQCIQES.

This Congress notes:

The Resolution on shop-floor structures.

Therefore resolves:

1. To build strong shop floor: structures and
2. Proposes that affiliates adopt such a resolution.

NUM Resolution on Workers' Charter

This Congress noting that:

- (a) COSATU adopted the Freedom Charter as its guiding document at its Second Congress.
- (b) The Constitutional Guidelines provides for the incorporation of 'Constitution of post apartheid South Africa' into the Workers Charter
- (c) The authority of the 'Freedom Charter' is hereby affirmed.

Resolution. The 'Freedom Charter' demands '0' '5 democratic processes which led to its

(1) Under apartheid workers are denied political and trade union rights.

Believing that:

- (a) A Workers' Charter is a necessity.

(b) The formulation of a Workers' Charter must be an instrument of struggle against oppression and

(c) A Workers' Charter must be a product of thorough debates involving the entire toiling masses of our country.

(d) Such a Workers' Charter must serve to articulate the basic rights of

workers

masses guaranteed by the Constitution of a Peoples' Government. and all men  
Therefore resolves that:

(a) COSATU launch and spearhead a Worker Charter Campaign at an invitation of

the

the oppressed and exploited masses of our country. particularly the broadest section of

(b) COSATU and its allies must canvass the views and opinions of

... of the total

democratic and participatory methods of consultation. particularly through

(c) This campaign should culminate in the drafting of a Worker's Charter

, rather as a matter of

COSATU is instructed to monitor progress of the discussions in our structures and to call a

supragovernmental

National Congress to draft the Workers Charter when we have discussed our demands in all

our

structures and with our allies in the working class. The Special Congress should be called

by the Workers

Charter Conference

Movement. It is to be attended by COSATU, NACTU and representatives of the Mass Democratic



# IATAL PEACE INITIATIVE.

norms;

1. That over the last three years thousands of people have died in political violence in Natal.
2. That the effects of the violence have been devastating. Families have been torn apart, social services have been disrupted and many families have migrated from their areas of residence and have become refugees in the land of their birth
3. That the State security services have been a major cause of this violence by refusing to carry out basic police activities. Known perpetrators of violence have not been apprehended by the police.
4. That the violence continues.

THEREFORE BELIEVES THAT;

1. All steps must be taken to end this violence.
2. This violence can only benefit apartheid and the security forces of the apartheid state.
3. The continuation of violence will delay the liberation of our people
4. We must all conduct ourselves to create a public climate for peace and end hostile propaganda that incites violence.

THEREFORE RESOLVES.

1. That COSATU reaffirm its fullest commitment to the ending of violence amongst the people in Natal. .
2. That this Congress fully endorses the positive steps taken by COSATU and 005' towards building peace in Natal.
3. That the Congress endorse the following steps as outlined in the Secretariat report.
  - 3.1 A meeting of the Presidents of ANC, COSATU, UDF and Inkatha and their delegations.
  - 3.2 The setting up of an Independent commission of enquiry
  - .3 A joint peace conference of the organisations.
  - .4 The setting up of peace committees in affected areas and the holding of peace rallies.
- The establishment of enforcement structures in the affected areas.
- The development of an effective programme to deal with internal refugees.
4. COSATU and its allies must also ensure that a re-emergence of such violence does not take place in future.
5. The Congress mandates the CEC to ensure that COSATU plays an effective role in contributing to peace in Natal.

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NUMSA Resolution on Violence

This Congress noting that:

1. There is a continuing reign of terror against working class communities and progressive activists in Pietermaritzburg. Mpumalanga. Durban, Empangeni. Isithebe. Cape Town, etc.
2. The role that reactionary vigilante violence has played in repressing democratic organisation in Alexandra, Cape Town. Brits, Vanda, Kwa Ndebele, Ciskei and other areas.
3. The bombing and burning of union offices and the offices at other progressive organisations is continuing.
4. This vigilante violence is part of the strategy of retrenchment and repression of the apartheid state.
5. Employer violence is widespread. especially on the mines. Security in plants and mines is usually armed and is often very aggressive to workers.
6. Employers often use the police and security forces against their workers when there is industrial action and dismissal of workers. in many areas. vigilantes and detention are also used against striking workers.
7. Unfair dismissal. sending workers back to desolate 'Rural homelands' to starve with their families, and harassment in the factories are also terms of violence against workers.
8. Management severely provokes workers by repression of union organisation and industrial action,

retusat to negotiate payment at slave wages. dismissal of striking workers and employment of scabs.  
eviction of workers from hostels and houses. use of spies and use of the police, and false charges of  
Intimidation.  
9. The state and big business are using the issue of violence between workers as any excuse to  
increase the repression of the trade unions. while at the same time ignoring state and management  
violence.  
Therefore resolves:  
1. That we should take whatever steps are possible to end the reign of terror against the  
working  
class and progressive organisations,  
Including: to  
1.1 Building and strengthening democratic, disciplined, united organisation in working class  
communities as the only effective way of resisting, vigilante terror.  
' 1.2 Investigating, exposing and publicising acts of violence.  
1.3 Assisting and protecting, victims of vigilante terror, as far as is consistent with the  
union's  
resources and policies.  
1.4 Exposing and opposing management violence and provocation and especially uttering full  
solidarity and assistance to our comrades of the NUM who are the oppressed on the mines.  
2. COSATU and its affiliates should wait out common positions on the problems of state violence.  
vigilante violence, management violence and violence between workers.

-

LKBOUR RELATIONS ACT (JOINT NUMSA CWIU COMPOSITE)

NOTING:

1. The new LRA is part of the offensive by Capital against the working class. It is aimed at weakening the unions and allowing Capital to suppress opposition from the organised workers. It is part of the overall repressive strategy of the state and Capital aimed at resolving its deep economic, political and ideological crisis.
2. The new LRA is intended to weaken the unions and the working class, undermine democracy and allow capitalists to exploit workers even more.
3. That the State had taken back hard won rights of workers by;  
Allowing strikes to be interdicted  
Allowing employers to sue unions for damages.  
Undermining majority unionism.  
Allowing employers to dismiss strikers and selectively rehire them.
4. That the LEA is still the most serious obstacle to the struggles of organised workers.
5. That even the previous LRA did not fully serve the interests of workers.
6. That the success of the Anti-LRA Campaign depends on the ability of the Labour Movement to present its demands as a United Front.

RBSOLVES;

1. To fully participate in implementing the recommendations of the Workers Summit and to propose co-ordinated and sustained industrial action in line with the demands put forward by COSATU, NACTU and the Independent Unions. COSATU will recommend to the Workers Summit that the sustained action begin on 1st September 1989 and be linked to the white racist elections.
2. To link Cosatu's immediate central LEA campaign to other struggles waged by the MDM against apartheid oppression and exploitation.
3. We demand that the State change the legislation so as to incorporate;
  - 3.1 The right of all workers, irrespective of race and sex, to form and belong to trade unions of their own choice.
  - 3.2 All workers presently excluded from the LRA, including farmworkers, domestic workers, forestry workers and all public sector workers, must be covered by the LRA.
  - 3.3 The scrapping of all sections of labour legislation that undermine our right to job security and our endeavours to establish a democratic trade union movement free of racism and minority union rights.
- 4 The entrenchment of;
  - t The right to strike and to engage in sympathy strikes.
  - t No dismissal without a fair and valid reason and without following a fair procedure.
  - i The duty to recognise and bargain with majority unions
  - t Retrenchments should be negotiated with representative unions and will include the LIFO system.An understanding that no employer will use the provisions of legislation of any homeland to refuse recognition of a union which has majority-representation in its establishment in that homeland. and as part of our campaign to change the legislation we should compel employers to implement the above demands immediately.
4. To develop our own mobilisation in COSATU over this campaign so that we can take part in industrial action if employers refuse to agree to our demands.
5. To call on other sections of the working class to support us with solidarity actions in support of these demands.
6. To call for another Workers Summit to assess the action.
7. to commit ourselves to the formulation of a Labour Relations Act based on the will of the working class.

BUILDING WORKING CLASS AND T E O N T -  
composure CHEMICAL AND N(msn

(It is proposed that the existing resolution 1;gg\_ggig\_\_gnitg  
adopted in 1987 be replaced by the following resolution. )

This Congress noting

1.

2.

That the founding slogan of COSATU was "One Country One  
Federation".

That the struggle led by the . working class  
cannot be reconciled with a divided trade union movement  
and the urgent need for unity.

That only the bosses and the state are benefitting from  
this division.

And Believing:

1.

That COSATU's first and foremost task is to contribute to  
the unification of the working class and the strengthening  
of its organisations. COSATU must take up this task in  
full co-operation with its affiliates and its allies.

That to carry out this task effectively, COSATU must  
recommit itself to trade union unity.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE

1.

That the organised section of the working class should  
take the lead to unite the working class.

That a timetable be agreed between COSATU, NACTU and other  
Independent Unions to work towards One Union, One  
Industry, and One Country, One Federation.

That immediate steps be taken to convene meetings between  
members of affiliates of COSATU, NACTU and the Independent  
Unions:

- at factory, shop or mine level
- at local level
- at branch level
- at national level

In such meetings free and open debate should be encouraged  
To encourage and support further Worker Summits as steps  
towards further unity.

RESOLUTION ON THE UNIFICATION PROCESS IN CCAWUSA.

NOTING THAT:

1. The internal dispute in Ccawusa has not yet been resolved.
2. The Cosatu CEC decision of November 1987 did not finally  
contribute towards the unity in the sector in that the three  
groups remain divided.
3. The aim of Cosatu is to combat division among workers in SA.

RESOLVES THAT:

1. In order to facilitate progress on unity in Ccawusa, Cosatu  
should review its November 1987 decision.
2. The three groups must continue talks on unity and that Cosatu  
should mediate.
3. A Unity Executive from the three groups should be set up  
immediately.
4. The Unity Executive will be composed of six people from each  
group and will include the following people: viz. Herbert  
Mkhize, Vivian Mthwa and Dinah Nhlapo. Four people from Cosatu  
will sit in this Executive in a mediating capacity and maintain  
neutrality.
5. The Unity Executive will have the following powers:
  - 5.1 To deal with and finalise all matters relating to a unifying  
congress to be based on guidelines determined by the CBC.
  - 5.2 To deal with interim matters of organisational importance  
eg. negotiations, LRA campaign etc.
  - 5.3 To finalise policy resolutions, a new amended constitution  
and positions in a unified head office.
  5. 4 To finalise the centralisation of finances.
  - 5.5 To ensure that all sectors are organisationally fully  
catered for in the new union.
6. The operation of the Unity Executive must be based on  
consensus.
7. The objective of the process is to create one unified

national union in the commercial and catering sector that is an affiliate of Cosatu.

8. The process should also lead to joint structures at regional and local level.

9. The deadline to be set for the completion of all discussions and implementation of all steps must be the 10th to the 12th November when a National Congress of the union shall be held.

## NUM Resolution on Namibia

This Congress noting that:

- (a) The implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 is in process.
- (b) The South African Government and their imperialist allies are bent on manipulating the impending elections in favour of their puppets.
- (c) There is a massive misinformation campaign about developments in Namibia.
- (d) The masses in South Africa are not alive to the importance of the imminent victory of our

Namibian Comrades.

- (e) SWAPO represents the aspirations of the majority of the Namibian.
- (f) NUNW has grown rapidly and has established itself as the trade union movement of the Namibian workers.

And believing that:

- (a) The people of South Africa and Namibia are oppressed and exploited by one and the same adversary.
- (b) The victory of the Namibian people and leadership of SWAPO will hasten the arrival of our new day.
- (c) The battle of Cuito Cuanavale was a turning point in the struggle for a free Namibia.
- (d) A strong progressive trade union movement is vital both before and after liberation.
- (e) No genuine South African organisation from the ranks of the oppressed masses would assist the racist South African government and the imperialists to sabotage the Namibian people on their road to self-determination under their genuine representatives. SWAPO and their allies.

The Congress resolved that:

- (a) Material and moral support be given to the people of Namibia.
- (b) COSATU and other mass based organisations launch a campaign to inform, educate and agitate the masses of our country for action in solidarity with our Namibian Comrades.
- (c) The masses in the factories, farms, mines, rural areas, schools, churches and all corners of our country should be inspired to be abuzz with Namibian independence.
- (d) COSATU and NUNW should establish a solidarity committee to work out a joint programme of cooperation and affiliates should be encouraged to do likewise with their counterparts in Namibia.
- (e) That COSATU will investigate the involvement and role of NACTU and LCFTU in creating a third force and expose it if found true.
- (f) That COSATU calls upon all its affiliates and members to pay R1.00 per member towards a SWAPO election fund.

## SARHWU Resolution on Privatisation

Noting that:

1. Privatisation is the selling of the people's property to the private sector which this government has no right to do. It is the state's strategy to extricate itself from the present economic crisis. Privatisation is the government's attempt to circumvent sanctions and disinvestment. Privatisation will attempt:
  - 1.1 Retrenchment
  - 1.2 Transport
  - 1.3 Health Services
  - 1.4 Housing
  - 1.5 Education
  - 1.6 Communications
2. Privatisation of all major public services will lead to the economy being controlled by a few individuals which will result in the retrenchment of thousands and thousands of workers.
3. Transport being in the hands of the private sector will lead to increased fares, that transport services will be for the sole purpose of realising profits at the expense of commuters with no subsidies from the government.
4. Privatisation of hospitals (e.g. Baragwanath) will lead to high hospital fees which the general

population cannot afford leading to deterioration of people's health and increased loss of life

5. The government is unable to provide our people with housing and land; that it is unable to resolve the rent boycott; that it has decided to shift its responsibility at providing housing and land to the private sector which has no regard for the welfare of the majority of our people but the maximisation of profits

6. The failure of the government to provide equal and compulsory education for all and to resolve the present education crisis has led to privatisation of schools which will further impoverish the already inferior standard of education

7. Privatisation of telecommunications services will lead to extremely high costs in telephones, posts,

TV's etc., which will make it difficult for our people to afford communication means

Therefore resolve that:

i) A call is made upon the people to unite, to resist and fight against privatisation

ii) COSATU and the entire democratic movement initiate a campaign to educate our people about the

harsh effects of privatisation

iii) MDM initiate a campaign to stop foreign capital from buying people's assets from the racist government

#### NUM Resolution on Save The Patriots

This Congress noting that:

- (a) South Atn'w has the highest number of executions in the world.
- (b) Death penalties are applied indiscriminately to people without much grounds to warrant the penalty.
- (c) There are trade union leaders and members on death row.
- (d) The international community has declared apartheid a crime against humanity.
- (e) The South Aln'can people and the international community condemns capital punishment as a means at punishing offenders.
- (1) South Africa is in a state of war.

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) We support the call for a Commission at inquiry which should include, among others, political organisations, trade unions, and lawyers to inquire into the desirability of the death penalty as a deterrent against crime.
- (b) The death penalty should be abolished.
- (c) Intensity national and international campaigns against the hangings of our fellow comrades.
- (d) South Attica should be pressured to sign the Geneva Protocol and grant our comrades on death row and those jailed the status of prisoners of war.
- (e) The churches should allocate time in their Sunday services to speak about our comrades on death row.

#### NUM Resolution on Organising in Homelands

This Congress noting that:

- (a) South Alrica has been balkanised into reservoirs of cheap labour called Bantustans and reserves.
- (b) these statelets of apartheid are governed by ruthless hirelings and puppets of the Pretoria regime and captains at industry.
- (c) these homelands are meant to be havens from trade unionism.

Believing that:

- (a) we are involved in a noble struggle for a non-racial unitary democratic South Africa.
- (b) the exploitation of workers in these homelands is rampant.

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) organisation of workers in these areas be conducted with due regard to conditions dictated by the concrete situation.
- (b) COSATU conduct research on industrial relations existing obtaining in the homelands to arm the unions with correct information and real knowledge.
- (c) COSATU develop an overall strategy and tactics of organising workers under conditions at repression obtaining in the homelands.

M) This Congress should mandate the CEO to set up meetings to implement an overall strategy of

#### NUM Resolution on National Womens, Organisation

This Congress noting that:

- (a) In South Attica black women suffer triple oppression.
- (b) Women do not have a national organisation but a number of regionally based organisations,

Believing that:

- (3) Women constitute an indispensable social force for the realisation of democratic demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter.
  - (b) Unity of all women is a precondition for the advancement of our struggle for freedom.
- Therefore resolves that:

COSATU take immediate steps to facilitate the revival of FEDSAW by:

1. Implementing the resolution on women taken at the 1987 Congress to set up a sub-committee under NEDCOM where all the affiliates are represented to monitor progress and co-ordinate the implementation of this and other resolutions on women.
2. By coordinating meetings with community based women's organisations at a national, regional and local level to develop a programme on the revival of FEDSAW.



## NUWCC Resolution on Unemployment

This Congress noting that:

1. The COSATU Resolutions on unemployment at its inaugural congress were partly implemented in that at least an organisation at the unemployed is now in existence.
2. The COSATU Resolutions on unemployment at the second congress as adopted were not implemented.

And believing that:

It is both imperative and of utmost importance that the interests of the working class should be defended at all costs against oppression and exploitation.

Therefore resolves:

1. That COSATU recommit itself in building the National Union of the Unemployed.
2. That COSATU recommit itself in implementing the 1987 resolution on unemployment.
3. That COSATU support the programme of action discussed and adopted by the workshop on the unemployed project.

Programme of Action.

1. Within a period of six weeks starting from the 22 June 1989 the following should take place:

i) regional workshops to report back and jobs or Living Unemployment Benefit Campaign to be

convened in order to have common understanding of how to take it up.

ii) anti-smuggling should also be discussed in these workshops.

2. After these workshops a national workshop to assess regional discussions should be convened.

3. Thereafter a national launch of the campaign should be held. Consultation with all progressive organisations should take place.

4. In between this national launch and December we should be popularising our campaign by way of

using media, stickers, pamphlets, T-shirts, etc.

5. Around this time we also need to draft a petition and memorandum for submission in December

1989 to the Manpower Dept.

6. In January 1990 we shall be focussing mainly on the question of Unemployment Insurance Fund

(UIF) in relation to social security.

7. We resolve that as a form of solidarity, a week before Mayday, workers should be seen working a

twenty hour week as stated in the Living Wage Campaign.

8. COSATU to commission a detailed research on unemployment and co-operatives.

9. On the question of building resource centres for the unemployed we propose to have phases to

facilitate a process of building these centres.

## NUM Resolution on Co-operatives

This Congress noting that:

1. Several COSATU affiliates, including NUM, NUMSA, POTWA, ACTWUSA and NUWCC, have become involved in co-operative development.

2. Many workers facing dismissal or retrenchment are looking to co-ops as a means of creating jobs.

3. The co-operative movement internationally is guided by the following principles:

(a) Democratic control of the co-operative by the members;

(b) No discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or religion;

(c) Fair distribution of the profits;

(d) United interest on share capital (share holders may get interest on their investment, but not

dividend on the profits)

(e) Co-operatives shall co-operate with each other;

(f) Co-operatives shall encourage the ongoing education of their members.

And believing that:

1. Co-operatives have a political role to play in our struggle, by building democratic control of

production and distribution, and providing the democratic movement with many lessons that will be

needed to build socialism in the future. .

2. Co-ops can strengthen democratic organisation, working side by side with structures in the

community to provide some of the goods and services needed by the people.

3. Building co-operatives in the rural dumping grounds at South Africa is part of our strategy of rural

transformation, and 01 the long-term strategy against the migrant labour system. By providing even a small number 01 people with economic alternatives to migrancy, co-ops can help to stimulate rural development in ways that build the collective power at rural communities.

4. Co-ops can only be politically effective if they are economically viable. But it is a struggle to build strong co-ops; many skills have to be learnt. and it is slow.

5. Co-ops cannot provide jobs for all. To do this. we need the political power to restrict the economy. and to use the wealth of the nation to serve the needs of the people as a whole. Therefore resolves that:

1. COSATU supports the growth of democratic cooperatives. within the framework of the international co-ops principles. ' k
2. COSATU will actively assist in developing the skills needed to strengthen the development at co-ops. both in the urban and rural areas.
3. The COSATU Education Department shall convene at least four meetings of co-ops linked to COSATU annually, to build unity and to share resources.
4. COSATU affiliates involved in co-op development shall encourage their members to forge ties with community-based co-operatives, as part of building democratic co-operatives in SA.
5. COSATU affiliates shall educate their members about co-ops:
  - a) To build solidarity with democratic co-operatives.
  - b) To prevent the growth of false expectations that the trade unions can create jobs for all those workers facing dismissal or retrenchment.
  - c) To educate all their members on issues of democratic worker control of production and distribution

## PPWAWU Resolution on International Policy

This Congress noting that:

1. The international trade union movement remains split by divisions that derive from the situation of the "Cold War".
2. There have been signs, recently, that these cold war divisions are starting to ease but that a lot more remains to be done to promote a single, unified trade union movement internationally.

3. Many international trade union bodies are still engaged in activities which have the effect of dividing the trade union movement in South Africa. Such divisive activities are often the result of funding.

4. Many international trade union bodies are attempting to promote small splinter unions. Others are attempting to promote our trade unions as a "third force" alternative to the ANC and SACTU.

5. The international activities of COSATU and its affiliates has been marked by a lack of co-ordination and lack of concrete policies to guide our international work.

And believing that:

1. Effective international worker solidarity is in the interests of the working class and the trade union movement.

2. The nature of our struggle requires the broadest possible range of international trade union links.

with unions and national centres holding a wide range of ideological positions.

3. Our international work should be aimed at winning support not only for our trade union activities

but also support for the broader anti-apartheid movement internationally which is fighting for a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

4. Whilst our links with the union movement of Western Europe and North America are developing well, we still have relatively weak links with unions in the socialist bloc, in countries involved in

anti-imperialist struggles, and particularly with unions in the frontline states.

5. We should not allow our international activities to be used by outside forces to create divisions

between ourselves and the broader liberation movement, in particular SACTU and the ANC.

6. The ICFTU has responded to our refusal to affiliate to them by conducting its activities through a

number of the LTS's, and in particular through the activities of the South African Coordinating

Committee.

Therefore resolves:

1. To reaffirm our policy of non-affiliation to either the WFTU, ICFTU or WCL

2. To build effective worker to worker solidarity with progressive trade union centres in other countries.

3. To mandate the CEO to investigate or consider the need for a full-time international secretary.

4. To develop a systematic programme of travel, study, research and activity aimed at broadening the education and perspective of our leadership and membership.

5. To ensure that representatives at both the federation and its affiliates are properly briefed prior to

international visits, and that the federation is well informed of the outcome of all international visits,

so that consistent and coherent practices develop on an ongoing basis.

6. That neither the federation, nor its affiliates, shall receive money secretly from any outside

sources, and that all affiliates shall report from time to time to the CEO on all outside funding

received.

7. To reaffirm our policy of reducing dependence on outside funding by both the federation and its

affiliates and to ensure that such policy is being practised. To ensure that where funding is essential

that it not be used to exert pressure on either the federation or its affiliates.

8. To recommend to affiliates that they maintain links with both the LTS's and TUL's operating

ating in their

sectors. To monitor. on an ongoing basis, the activities of all ITS and TUI activities relating to South

Africa.

9. That all major international decisions of the affiliates, such as affiliation, disaffiliation, funding and

establishment of local operations by trade secretariats, should be subject to discussion by the

federation structures as a whole to ensure that our international activities are consistent, coherent

and co-ordinated.

10. To establish from all ITS's with which COSATU affiliates have links. their attitude to the

continuing funding of splinter unions by the ICFU's South African Co-ordinating Committee. To

assess the responses in detail at the CEO. and to seriously consider disaffiliation from all ITS's if the

response is not satisfactory.

11. To instruct the CEO to consider the viability of a locally-based and union-controlled committee on

Funding which will be required to approve or reject all funding requests of all unions (COSATU or

non-COSATU) and union-related organisations in South Africa.

12. To ensure that the federation and all affiliates are conducting education on international trade

union matters. so that understanding of these issues is not limited to top leadership.

CWIU Resolution on Disinvestment

It is proposed that the following clause be added as the last clause under 'Therefore resolves' of the

1987 policy on Disinvestment.

6. That for acceptable disinvestment to take place the following conditions must be met:

6.1 The period of notice should be one year during which period bona fide negotiations with the

relevant union should take place and be concluded.

6.2 Workers to receive at least one month's pay for each year of service.

6.3 Workers' wages to be guaranteed for one year from the date of disinvestment.

6.4 The union to be given full information on the nature of the disinvestment and any remaining

royalty rights, licence fees, franchise etc.

6.5 The employer to contribute to pension and provident funds to retirement age in a single payment.

and the destiny of these funds to be negotiated with the union.

6.6 The proceeds at disinvestment and any royalties etc. to be paid into a trust fund nominated by the

relevant union.

#### TGWU RESOLUTION ON WOMEN LEADERSHIP

This Congress noting that:

1. The small numbers of women worker leaders within our affiliate and federation structures, at local, regional and national levels.
2. The small numbers of women organisers in our affiliates even where a large proportion of the affiliate's membership is women.

Therefore resolves:

1. To actively encourage the election of women shop stewards on the factory floor.
2. To consciously attempt to ensure that women are elected into leadership at all levels of our affiliates and the federation.
3. To attempt to break down all practical barriers to the full participation of women leadership in our structures, by providing child care facilities at all meetings where it is needed, by assisting to transport women comrades home when meetings end late and where it is dangerous for them to take public transport and by spreading the idea that housework should be shared between men and women.

#### PPWAWU RESOLUTION ON SEXUAL CONDUCT.

This Congress notes:

The TGWU resolution on sexual conduct.

Therefore resolves:

To discuss the adoption of the code of conduct and to incorporate the question of sexual conduct into this code.

#### TGWU RESOLUTION 9E AIDS.

This Congress Noting that:

1. Presently thousands of people have died and over 1 million have contracted the deadly diseases virus over the world:
2. A number of people are dying of this diseases in South Africa and 40% of the population may be infected.

Noting Further:

1. That certain employers are beginning to discriminate against workers who suffer from aids.
2. That poverty contributes to the spreading of aids and other diseases.
3. The migrant labour, system, forced removals, and the state of emergency contributes to the instability of families and communities, creating conditions for the spreading of Aids.
4. That the state has already promulgated a law that empowers it to repatriate foreign workers carrying the aids virus.
5. That the education and information progress of the government and bosses are racist and have created suspicion amongst our members, and have even led to a doubt that aids exist.

Therefore resolves :

1. That the Education department of COSATU together with the education departments of affiliates embark on an extensive programme aimed, at informing our members how to prevent aids virus.
2. To campaign against the dismissal of workers who are found to have the aids virus.
3. To expose and eliminate the conditions which break steady relationships and thereby help to spread AID's (conditions such as migrant labour, hostel living, prostitution, shortage of housing and so on)

# .SADWU RESOLUTION. 1 DOMESTIC WORKERS

This Congress noting that: . . .

1. Women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race.
2. The domestic workers are the most exploited section of the working class living and working under tyrannical and slave conditions.
3. That domestic work enforces a break-up of family life for millions of black families because employers want to be waited on hand and mouth at all times. ,
4. Women domestic workers suffer unbearable sexual and physical abuse at the hands of their employers.
5. The wages earned by domestic workers are pathetic and are barely able to support even the own costs of such workers. .
6. That the working hours are long and undefined and open domestic workers to abuse at the whim of their employers.
7. That the apartheid government endorses the vile exploitation of domestic workers by refusing to bring them under the scope of the Labour Relations Act and entitle domestic workers to basic conditions of employment.

Therefore resolves:

1. To pledge full support and solidarity to SADWU in their efforts and struggle to organise domestic workers and gain legal recognition of their status under the Labour Relations Act.
  2. To support in every way possible the campaign for the following minimum conditions:
    - 2.1 A minimum wage of R350, 00 per month for unskilled workers and R450, 00 per month for skilled workers.
    - 2.2 Access to Workmen's Compensation and the Unemployment Insurance Fund
    - 2.3 An eight hour working day for full time workers - 5 days per week.
    - 2.4 Maternity benefits for all women. Domestic workers should be given eight weeks maternity leave fully paid prior to giving birth and six weeks after giving birth. 3'fl
  - Days off to attend ante-natal clinics. No money to be deducted. ' "
  - Workers should be granted 14 days sick leave per year.
  - Twenty one working days annual paid leave.
  - Pay slips stating hours of work and deductions.
  - Overtime should be R3,50 per hour.
  - 0 A pension fund.
  - 1 Decent housing.
- To call on all locals and other COSATU structures to encourage women workers and domestic workers in particular to take an active involvement in the affairs and direction of COSATU.

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COSATU'S SELF SUFFICIENCY  
(FAWU AND CULU COMPOSITE)

NOTING

1. CDSATU's founding policy of following a clear programme of working towards financial self sufficiency in all respects.
2. This resolution has not been strictly adhered to.
3. The state intends to restrict the inflow of funds from abroad for democratic organisations.

BELIEVING THAT

1. Self-sufficiency is a bedrock principle of the affiliates and COSATU itself.
2. CDSATU should make ongoing efforts to reduce costs.
3. If COSATU does not achieve self-sufficiency its policy of independence and self-reliance will be compromised thereby.

THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. COSATU must make strenuous efforts to curtail its costs.
  2. All COSATU affiliates shall pay for their transport to 4: all COSATU national meetings, their use of COSATU printing and other resources. Those affiliates who do not pay these costs shall be excluded from the advantages of these facilities.
  3. That COSATU's dependence on outside funding be steadily reduced by 103 (ten percent) of the current budget each year.
- A. For COSATU to be self-sufficient COSATU should encourage other affiliates to be self-sufficient within their own

tanks.

5. That the COSATU constitution be amended by increasing the ;  
affiliation fees from "five cents (5c)" to "ten cents (10c)"  
per member per month, as from 1st January 1991.