

1. This Congress noting that:

- 1.1 Without timely, adequate and accurate information, COSATU's principles of worker democracy and control can never be realised as worker control and democracy can only be built on the basis of the fullest information possible.
- 1.2 In every structure of COSATU, from the local to the national level, there are complaints about the serious lack of information on vital issues facing the working class.
- 1.3 A major function of COSATU is to keep our membership and the world properly informed about the working class struggle.
- 1.4 Information readily available to workers — newspapers, radio and TV — is almost completely dominated by the state and big business.

2. Further Noting that:

- 2.1 The main content of the Emergency regulations is massive restrictions on our right to know, to speak and to publish.
- 2.2 The progressive media is small and under constant attack through bannings, repression, restrictions, seizures and general repression.
- 2.3 That COSATU Media in particular has been under sustained attack through especially the seizure of our media.

3. Therefore resolves:

- 3.1 Use our organised strength to mobilise to defend any progressive media or media worker that is attacked by the bosses or the state.
- 3.2 Do all in our power to fight all forms of repression/censorship and for a free, independent and progressive media in our country.
- 3.3 Use our organisation and resources to seriously build a workers press by having:
 - A regular workers newspaper aimed at the mass of workers
 - A regular shop-steward journal aimed at shop stewards and leadership (similar to the current COSATU News)
 - Regular information digests, monthly reports and information packages for all COSATU and affiliate structures

- Establish regional and local media committees to be responsible for collecting and distributing information, as well as to address the media needs in their own areas
 - Systematic training of media workers in COSATU and affiliates
 - An organised national distribution network for all progressive media.
- 3.4 Establish a worker-controlled media committee, as a sub-committee of the CEC, to act as the editorial board for all COSATU media.
 - 3.5 Sell all our media (except pamphlets, posters and stickers) at cost as part of our policy to strive towards self-sufficiency in the federation.
 - 3.6 Organise, mobilise and conscientise our membership about using media as a weapon of agitation, education and organisation.

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 start to 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

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 Nationalists 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 if 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 co-operation 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.

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 a Workers' Charter into the Constitution of post apartheid South Africa
- (c) The authority of the Freedom Charter derived from the democratic processes which led to its formulation.
- (d) 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 exploitation.
- (c) A Workers' Charter must be a product of thorough debates, discussions and consultations involving the entire toiling masses of our country.
- (d) Such a Workers' Charter must serve to articulate the basic rights of workers and all toiling masses guaranteed by the Constitution of a Peoples' Government.

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) COSATU launch and spearhead a Workers' Charter Campaign involving the broadest section of the oppressed and exploited masses of our country.
- (b) COSATU and its allies must canvass the views and opinions of the toiling masses through democratic and participatory methods of consultation.
- (c) This campaign should culminate in the drafting of a Workers' Charter as a matter of urgency. The CEC is instructed to monitor progress of the discussions in our structures and to call a special 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 a "Workers' Charter Congress" to be attended by COSATU, NACTU and other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement.

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, Venda, Kwa Ndebele, Ciskei and other areas.
- 3. The bombing and burning of union offices and the offices of other progressive organisations is continuing.
- 4. This vigilante violence is part of the strategy of reform 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 forms of violence against workers.
- 8. Management severely provokes workers by repression of union organisation and industrial action, refusal to negotiate abolition of 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 an 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:
 - 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 offering full solidarity and assistance to our comrades of the NUM who are the oppressed on the mines.
- 2. COSATU and its affiliates should work out common positions on the problems of state violence, vigilante violence, management violence and violence between workers.

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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 SAP/SADF 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 social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa.
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 frontlines 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, on the South African road to power through negotiation.
7. reiterate our demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa based on one person one vote.

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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 have 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 ITS's, and in particular through the activities of the South African Co-ordinating 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, particularly with those centres which are committed to our struggle for freedom in South Africa and to the building of true international working class solidarity, and to develop such links according to the following guidelines:
 - 2.1 to deepen links with national centres in the advanced capitalist countries, and to develop better links with the national centres of countries which are major trading partners of South Africa;
 - 2.2 to build links with national centres in the socialist countries, and to do this openly and without excuses to either the South African government or its apologists;
 - 2.3 to strengthen ties with national centres in Africa and developing countries, particularly those countries which are involved in militant anti-imperialist struggles. The development of improved

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relations with the trade unions of the frontline states should be given priority. The federation should also build on its working relationship with OATUU.

- 3 To mandate the CEC to investigate or consider the need for a full-time international secretary. Such person should be responsible for developing the international activities of the federation and co-ordinating the activities of the affiliates, and would operate in terms of this resolution and any directives given from time to time by the CEC.
- 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 of 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 CEC 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 ITS's and TUI's operating 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 ICFTU's South African Co-ordinating Committee. To assess the responses in detail at the CEC, and to seriously consider disaffiliation from all ITS's if the response is not satisfactory.
- 11 To instruct the CEC to consider the feasibility 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.

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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 people
- (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 under the leadership of SWAPO will hasten the arrival of our new day
- (c) The battle for 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

This Congress resolves that:

- (a) Material and moral support be given to the people of Namibia in particular to SWAPO and NUNW
- (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 co-operation 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 ICFTU 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.

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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 of disinvestment and any royalties etc. to be paid into a trust fund nominated by the relevant union.

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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 do. It is the state's strategy to extricate itself from the present economic crisis. Privatisation is the government attempt to circumvent sanctions and disinvestment. Privatisation will affect:
 - 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 peoples 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 of 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

Resolution on Save The Patriots

This Congress noting that:

- (a) South Africa 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 amongst the freedom fighters on death row.
- (d) The international community has declared apartheid a crime against humanity.
- (e) The South African people and the international community condemns capital punishment as a means of punishing offenders.
- (f) South Africa is in a state of war

Therefore resolves that:

- (a) We support the call for a Commission of inquiry which should include, among others, political organisations, trade unions, churches and lawyers to inquire into the death penalty as a deterrent against crime.
- (b) The death penalty should be abolished.
- (c) Intensify national and international campaigns against the hangings of our fellow compatriots
- (d) South Africa 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) we call on the churches to allocate time in their Sunday services to speak about our comrades on death row.

Resolution on Co-operatives

This Congress noting that:

1. Several COSATU affiliates, including NUM, NUMSA, POTWA, AC IWUSA 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) Limited 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 of South Africa is part of our strategy of rural transformation, and of the long term strategy against the migrant labour system. By providing even a small number of people with economic alternatives to migrancy, co-ops can help to stimulate rural development in ways that build the collective power of 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 restructure 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 co operatives, within the framework of the international co ops principles.
2. COSATU will actively assist in developing the skills needed to strengthen the development of 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 co ops to forge links with community based co operatives, as part of building democratic co operatives in SA
5. COSATU affiliates shall educate their member 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.

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Resolution on Co-operatives

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c) To educate all their members on issues of democratic worker control of production and distribution

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Resolution on Organising in Homelands

Resolution on Organising in Homelands

This Congress noting that:

- (a) South Africa 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 of 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 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 of repression prevailing in the homelands.
- (d) This Congress should mandate the CEC to set up meetings to implement an overall strategy of organising in the bantustans.

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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 of 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 for report-backs and jobs or Living Unemployment Benefit Campaign to be convened in order to have common understanding of how to take it up.
 - ii) anti-sabbing 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 focusing 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 forty hour week as stated in the Living Wage Campaign.
8. COSATU to commission 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.

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Resolution on National Womens' Organisation

This Congress noting that:

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

Believing that:

(a) 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 co-ordinating meetings with community based women's organisations at a national, regional and local level to develop a programme on the revival of FEDSAW

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Resolution on 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.
 - 2.5 Days off to attend ante-natal clinics. No money to be deducted.
 - 2.6 Workers should be granted 14 days sick leave per year.
 - 2.7 Twenty one working days annual paid leave.
 - 2.8 Pay slips stating hours of work and deductions.
 - 2.9 Overtime should be R3,50 per hour.
 - 2.10 A pension fund
 - 2.11 Decent housing.
3. 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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Resolution on Anti-apartheid Coalition

This Congress noting that:

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 begun 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, FCI, 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 organisation
 - 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 AAC shall retain their own autonomy and decision making structures but be united by the perspective arising out of the Conference.

on Building Shop Floor Structures.

This Congress noting that:

The CWIU resolution on shop-floor structures. (see below)

Therefore resolves:

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

CWIU Resolution on Building Shop Floor Structures

This Congress noting that:

1. Capitalist strategies

- to weaken our shop floor organisation;
- to divide workers;
- to camouflage their intentions by tempting workers;
- 1.1. Management's increased efforts to worsen conditions in the factories;
- 1.2. The decline of properly functioning shop floor structures in some factories;
- 1.3. Our commitment to worker control and democracy through our structures;

Therefore resolves:

1. To strengthen and consolidate all our structures beginning at shop floor level.

2. Shop Floor Level:

In order to do this, we should:

- 2.1 Intensify and broaden our education programmes for shop stewards.
- 2.2 Intensify our general membership education and involvement through:
 - regular factory general meetings
 - seminars for the rank and file
 - regular editions of COSATU News.
- 2.3 Improve planning and discipline of shop stewards and factory meetings by:
 - each factory having a year planner showing dates of regular shop stewards and general meetings;
 - factories keeping minutes of all meetings and submitting these to their local Union office.

3. Local Level:

We should build and develop our Locals as a matter of urgency, using the following guidelines:

- 3.1 Locals should meet regularly. All shop stewards in the area should attend. General membership should be invited.
- 3.2 There should be regular local general meetings on topical issues
- 3.3 Locals should broaden the scope of discussion and not stick only to factory issues
- 3.4 Locals should set up sub-committees to deal with different issues and develop more leadership
- 3.5 One of the sub-committees should be a planning committee.
- 3.6 The duties of such planning committees shall include carrying out research in the local area, into:
 - (a) management's strategies in the factories;
 - (b) activities in the community;
 - (c) propaganda being used;
 and reporting their findings to the locals with a view to the local planning and coordinating our response in the factories and in the community.

Natal Peace Initiative.

This Congress noting that:

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 UDF 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 into the role of police in the violence
 - 3.3 A joint peace conference of the organisations.
 - 3.4 The setting up of peace committees in affected areas and the holding of peace rallies
 - 3.5 The establishment of enforcement structures in the affected areas.
 - 3.6 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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Labour Relations Act

This Congress noting that:

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 LRA 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.

Therefore resolves:

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 LRA 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.
 - 3.4 The entrenchment of:
 - The right to strike and to engage in sympathy strikes.
 - No dismissal without a fair and valid reason and without following a fair procedure.
 - The duty to recognise and bargain with majority unions
 - 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.

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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 the Mass Democratic Movement

This Congress noting that:

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 the 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 its 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 liaise with community organisations on issues.
 - 3.4 Direct locals in liaison 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.

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Resolution on AIDS

This Congress noting that:

1. Thousands of people have died and over 1 million have contracted the deadly virus over the world.
2. A number of people are dying of this disease in South Africa and it is estimated that 40% of the population may be infected.
3. That presently there is no cure for AIDS, and therefore we can expect to see many deaths.

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. That 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 programmes 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.
2. To campaign against the dismissal and discrimination 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).

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.

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COSATU Congress 1989 Building Working Class & Trade Union Unity

Building Working Class & Trade Union Unity

(It is proposed that the existing resolution *Trade Union Unity* adopted in 1987 be replaced by the following resolution.)

This Congress noting

1. That the founding slogan of COSATU was "One Country One Federation".
2. That the struggle led by the working class cannot be reconciled with a divided trade union movement and the urgent need for unity.
3. That only the bosses and the state are benefiting 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.
2. That to carry out this task effectively, COSATU must recommit itself to trade union unity

Therefore resolves:

1. That the organised section of the working class should take the lead to unite the working class.
2. That a timetable be agreed between COSATU, NACTU and other independent Unions to work towards One Union, One Industry, and One Country, One Federation.
3. 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

4. To encourage and support further Worker Summits as steps towards further unity.

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Resolution on Sexual Conduct.

COSATU Congress 1989

Resolution on Sexual Conduct.

This Congress notes:

The TGWU resolution on sexual conduct. (see below)

Therefore resolves:

To refer this resolution to affiliates for discussion with a view to incorporating issues of sexual conduct into the COSATU code of conduct.

TGWU Resolution on Sexual Conduct

This Congress noting:

1. That a person's political credibility is judged by his/her personal conduct and activities, amongst other things.
2. That male comrades in our organisation often get involved in relationships with newly recruited women members of our affiliates, and that these relationships are often characterised by an imbalance of power because of the greater political experience and organisational seniority of the male comrade.
3. That when these unequal relationships collapse, the women often drop out of the organisation. In other cases divisions start to develop in the organisation because of the broken relationship.
4. That the problem described above is one reason for the lack of consistent participation by women comrades in our structures.

Noting further:

That many incidents of sexual harassment of women comrades by male comrades in the organisation have occurred.

Therefore resolves:

1. That tighter sexual discipline is called for in our organisation.
2. That in discussing a code of conduct for our federation we need to focus attention on such sexual discipline

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Resolution of the Unification Process in CCAWUSA

This Congress 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.

Therefore resolves:

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 Mtwa and Dinah Nhlapho. 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 CEC.
 - 5.2 To deal with interim matters of organisational importance e.g. 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.

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COSATU's Self-sufficiency

This Congress noting that:

1. COSATU'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. COSATU 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 resolves:

1. COSATU must make strenuous efforts to curtail its costs.
2. All COSATU affiliates shall pay for their transport to 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 10% (ten percent) of the current budget each year.
4. For COSATU to be self-sufficient COSATU should encourage other affiliates to be self sufficient within their own ranks.
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 the 1st January 1991.