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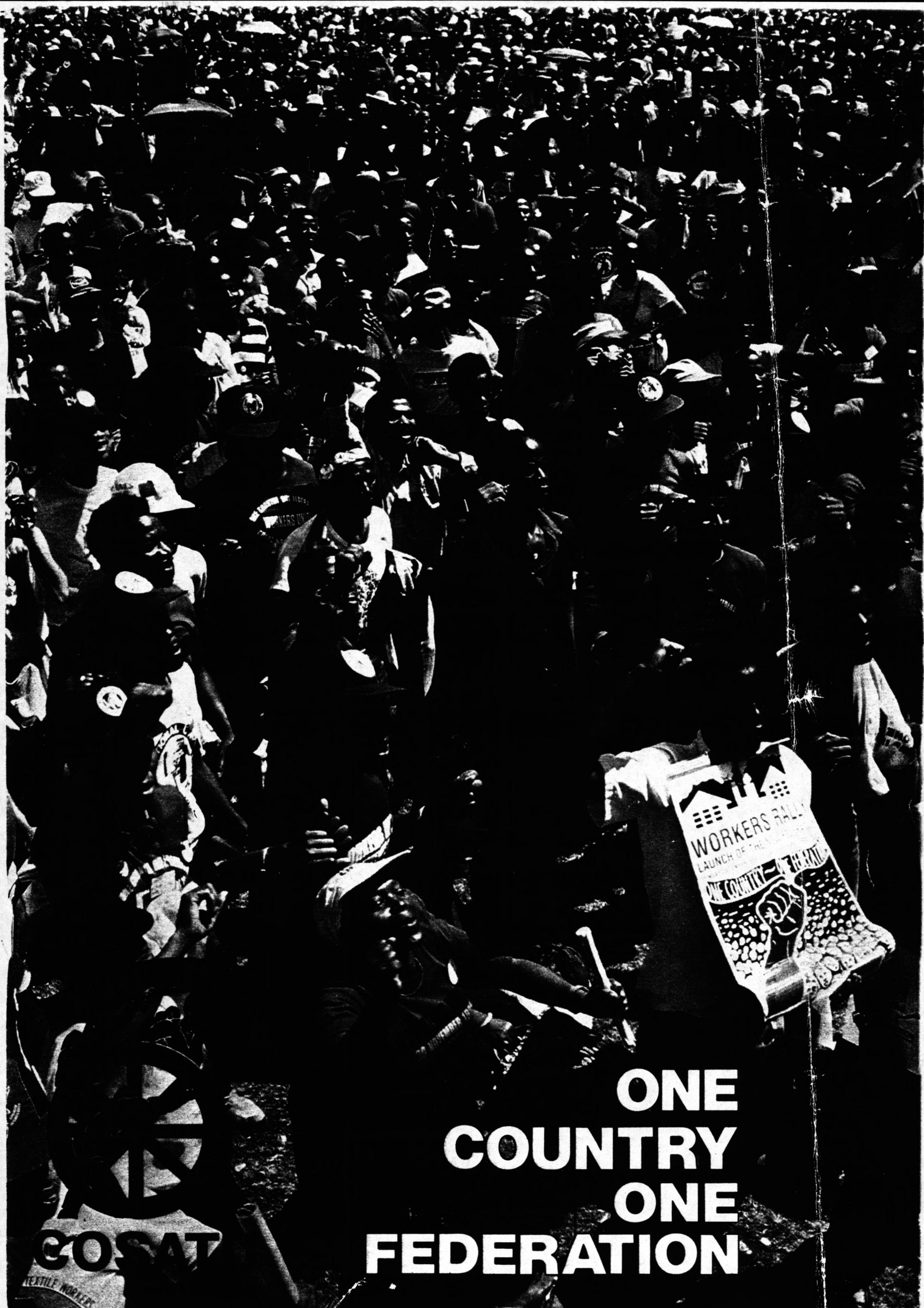
COSATU CONSTITUTION


WORKERS RALLY
ONE COUNTRY
COSAT
TEXTILE WORKERS
ONE
COUNTRY
ONE
FEDERATION

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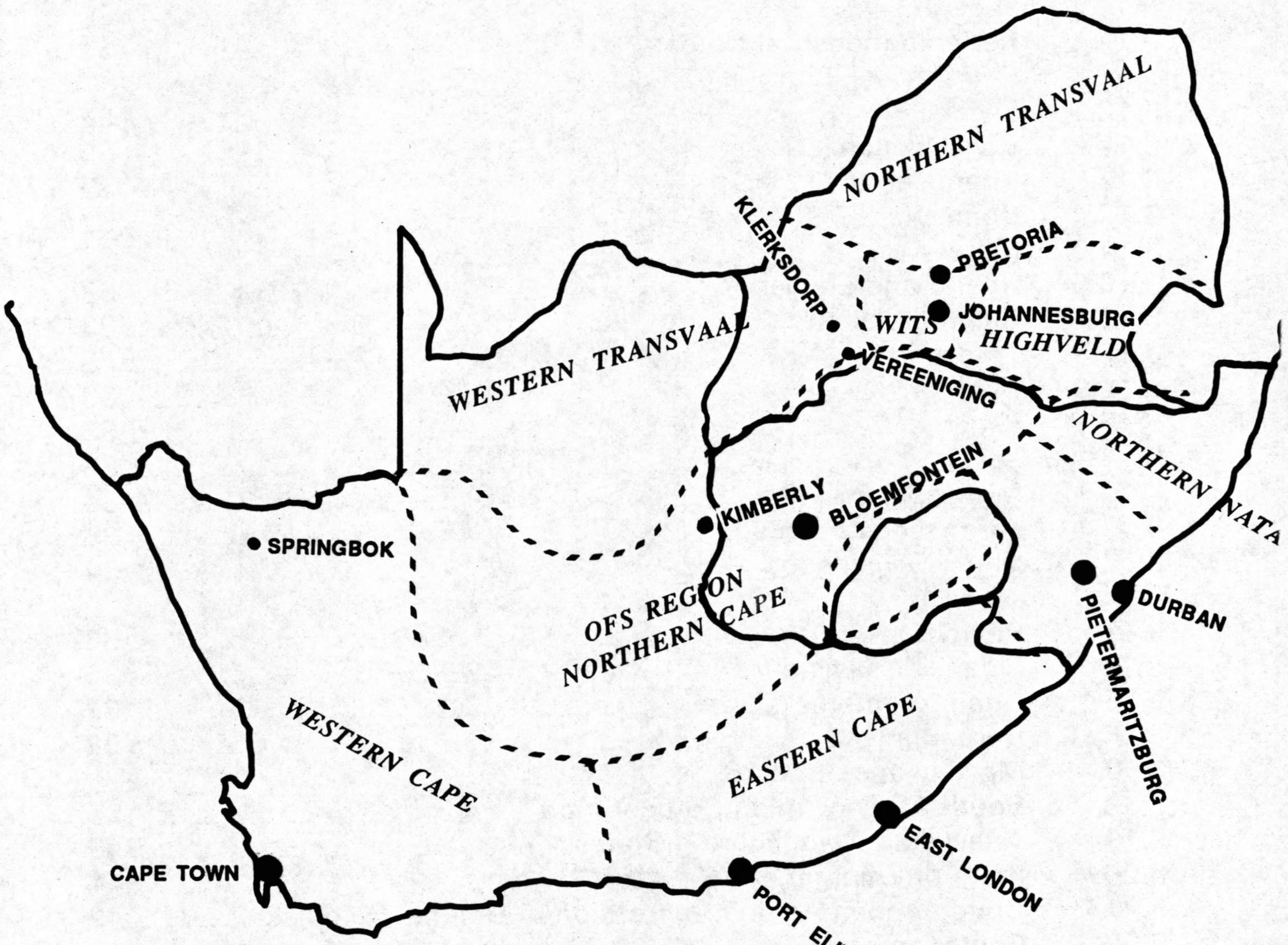
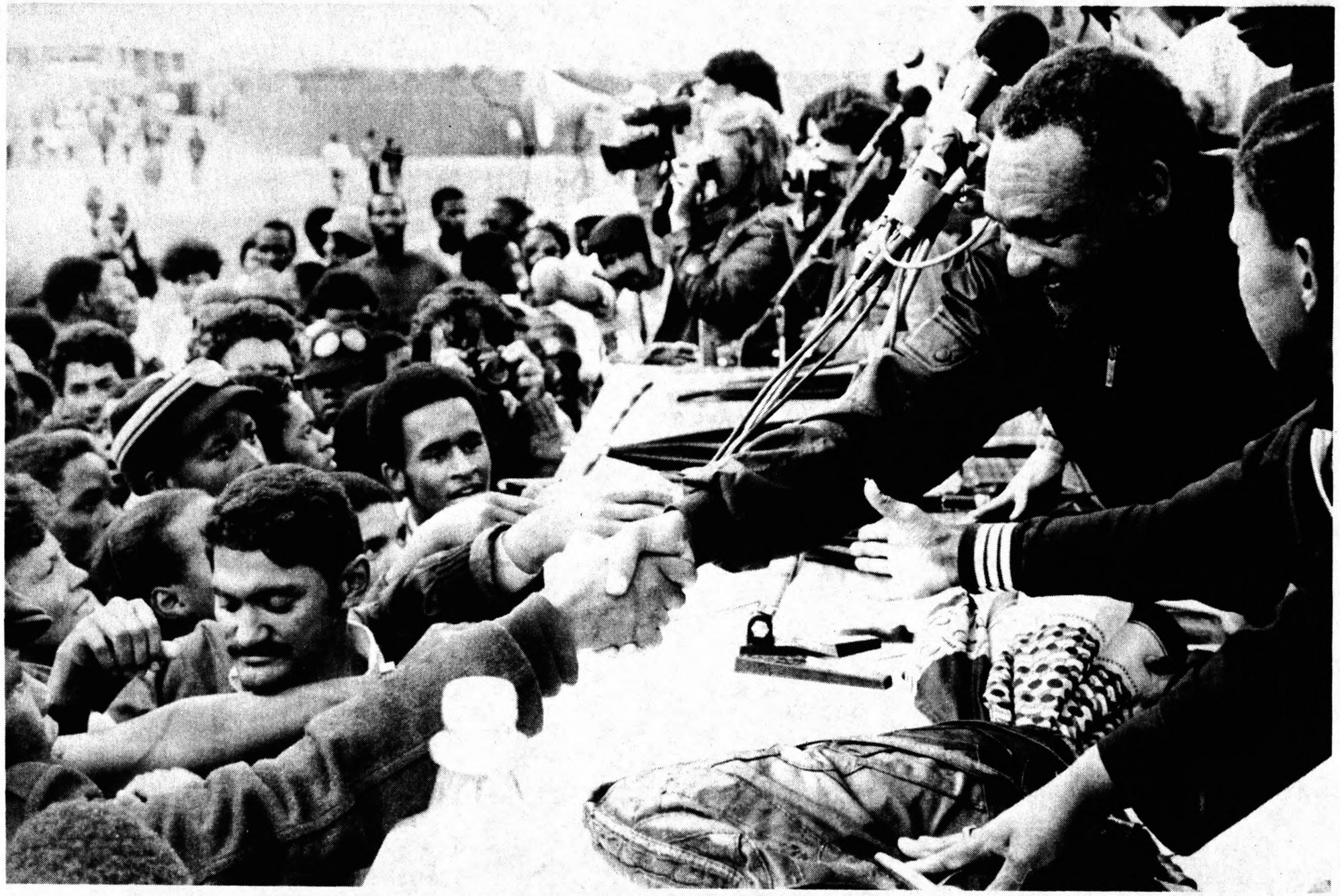
COSATU REGIONS AND MEMBERSHIP



REGION	PAID-UP MEMBERSHIP
N/TVL	*43 538*
HIGHVELD	*68994*
WITS	*169109*
W/TVL	*118210*
N/NATAL	*15219*
S/NATAL	*84606*
OFS REGION	*104400*
E/CAPE	*48239*
W/CAPE	*59916*

TOTAL: 712 231



President Barayi at launch of Western Cape Region

REPORT TO SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. INTRODUCTION

COSATU was launched on December 1, 1985 at the height of the first State of Emergency. This took place after four years of painstaking and stormy talks between the majority of independent democratic unions. During these four years, the principles and policies forged by workers in the furnace of mass struggle - viz workers' control, one union in one industry, non-racialism, representativity on the basis of paid up membership and national co-operation - were translated into the constitution, principles and policy resolutions of COSATU.

However, the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) withdrew from the talks at a crucial stage ostensibly because they could not accept the principle of non-racialism. This occured despite the fact that the Feasibility Committee, of which they were an integral part, had finalised the draft constitution and principles at this stage. As a result our largest affliate, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), left CUSA to take part in the launch of COSATU. Another smaller federation, the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) which was invited to take part in the launch of COSATU, was also not prepared to accept the principle of non-racialism.

However, in spite of these shortcomings, most of the independent and democratic unions representing the majority of organised workers participated in the launch of COSATU and adopted the powerful slogan of **ONE COUNTRY ONE FEDERATION.**

The birth of COSATU - with its clear principles, democratic organisation and commitment to working class unity - and the ongoing mass struggles led by COSATU, represents a significant victory for the working class and a major advance in the liberation struggle. This is why COSATU is today saluted both at home and internationally, particularly where militant anti-imperialist struggles are being fought, as the leading organisation of organised workers in South Africa, and as an important weapon in the hands of the working class more broadly.

STRUCTURE OF COSATU

• **Members**: the workers who form the affiliated unions

• **Unions**: by June each industry will have one union representing the workers

AFFILIATED INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

MINES METAL FOOD PAPER CONSTRUCTION CHEMICAL CATERING TRANSPORT DOMESTIC MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECTOR FARM TEXTILE UNEMPLOYED

SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL

SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL

SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL

• All the members of the shopsteward committees in a local meet in a shopsteward council to co-ordinate work in the local

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

• Limited power - assists the General Secretary

• Four additional members of the Central Executive Committee - no more than three members from one region and no more than two members from one affiliated union

• Meets once between meetings of the Central Executive Committee

• Cannot make policy or amend any policy decision of the federation

• President, Vice-President, Second Vice-President, General Secretary, Assistant General-Secretary

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

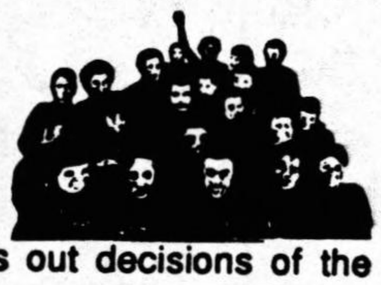
• Administers the region between meetings of the Regional Congress
• Regional Chair, Vice-Chair, Treasurer and Regional Secretary

• Manages the affairs of the Federation between meetings of the National Congress
• Meets once every three months
• Two representatives for each affiliated union with under 15 000 members (one must be a worker) and four representatives for unions over 15 000
• Chairperson of each region has speaking but no voting rights
• President, Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Treasurer, General Secretary of NC hold same position - no voting rights

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

• Two delegates from each affiliate with under 8000 members and four delegates from unions with more than 8000 members

REGIONAL CONGRESS



• Carries out decisions of the NC and the CEC
• Each affiliate with a branch in the region elects 5 representatives for the first 1 000 members and then one representative for every 250 members

REGIONAL CONGRESS

• Elects a regional Vice-Chairperson, Treasurer, and Regional Secretary
• Subordinate body to the CEC - decisions of the Regional Congress may be confirmed, amended or reversed by the CEC

NATIONAL CONGRESS

• Highest controlling body of the federation
• Meets at least once every two years
• Adopts general and specific policy by means of resolutions
• Elects the President, Vice-President, Second Vice-President, General-Secretary and Assistant General Secretary

• No official of the federation or its affiliates shall be eligible for the position of President, First Vice-President or Treasurer
• Each affiliate has one delegate per 500 members - workers must be in the majority of the delegation.

2. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE COSATU'S FORMATION

2.1 COSATU'S FORMATION

On the 15th of July 1987 when the Second National Congress starts COSATU will have been in existence for nineteen and a half months. During these months South Africa has experienced its most serious political and economic crisis. The National Party regime has proved totally incapable of dismantling apartheid and rules by force.

The formation of a new trade union federation in these circumstances has not been an easy task. We have been confronted by a disastrous economic recession, the draconian powers of successive States of Emergency and a growing campaign of physical violence against COSATU leadership, membership and property. What is remarkable is that we have not only survived this but the membership of affiliates has actually grown.

COSATU'S present paid-up membership makes it not only the largest federation in South Africa but a significant national centre in world terms. This growth is a tribute to the determination and militancy of South Africa's workers.

2.2 COSATU STRUCTURES

Affiliates have extended membership to virtually every industrial and mining centre in South Africa and the public sector is being seriously addressed as well. Union organisation is now truly national. Structures have developed rapidly and it is important to identify the basis of this rapid growth.

There is no doubt that the foundation for this expansion is the form of unionism developed by affiliates. It is a unionism that is based on shop floor organisation and the development of shop or shaft steward structures. Our unions directly and effectively deal with the problems that workers face. The strength of organisation has led to real and significant improvements in working conditions. To

join a COSATU union and be active still requires a strong committment, but unorganised workers can be sure that there are real and concrete gains in store. Our unions are a source of pride, achievement and hope to workers. This is why they continue to expand in the face of one of the most repressive regimes in the world.

2.3 COSATU'S CONTRIBUTION TO BUILDING DEMOCRACY

Our grassroots organisation has made our unions militant. The union structures respond to and represent the views and aspirations of workers. Unionism is a day-to-day activity, and this is particularly true at shop floor level. The result is that thousands of workers have developed the skills of leadership, representation and unionism. This is the basis of democracy in practice.

These developments at grassroots which are spreading nationally are certainly COSATU'S greatest achievement. There are problems, we have differences and all does not always run smoothly. But it would be a serious mistake not to recognise and build on this achievement.

The working class is developing a real base for the defence of its interests and in doing so it has built a bastion of democracy against repression.

2.4 COSATU AND THE COMMUNITY

COSATU has increasingly come to occupy a particular position within the present political environment. Its ability to survive and its visible presence in the form of its worker leadership, officials and offices have made it a focus of much activity. This activity has included the growing links between COSATU structures and community based organisations. Such links have been particularly strengthened by the existence of active Local Shop Steward Councils. There is growing pressure on COSATU to assist and provide support in a wide range of activities and campaigns. COSATU's organisational base has provided an important support for wider political opposition. This has often placed a very heavy strain on newly established structures. Care needs to be exercised to avoid factionalism and the disappointment of excessive expectations in the process of building these links.

However, the effective consolidation of links between COSATU structures and community based structures is essential not only for support in major strikes and defending our organisation, but also to lay a basis for building real working class leadership in the mass democratic struggle. We see this as a legitimate extension of our trade union activity.

2.5 COSATU AND THE STATE

Taken together, these developments have thrust COSATU into occupying a very high political profile. This has attracted increased State attention. Even more unwelcome and dangerous has been the attention of shadowy vigilante groups.

There has been increased sophistication in the methods used by the State. The usual methods of detention, banning of meetings and police activity during the strikes have now been supplemented by an ochestrated media campaign. In particular the role of the SABC in 1987 during the SATS dispute was a new dimension of State repression in response to the effectiveness of our strategies and perspectives.

It is important to see that this constitutes an integrated attack. By using its battery of repressive legislation to criminalise our actions the State is able to make sweeping and false allegations about COSATU's goals and methods. This is joined to more specific allegations relating to worker action in conflict situations and fed into the media, in particular national television news. Allegations untested by the normal process of justice are then constructed into a sinister interpretation. This is carefully fitted into the SABC's endless propaganda campaign. No effort is made to carry COSATU'S views or they are deliberately misrepresented.

The campaign then justifies further action against COSATU and vigilantes see this as giving them license to take their own action against us. This concerted propaganda does have an effect on ordinary people and the membership of fraternal organisations. As a result COSATU has had to devote considerable resources to fighting a propaganda war and correcting misinformation.

COSATU is a trade union federation. However, its links with the community, and the political expression of its members views, have made COSATU an effective national opposition to the policies of the

ruling class. Central to these policies is the protection of group rights. Ruling class political parties and capital also favour the protection of such group rights. The Kwa Natal Indaba is the clearest example of this. COSATU has been opposed to this. In a society marked by massive wealth gaps, protection of group rights is effectively a protection of wealth and privilege. It is inevitable, therefore, that this serious clash between COSATU and the State will continue.

2.6 COSATU AND CAPITAL

Affiliates are in growing conflict with employers as economic conditions deteriorate. COSATU has also become a major obstacle to the "reform" designs of capital that are essentially concerned with maintaining the status quo.

On the political front, capital has given very ineffectual opposition to the State's complete elimination of the rule of law. Spokespersons of capital have been timid and hesitant. Most of them have been silent after P.W. Botha's threats. As a result no possibilities of co-operation between capital and labour against State repression have existed. The bosses have consistently refused to take decisive action against the apartheid regime, arguing that they are lobbying behind the scenes.

The growth of COSATU and its affiliates has also raised fundamental questions about the effectiveness of capitalism in South Africa. The COSATU Living Wage campaign focussed attention on the very basic requirements of workers such as unemployment and housing.

The government reports about 1,5 million people unemployed and the Presidents Council estimates 3,5 million. Both figures are extremely high but the truth is that no-one knows what the unemployment level is because apartheid institutions make it impossible to measure this accurately. Independant researchers estimate unemployment to be in the region of 6 million.

The government admits to a housing shortage in urban areas of 800 000 units. However, since no-one knows what the urban population is this is probably a gross underestimate. State housing policy shows absolutely no sign of being able to deal with such a shortage.

Capital's claims that the dismantling of apartheid and the introduction of a system of free enterprise will remove these problems are not convincing when examined seriously. The essential elements of capital's reforms are privatisation and deregulation. The former will increase the power of monopolies creating few, if any, jobs. The latter offers low wage employment for limited numbers and does little to alleviate poverty.

COSATU as a representative of organised workers has been one of the very few voices opposed to both privatisation and deregulation. The economic problems that workers live with are clearly structural problems and require a restructuring of the economy to solve them. Such views find little favour with capital and no doubt this clash of perceptions will continue.

2.7 THE ROAD AHEAD

COSATU has built organisation based on militant affiliates. This has given strength and resilience to survive nineteen very difficult months. Our survival, in the light of the vicious repression on all fronts against the democratic forces, has placed COSATU in a central political position.

The result has been that COSATU constitutes a major force in the opposition to apartheid. COSATU is also an obstacle to the protection of wealth and privilege. We stand for the economic, political and social liberation of the oppressed majority. COSATU cannot expect easier times ahead. Our priority has to be to strengthen and deepen both union and community organisation.

NUM rally after 5th Annual Congress

3. PROGRESS REPORT ON RESOLUTIONS

3.1 POLITICAL POLICY

COSATU's Launching Congress resolution committed us to:

- promote the leading role of the working class in struggle
- build disciplined alliances with other progressive sectors
- encourage debate on the goals and aims of the working class in the struggle

Since the launch COSATU has spearheaded direct and decisive participation by workers in many struggles at local, regional and national level.

Organised workers have played a major role in many joint community struggles with other **progressive, democratic organisations**. In some instances COSATU structures themselves have been catapulted into a leading role at community level. This has been the case particularly in Brits, Isithebe, Mandini, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Springs, Clermont, Namaqualand, Witbank and Secunda. There have also been initiatives by **COSATU Shop Steward Locals** in certain areas to cement closer links with other organised sectors such as youth and civics. This involved giving observer participation to representatives of these groups in the locals or alternatively the setting up of joint structures outside of the local.

The **State of Emergency** declared on 12 June brought into sharp focus the need for progressive organisations to rally forces to withstand the attack. At the height of the crackdown, with hundreds of leadership people detained and our activities disrupted, the Executive compiled a **Discussion Paper** outlining urgent tasks and proposing a way forward. The paper called on affiliates and members to, among other things, discuss what alliances and political direction were needed to defend and advance the gains that COSATU had made. At the same time, a national congress of **MAWU** called on COSATU to initiate wide discussion on alliances and the path to socialism.

The November CEC agreed not to embark on a **United Front** against the Emergency until COSATU finalised policy on alliances. However, it was decided to engage in a short-term campaign of **National United Action Against the Emergency**. This campaign was not very successful because it was not rooted in grassroot alliances and structures.

In February 1987 the **New Year Executive Message** further identified the tasks facing us if we were to defend, consolidate and advance our interests in the struggle. The message called for the strengthening of fighting alliances between workers, youth, the unemployed and other democratic forces.

As the mass struggles in the country have intensified, organised workers under COSATU have played a crucial role in establishing the leading role of the working class for total liberation.

In May this year, NUM at its Fifth National Congress adopted the **Freedom Charter** as a guide to socialism. This was seen as a powerful statement that workers were locating themselves in the hub of democratic struggle and assuming a leading role in the struggle for national liberation.

Subsequently NUMSA, FAWU, NEHAWU and CCAWUSA have also through resolutions recognised the Freedom Charter as a programme of minimum democratic demands. These demands have become a rallying point amongst the workers and our most important allies amongst the youth, students, the unemployed and the civics.

Both the NUM and NUMSA have called on COSATU to urgently clarify the issue of alliances and urged trade unions to establish "closer links" with community-based "mass democratic organisations with a proven record of struggle".

The issue of political direction and alliances, postponed for more discussion since our November CEC, will surface as key issues in this July 1987 National Congress .

3.2 THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

The right to strike is a fundamental and democratic trade union

right. Workers have used this weapon effectively to challenge conditions of exploitation and the power of management in the workplace, despite the fact that most strikes are illegal in South Africa.

The Labour Relations Act does not recognise the right of millions of farmworkers and domestic workers to join democratic unions and denies the right to strike to hundreds of thousands of workers in the so called " essential services ". The Act's narrow definition of a legal strike allows for extensive police intervention in industrial relations disputes. Other repressive legislation such as the Emergency Regulations, the Riotous Assembly Act and the Intimidation Act override the Labour Relations Act and give the security forces vast powers to crush strike action. Thousands of striking workers have been arrested or arbitrarily detained in recent strikes.

According to official figures, in 1985 there were 389 strikes involving 240 000. In 1986 there were 424 390 workers involved in 793 strikes and in 1987 from January to June there were 124 strikes involving 472 389 workers. It is clear, even from government statistics, that there has been an almost continuous strike wave this year. COSATU unions are without doubt the most militant and active with regard to shopfloor struggles. Many strikes were marked by strong solidarity action by other affiliates, while in others COSATU failed to rally working class support.

Some of the major examples of militant worker action are:

Kinross

There was an explosion of anger following the death of 177 miners in an underground accident at Kinross mine. The disaster exposed the appalling lack of health and safety in the mines. It became clear that mine management was aware of the potential for such an accident, but failed to take preventative action.

NUM and COSATU took action on October 1 - the Day of Mourning - focusing on the demand: **Health and Safety before Profits.** On this day 300 000 miners took part in a stayaway while COSATU affiliates organised a stoppage of one to two hours in hundreds of

Kinross commemoration at Secunda

factories. At a memorial service the week before, thousands of workers attended a NUM memorial service at Secunda

Clover

The Clover Dairies struggle continues with 130 workers still out on strike. The strike is an example of the unashamed collusion between management and UWUSA in Natal and various parts of the country aimed at disorganising COSATU unions and propping up this "sweetheart union".

The trouble, which started when workers went on a wage strike in February 1986, took an ugly turn when UWUSA officials armed with guns and knives threatened workers. Management also allegedly drew guns on the workers. In the face of this, workers retreated shouting " Amandla Awethu ". The bosses later held an enquiry and dismissed the shop steward chairperson and another worker for "intimidation". The workers again came out on strike and were dismissed.

Attempts at negotiation have so far proved fruitless. As the boycott of Clover products began to take effect, management brought an interdict against FAWU preventing FAWU from calling for consumer action. Recently the house of the Shop Steward Council chairperson was burnt down. At one stage management offered to reinstate a few striking workers in various Natal plants. However, management is adamant they will not dismiss scab labour and the dispute remains unresolved.

OK Strike

More than 10 000 workers at OK stores nationwide went on strike on 18 December 1896. The strike lasted 11 weeks with management adopting an extremely intransigent position that seemed set for an all-out war against the union, CCAWUSA.

Thousands of workers were arrested and detained as police moved in to break up demonstrations and canteen occupations. The strike was a classic case of management reliance on apartheid security forces to compel striking workers to go back to work on their terms. COSATU unions met to plan solidarity action. This was most successfully carried out by FAWU whose members refused to deliver to OK. In all regions, solidarity groups were set up which conducted pickets and mobilised consumer action. Affiliates and locals also mobilised consumer action and raised funds for strike relief.

One of the most important developments in the strike was the National Anglo Shop Stewards Council organised by COSATU and CCAWUSA.

After eleven weeks the strike ended in a worker victory with management agreeing to R100 across the board, greater maternity benefits for women and a pledge not to victimise workers involved in the strike.

A significant new development in this strike has been the use of professional management labour consultants to strategise their union-busting campaigns. This has also been the case in the BTR Sarmcol dispute, and will need an organised response from COSATU.

SAB Strike

The SAB strike was a major test of strength between militant workers organised in a strong industrial union and monopoly capital. The strike started at the Rosslyn plant after workers refused to accept management's decision to introduce continuous shifts. Workers defied the order to accept the continuous shift system by 20 June 1987 and demanded that negotiation on the issue take place. The strike started after management refused to negotiate with the union on the issue.

The strike, and the subsequent dismissal of workers, led to a break-down of the wage talks which were continuing at the time. Within days about 3 000 SAB workers in plants around the country joined the strike in solidarity.

The Rosslyn workers made it clear that they saw the strike as a challenge to management's power to make unilateral decisions in the workplace as much as a rejection of the continuous shift plan. On 1 July, management agreed to union demands that workers be allowed to return and that the continous shift system be negotiated with the union through a joint commission of enquiry.

Transvaal Alloys

The strike by over 200 MAWU members from Transvaal Alloys has finally been settled after two years of hardship and struggle. The factory is owned by a German multinational, Nord Deutsches Affine. The strike was over starvation wages of 55 cents an hour, appalling working conditions, sjamboking by security staff, and union recognition. After unsuccessful attempts over seven months to

negotiate, workers went on strike. Workers were summarily dismissed and forced out of the compound. Since then five workers died from hunger while others lived on roots in the mountains. An international inquiry was held in November and the issue was settled this year in an agreement between the union and management with substantial pay-outs to all the workers.

General Motors

The General Motors struggle has demonstrated workers support for COSATU's policy on disinvestment. It has also demonstrated that workers will resist disinvestment schemes which go against the principle that employers and the government should be the main victims of disinvestment, and not workers.

On 29 October black workers at General Motors downed tools and began a sit-in to protest GM's refusal to negotiate the terms of its disinvestment from South Africa. On the 12th day, before negotiations had been completed, the sit-in and a mass picket were broken up by the police using dogs and sjamboks.

These actions demonstrated that General Motors were not disinvesting out of concern for our struggle against apartheid, but only to protect their own interests. GM 's move to sell out to local white management and their refusal to negotiate with the representative unions was a sham and clearly a move to escape the international pressure by "warehousing" their operation under a so-called South African company.

The workers strike was not against sanctions or disinvestment but against management power to withdraw on their own terms. Workers were angered that management were doing the pull-out deal behind workers backs and with no regard for workers interests.

NAAWU, MAWU and MICWU drew up a list of demands to be put to all multinationals: firms intending to withdraw should give timeous notice and full details of plans. They should also negotiate conditions of withdrawal with the provision that there will be no redundancies, that union recognition will be entrenched and that there will be no loss of benefits for members where these companies are sold to local interests. The General Motors strike has highlighted the need for workers to mobilise to protect their interests with regard to disinvestment. This is in line with COSATU`S resolution which states that the wealth created by

GM workers hand their ID cards to shopstewards in solidarity with the 567 fired workers

workers must remain in South Africa and be controlled by workers. COSATU has supported the NAAWU/ MAWU/ MICWU demands and called on organised workers in multinationals to immediately start introducing these into negotiations with management.

Pick 'n Pay

The Pick 'n Pay sit-in strike, the so-called R5 strike, was one of the most high profile strikes on the 1986 calender. The six-day national stoppage involved about 8000 workers at 55 stores and revolved around a worker demand of R90 a month across the board increase. Pick 'n Pay bosses eventually settled the strike by agreeing to R85. The strike was characterised by the effective use of the sleep-in, management intimidation and conflict between white shoppers and picketing workers.

Sarmcol

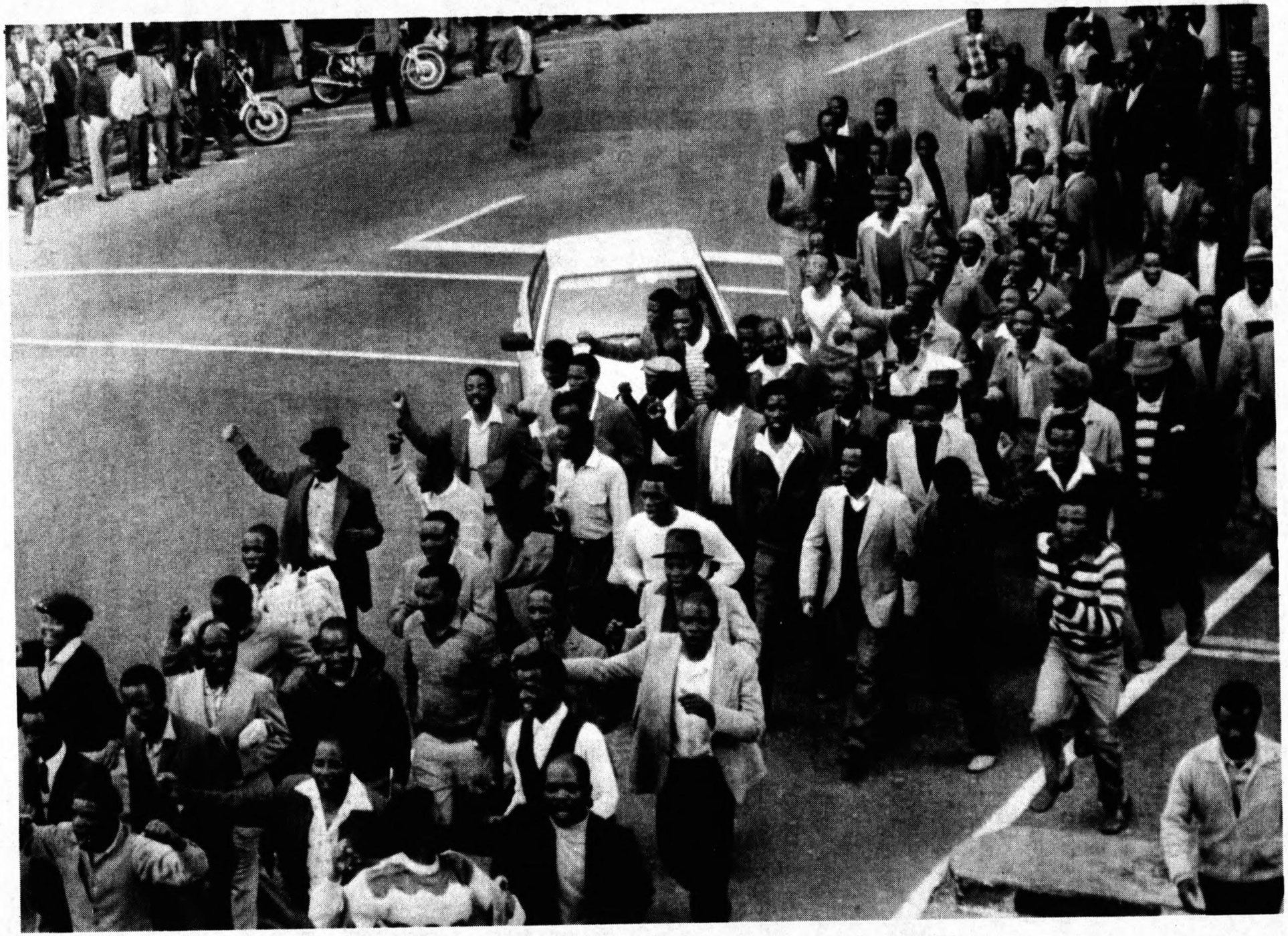
In April 1985 one thousand BTR Sarmcol workers from Howick went on strike demanding recognition of their union, MAWU. Three days later all were dismissed. The strike, which continues to this day, generated more worker and community mobilisation than has ever been seen before in the Pietermaritzburg area. Nine months later, the Sarmcol Workers Co-operative (SAWCO) was started. The project has a T-shirt printing and agricultural project which aims at providing sustenance for workers. Other parts of the project, aimed at sustaining organisation, deal with community health, drama and newsletter. In the meantime BTR allowed UWUSA into the factory and have now recognised it as the representative of the scabs that were employed. An Industrial Court case instituted by the union for reinstatement of all workers has been going on for over a year.

Mondi

The Mondi national strike began in February 1986 involving about 5000 workers. Negotiations began at the end of 1986 and reached deadlock. Workers started by demanding 70 cents an hour across the board. Management offered increases ranging from R40 at the bottom to R60 at the top. After eight days management agreed to meet the main demands of the workers. This was the final strike in the paper and pulp industry.

SATS

The SATS dispute arose out of the dismissal of a SARHWU member and the refusal of SATS management to deal with the democratically elected representatives of the workers. Instead they consistently



SARHWU victory march after settlement

forced their sweetheart union, BLATU, down the throats of the workers. This was rejected by the majority of workers. Because of SATS' intransigence in negotiating a resolution of the problem the strike spread to over 20 000 in a few weeks. Workers mainly in the Transvaal came out on strike.

Workers organising in the face of extreme harassment, mass detentions, evictions from the hostels and mass dismissal of over 16 000 remained united for three months. The strike was the biggest and longest in the public sector. At the same time over 6 000 members of POTWA in the post services came out on strike over similar racism in the post offices.

The events around the SATS dispute were used by the state to mount a massive propaganda war against COSATU and SARHWU in the hope of creating a climate under which an attack could be launched against us. It was only through our persistence and committment that we finally settled the dispute and gained the reinstatement of all SATS workers .

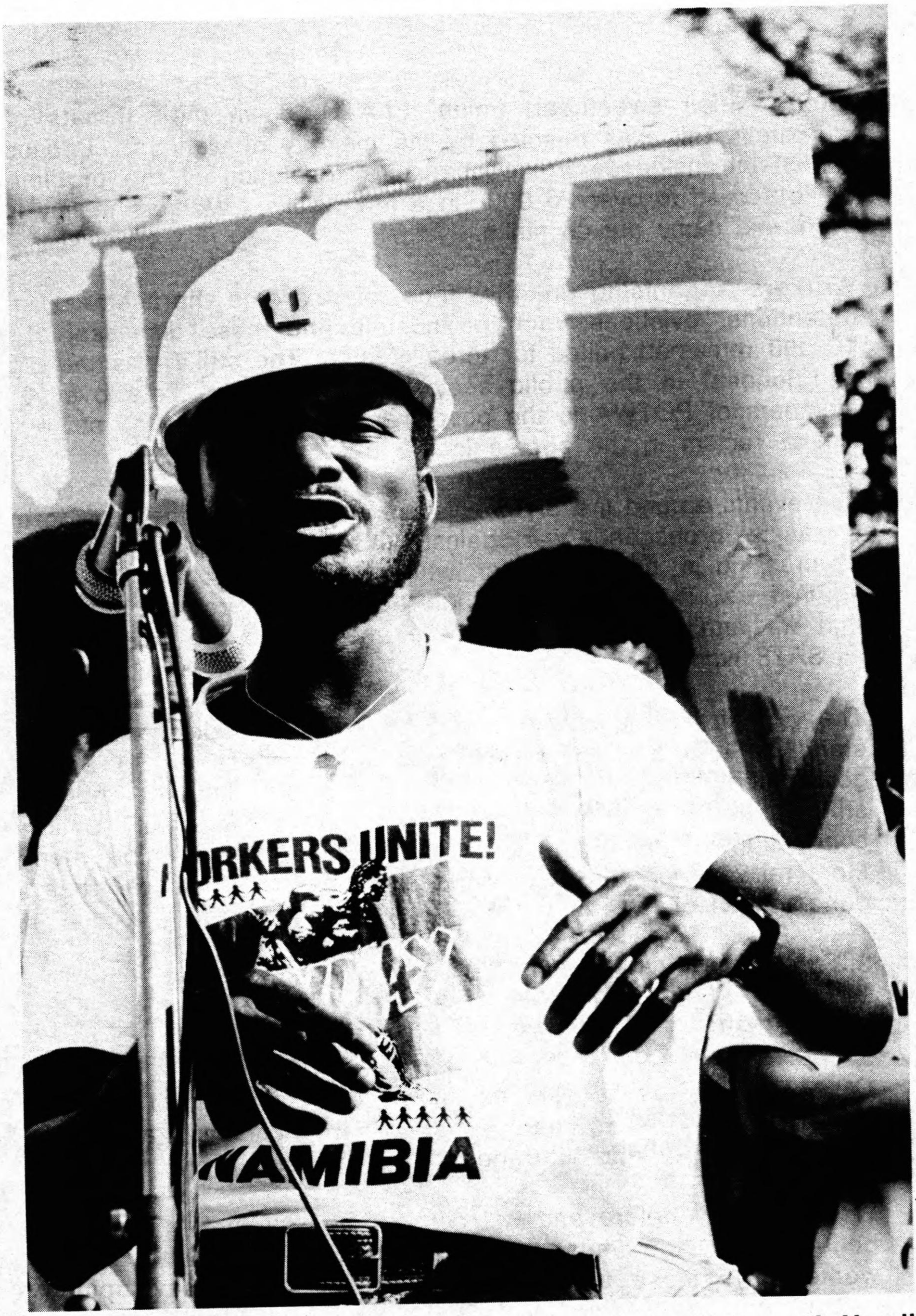
The victory that we achieved was a complete vindication of what we stand for and a blow to the racist intransigence of SATS and the government. However many SARHWU worker leaders and officials still remain in detention and SATS and the security police are conducting a campaign of victimisation of active union members. More railway workers have also been detained. Much work has to be done to consolidate our victory.

3.3 INTERNATIONAL POLICY

3.3.1 PRESENT POSITION

COSATU has put forward its international non-aligned position very forcefully. This has had a major impact on traditional and established international trade union relations.

We have said before and will continue to say in the future that we believe that the most militant struggles fought by organised workers are those that are being fought in the developing world against the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalist exploitation.



Ben Ulenga, General Secretary of Mineworkers Union of Namibia and ex-Robben Island prisoner, addresses May Day rally

As contact and solidarity increases, we are deepening our committment to strengthen ties with the militant anti-imperialist labour movement that is growing stronger each day, and which stretches from Brazil and Nicaragua in South and Central America, to the Carribean, Africa, Asia and to the Far East countries such as the Phillipines and Fiji.

We also salute our allies in the developed countries who have always supported us materially and morally. Even when we have not agreed on certain things they have respected our decisions. In this regard we wish to particularly thank the Swedish LO/TCO, the Norwegian LO, the Danish LO, the Finnish SAK and the Dutch FNV for their support. We look forward to strengthening our ties with you and our other democratic allies in the international labour movement.

3.3.2 SUMMMARY OF INTERNATIONAL VISITS.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

ZAMBIA (ANC/SACTU/COSATU MEETING)

In March 1986 a COSATU delegation met with ANC and SACTU leadership in Lusaka to discuss the situation in South Africa. In a joint communique issued after the meeting , the three organisations agreed that "lasting solutions" can only emerge from the national liberation movement of which the ANC is a leading force, and the democratic movement of our country of which COSATU is an integral part. It was further agreed that change meant more than a formal political democracy but would also have to ensure a restructuring of the economy to serve the interests of the majority.

MOZAMBIQUE (CDE. PRES. SAMORA MACHEL'S FUNERAL)

In Oct. 1986 comrades J.Naidoo and J. Motlatsi attended the funeral of the late Mozambican President and Frelimo leader Comrade Samora Machel in Maputo. The delegation was welcomed by Frelimo and at a meeting held with the Mozambican Trade Union Centre (OTM) discussion centred around the need to strengthen links between democratic unions in Southern Africa.

BOTSWANA

In April 1986 COSATU responded to an invitation by the Socialist International. Our delegation met with senior executive members of the International to discuss the situation inside South Africa. We also met with an International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

(ICFTU) delegation to reiterate our position on our international policy on non-alignment and funding.

ZAMBIA

In October 1986 a COSATU delegation led by Cde Chris Dlamini attended a conference organised by the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions and the ICFTU which was opened by President Kaunda and addressed by President Oliver Tambo. The COSATU delegation in the course of the conference also had talks with representatives of the national liberation movement.

OTHER VISITS

Other visits to African countries were undertaken as part of our joint project with the Commonwealth Trade Union Congress (CTUC) and will be covered under education. Some joint seminars were also undertaken with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) - an example of this was the metal seminar in Kabwe, Zambia. Various affiliates have also undertaken joint education work with other Southern African national centres in the Frontline States.

3.3.3 OVERSEAS

ESTABLISHED NATIONAL CENTRES

A number of visits have been undertaken to meet national centres individually and jointly for discussions on co-operation and to attend various congresses. These have involved national centres in Europe: the TUC in Britain, the FNV in Netherlands, the Danish LO, the Swedish LO/TCO, the Norwegian LO, the CGIL in Italy and the CLC and CSN in Canada.

MEETINGS WITH THE DONORS

Several meetings have been held with donor national centres . These have mainly involved the FNV in the Netherlands, the Danish LO, the Swedish LO/TCO and the Norwegian LO. These meetings have been very fruitful.

MEETINGS WITH CTUC

Co-operation with the Commonwealth Trade Union Congress (CTUC) has been very good. The contact and joint study project with the CTUC has enabled our leadership to build links with many of the militant anti-imperialist worker movements in the Caribbean , Africa and India. In June 1987 the Cde Jay Naidoo addressed the Annual General Meeting of the CTUC in Geneva.

These contacts continue on the basis that there will be absolute respect of our adopted policies and principles especially in respect of our international policy established at our launching congress.

MEETING WITH THE ILO

Our contact with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has been very good up to now. A COSATU delegation headed by Cde Chris Dlamini was invited to the ILO in June 1986 at the time of their conference . High level meetings were held with the Director General and members of the ILO Executive. Concrete solidarity was pledged for COSATU in relation to education and material resources as well as information.

In June 1987 Cde Jay Naidoo addressed the ILO Committee on South Africa at the Annual Conference of the ILO in Geneva. This was particularly significant in that South Africa is the only country in the world that has been expelled from this important world body that brings together union national centres, governments and employers from all countries of the world.

MEETING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

A COSATU delegation of Cde Daniel Dube (Exco member) and Cde Alec Erwin (Education Secretary) addressed the UN sub-committee on South Africa. Full support for COSATU and the entire mass democratic movement of our country was pledged by the United Nations.

MEETING OF THE NORDIC WORKERS CONGRESS

This meeting, held every three years by the Scandanavian national centres and social democratic parties, was attended by the Cde Cyril Ramaphosa in September 1986 and the Cde Jay Naidoo who addressed the conference.

PHILIPPINES

This visit by Cde Sydney Mufamadi during May 1986 deserves mention because of the brutal war which is being waged against the people of the Philippines. Hundreds of leaders of the national centre, KMU, have been assasinated by death squads but the workers movement continues to play a leading role in the liberation struggle. In May 1987 we had arranged to send two representatives to their Mayday celebrations but this was postponed because of the events surrounding the SATS dispute.

GENERAL PRINCIPLE

The important criteria for COSATU is that the international community, including the international trade union movement must recognise that the unity of all progressive, democratic, non-racial organisations in South Africa is important to defeat apartheid and will need their full support.

Scores of our leaders have been denied passports to travel overseas. Our President Cde. Elijah Barayi has been refused a passport on four occasions. This is just a further indication of how the apartheid regime seeks to silence the voice of the democratic labour movement.

3.4 MULTINATIONAL AND MONOPOLIES

The most important response to challenge the power of monopoly capital has been COSATU's programme of building broad based industrial unions. Bigger national industrial unions are better placed to challenge the power of monopolies on issues ranging from wages, retrenchments, mechanisation and rationalisation.

In the past nineteen months there have been bigger, better organised struggles against multinationals involving thousands of workers (refer to OK and SAB disputes). COSATU used the dispute between CCAWUSA and OK which is owned by SAB, Premier Milling and Anglo American, to show how monopoly power is used to crush the interests of workers and how organised workers should respond.

COSATU and CCAWUSA called a national Anglo Shop Stewards Council which was held in Johannesburg to discuss solidarity with striking OK workers. Stewards returned to shops, factories and mines with proposals of solidarity action to apply pressure on management to take action on the dispute.

Other union initiatives related to challenging monopoly power include:

- The setting up of the Metal Box Shop National Stewards Council
- The establishment of a South African Breweries National Shop Stewards Council
- The launch of a Southern Suns National Shop Stewards Council

3.5 NATIONAL MINIMUM LIVING WAGE

COSATU launched its Living Wage campaign in May this year after several weeks of planning involving the three unions in the forefront of the Living Wage struggles - NUM, MAWU and CWIU.

The last CEC (in May 1987) noted that this campaign has not been strong. Campaign structures have been severely handicapped by poor union participation. At one stage the NCC (National Co-ordinating Committee) collapsed. Another serious problem is that union co-ordinating commitees have, except in some of the major industrial unions, generally not been set up.

This campaign has the potential to capture the imagination of millions of workers both within and outside of our ranks. Already it has given a powerful impetus to the union wage struggles and to worker discussion on what a Living Wage is. The demands of the campaign are:

- A Living Wage for All
- 40 Hour Week
- Job Security
- May Day, June 16 and Sharpeville Day to be declared public holidays
- An end to tax deductions
- A minimum of 6 months paid maternity leave
- Decent family housing near places of work
- Decent education and training

There is a strong feeling in some regions and affiliates that a Living Wage demand should be set, however the CEC decided against this as conditions in various sectors differed so vastly. A key campaign demand, however, is for the opening of company books.

An important objective of the campaign is the strengthening of links in joint struggle with other progressive democratic organsations. The campaign is drawing largescale community support from our important democratic allies such as SAYCO , WOMEN, STUDENTS and CIVICS. However just as we were unable to build a powerful co-ordinated campaign within COSATU we were unable to give any clear direction to our allies. In spite of our weaknesses we have seen a wave of worker militancy and resistance around the demands of our

SADWU launch

3.7 EDUCATION

3.7.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The COSATU education programme got off to a late start in 1986. Judging by the first few months of 1987, a relatively sound base was built. However, educational activities still tend to be displaced when more urgent priorities come up.

The reasons for the slow start were:

- The Education Secretary, Cde Alec Erwin was only appointed by the CEC in April 1986. As a result, the National Education Committee formed in the same meeting of the CEC, could only meet in May. In addition money only became available for education in June 1986.

- The State of Emergency and its reimposition in June 1986 did have an effect on our ability to establish new committees such as Regional and Local Education Committtees. There was a clear tendency to give priority to other activities and this was understandable. As a result of these factors Regional Education Committees only began forming from September.

3.7.2. STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAMME

The COSATU education programme is controlled by the following committees:

The National Education Committee. These consist of one delegate from each affiliate and the Regional Secretaries. This committee met four times in 1986. The National Education Secretary and Education Administrator are directly accountable to this committee. The National Education Committee is responsible for national courses and the overall direction of education. However, it is a sub-committee of the CEC.

Regional Education Committees. These committees are responsible for the co-ordination of education in the nine regions of COSATU. They consist of one representative from each affiliate in the region plus one worker delegate from each local in the region. By the end of 1986 Regional Education Committees had met in five of the regions. At present committees operate in eight of the nine established regions. However, they are not functioning well in most cases.

Local Education Committee. These are committees in each local that facilitate and encourage education. They consist of one delegate from each affiliate with shop stewards in the local. By the end of 1986 a few of these committees had been formed. At present about 31 such locals have been defined by regions. Again the development of these committees has been weak.

In both Regional and Local structures the education committees are sub-committees of the COSATU constitutional committees.

There are at present two full-time officials at a national level: the Education Secretary and an Administrator. In the regions the COSATU Regional Secretaries are responsible for education. The national education office is based in Durban and attached to a Printing Unit employing two printers, a typist and a translator.

3.7.3. GENERAL AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROGRAMME

The Education Resolution passed at the Inaugural Congress sets the direction and basic approach to COSATU Education. The main and immediate aim of the programme was to decentralise education to the greatest possible extent and thereby reach as many people as possible. This activity will continue in 1987 although a wider range of regional and national courses and seminars have begun and are planned for the second half of 1987.

The approach to education in COSATU is to link it as closely as possible to organisation. This requires that material has to be flexible enough so that it could be translated to the different needs of regions and affiliates. Another major aim in 1986 was therefore to gather and prepare educational resources that could be used in a decentralised education programme. (See Publication and Resources below).

3.7.4 COURSES AND SEMINARS

For the reasons outlined above, COSATU itself ran very few courses or seminars in 1986. At a national level only one seminar was held, this being a seminar to exchange information between affiliates in their own programmes. In addition a one-day policy seminar was held by the CEC.

The position in 1987 was markedly different and regional and national courses and seminars have already been held. An active programme was planned for the first 6 months of the year. Up until April this was going well. Attacks on COSATU in May disrupted the programme and the National Education Committees.

Seminars on COSATU policy were held in four of the regions that were launched relatively early in 1986.

Locals also held policy seminars and a few two-day seminars were held.

Basic Courses
A planning seminar was first held with educators from different regions. These educators then conducted the courses in regions. Regions grouped together to conduct the courses. So far the following courses have been held: Eastern Cape/ Western Cape; Northern Transvaal/ Highveld; Wits and Western Transvaal.

Political Economy Seminars
Planning seminars were held for two groups: E. Cape/ W. Cape and for Highveld, N. Transvaal, W. Transvaal and Wits region. Unfortunately the events of May disrupted this programme.

A number of affiliates, in particular NUM, CWIU, CCAWUSA, CTMWA , MAWU and NAAWU held extensive education programmes in 1986. COSATU personnel and resources have been used and have assisted in many of the seminars.

COSATU encourages affiliates to run and develop their own programmes. A broad division between affiliates and COSATU programmes is that the former handle shop steward and organiser training while COSATU handles general and policy education. However, this is a guideline rather than a definite division.

3.7.5 RESOURCE MATERIAL AND PUBLICATIONS

Policy File. To meet the needs of a decentralised programme resource files have been developed. They are designed to be used flexibly by those running seminars. The policy file contains all COSATU Congress Resolutions with supporting and background information.

Resource and skills file. This is similar to the above but contains:

- a directory of support organisations
- an index of available publications, videos etc that could be of use
- basic notes on issues such as constitutions, minute taking, report writing and wage bargaining
- examples of shop steward training manuals and seminar programmes
- an extensive bibliography of material pertinent to the issues raised in the COSATU education resolution
- notes on political organisations
- booklets used in education seminars
- COSATU resolutions
- speeches by COSATU and affiliate office bearers relating to the economic and political crisis and relating to education and the significance of June 16
- book on the South African economy and the present crisis
- in addition numerous briefings and other information is included

3.7.6 RESOURCE CENTRES

A facility to store basic material provided by the Education Department and to be controlled by the locals was started in 1986. This project is not as fully developed as it could be.

3.7.7 INTERNATIONAL STUDY TOURS

In co-operation with the Commonwealth Trade Union Congress (CTUC) a programme of study tours to the following countries has been worked out: United Kingdom, Canada, India, Carribean, Australia and Nigeria. These tours took place in the first four months of 1987.

3.7.8 COSATU AND THE EDUCATION STRUGGLE

COSATU has participated in the Second NECC Conference in early 1986. Although we have been called upon to intervene in the education crisis we have been unable to be consistent in the struggle for alternative education. Our leadership has participated in the various NECC structures at a local and regional level. We have also supported the struggle by students for their independent SRC's. We

have met with the various teacher organisations and have urged them to unite and form a national, democratic, non-racial teachers' union built on the working class principles of COSATU. We believe that this will contribute greatly to the struggle for alternative education.

3.7.9 COSATU INFORMATION/ NEWSPAPER

There are two aspects of COSATU information:

(a) information directed at our membership in the form of newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, stickers, information digests, press clippings, posters etc.

(b) information directed at the public nationally and internationally in the form of press releases, press conferences, press liaison, information packages, interviews, especially with international people wanting to find out more about COSATU.

All information is handled by the newspaper editor, newspaper administrator and information officer who have been employed by COSATU for a year. Since the Print Unit was formed in March, and especially since the bombing of COSATU HOUSE in May, comrades from the Print Unit have helped in the production of COSATU information.

The Information Officer has been responsible for Information Digests and Press Clippings which are sent to union offices and shop stewards nationally. He is also our liaison with local and international press.

We have produced : 5 COSATU NEWS ; 1 issue of COSATU CULTURAL WORKER; 3 issues of the recent newsletter, COSATU, and numerous posters, pamphlets, stickers etc. All this information is produced in 3 languages - Zulu, Sotho and English - with the production of the Zulu being done in Durban. Recently the Western Cape Region has been producing Xhosa and Afrikaans versions of various COSATU information.

We have been plagued by security police action against our media and a lot of our media has been seized, causing a break down in the flow of information as well as a loss of thousands of rands.

The newspaper has tried to develop a network of worker correspondents and photographers in order to help root the paper more strongly amongst our rank and file members. This has included a number of seminars on media production with workers in some regions and all COSATU regional full-timers. This aspect of the newspaper is extremely important and, with the co-operation of all affiliates, hopefully much more work will be done in this direction in the future.

Although affiliates had agreed to pay 5 cents per copy of COSATU NEWS and to provide information of quantities and languages to be distributed, this has only been done by a few affiliates. All affiliates will have to help build a comprehensive national network .

Because of the cultural demands on COSATU NEWS - poems, plays and stories - and the necessity to develop a cultural weapon to strengthen the work of the Cultural Unit, the Executive agreed that four issues of a COSATU Cultural Paper be produced each year. The first one has just been produced.

The paper is now translated into Zulu and Sotho . The Western and Eastern Cape Regions have continually asked that information be produced in Xhosa and Afrikaans as well. Now the Western Cape Region are trying to do this on their own initiative.

Our main task still remains to root our newspaper more deeply in our membership, to make it a fighting weapon of COSATU. We hope affiliates and COSATU workers will support us in this direction - especially now when, more than ever before, the working class needs its own independent media to combat ruling class propaganda.

3.7.10 CULTURE

The National Culture Unit of COSATU, based in Durban, is headed by Comrade Mi Hlatswayo, an ex -Dunlop worker and formerly of the Durban Culture Group. The Unit works closely with the National Education Department.

Since being appointed by the CEC in February 1987 this year he has been going to Locals and Regions to :

- encourage worker participation around culture

SARMCOL workers play "The Long March" at NUMSA launch

• conduct workshops with cultural groups that already exist within COSATU e.g. Sarmcol, Clover and GM
• collecting cultural material from workers so that we could publish it in COSATU'S cultural newspaper. At a later stage this material will be produced in other forms of media
• bringing together cultural workers so that we could form cultural units operating on the principle of worker democracy
• co-ordination and organisation of the Cultural Day of the COSATU Congress on July 18. This day-long programme will involve worker participation from all regions and demonstrates the immense cultural activity going on in COSATU today
• make plans to produce a culture video, based on the Cultural Day at the Congress which will be be made available to affiliates and locals to help promote cultural activity
• with the support of affiliates, locals, regions and our general membership, the Cultural Unit aims to popularise and defend our principles, so that we actually make worker politics the politics of the majority.

3.8 DISINVESTMENT

Since COSATU passed a resolution on disinvestment at the end of 1985 there have been major developments on this point.

The resolution had several main components. There was support for disinvestment; for the belief that if the government remains intransigent that pressure should be increased; that there should be was a committment to "ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of South Africa" and commitment to the principle of international working class solidarity.

We should use these points as a basis for making the following assessment.

• The disinvestment lobby has had a great deal more success in this period. This is particularly true of U.S. companies. The number of companies pulling out has grown rapidly. This has meant that COSATU affiliates have had to confront the disinvestment question much more directly. It has also meant that anti-disinvestment propaganda has been stepped up considerably by the media and other organisations.

Affiliates have, therefore, had to deal with the pressures that this has given rise to. The position has been complicated by the way in which most multinational corporations have withdrawn. They have done so with no consultation. This has confronted workers with unknown situations, a new employer and no certainty about their future positions. What has emerged is that companies are selling to local managers or other South African owned companies. The General Motors example is a clear case of keeping substantial control of the company but handing over ownership to local managers. When workers went on strike to clarify the position and establish their rights in the new company they were dismissed.

Out of this experience the metal unions (now NUMSA) adopted guidelines on disinvestment that demanded that withdrawals be negotiated. COSATU supported this.

• The pressure on many Western governments particularly by international solidarity movements has forced them very reluctantly to move towards sanctions. In various piece-meal forms many countries have adopted measures against South Africa.

COSATU spokespersons supported sanctions on the basis that they constituted increased pressure in the face of government intransigence, but this increased State propaganda to a frenzy. COSATU accordingly commissioned various reports on sanctions to be co-ordinated through us. These reports have been discussed in a workshop and by affiliates and they will form part of the background to a new resolution on sanctions and disinvestment that will be tabled at congress.

• The question of retaining the social wealth in South Africa now requires a practical response. Increasingly disinvesting companies are offering a range of buy-out and share options to workers and in some cases to unions. Generally the proposal involves workers being allocated shares which will be held in trust. This raises serious issues for workers as they are being offered some kind of participation in ownership but with no control. A challenge facing affiliates and COSATU is to formulate a coherent and correct policy to such proposals.

3.9 BANTUSTANS

COSATU has continued to speak out strongly against the bantustan

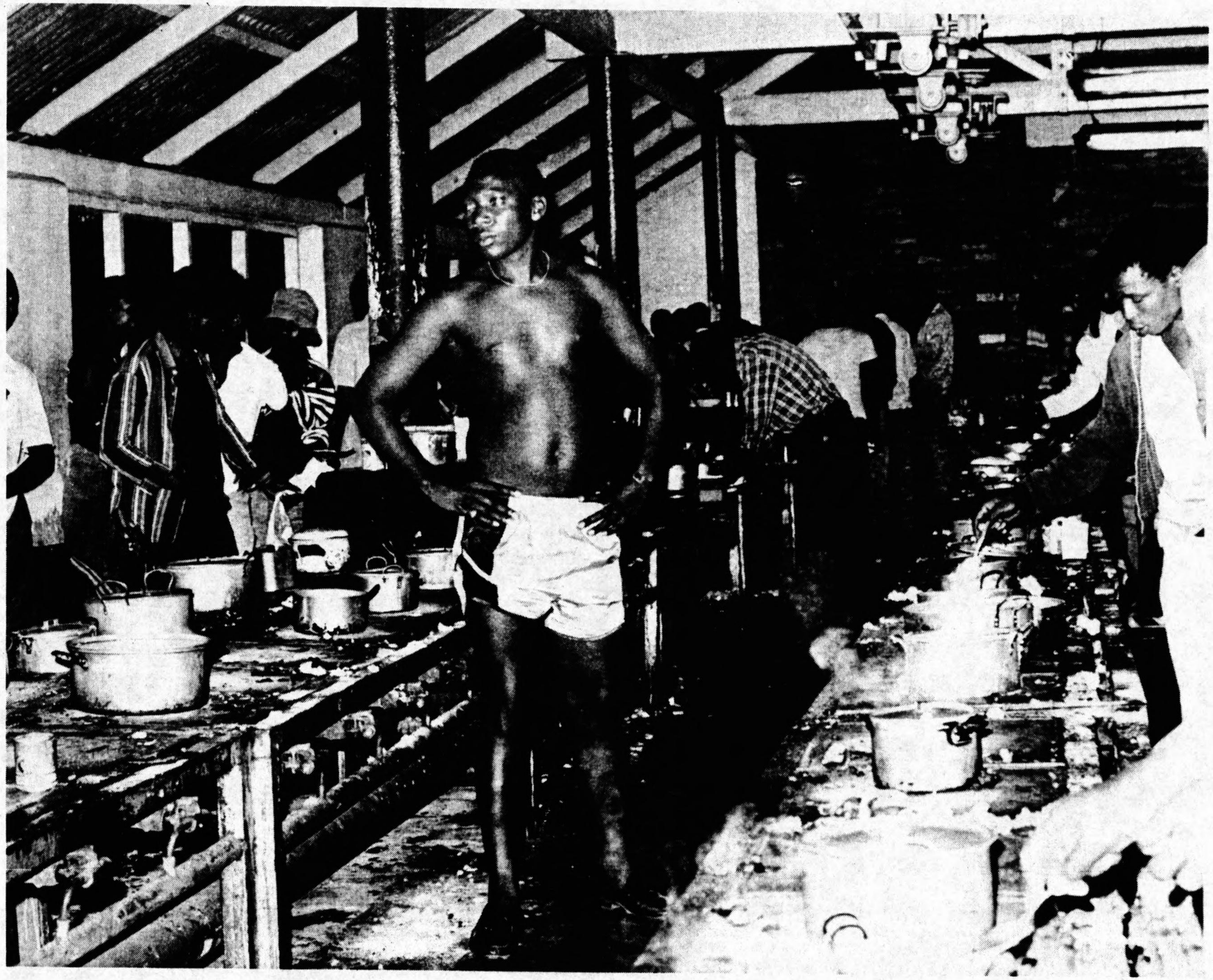
system and the super-exploitation and terrible conditions of work prevailing in these areas. Our demand is for a single undivided and democratic society. But although some organisation has taken place in the homelands (NUM, CWIU, CCAWUSA, NUMSA) COSATU has not taken any real steps to co-ordinate and concentrate on organising workers in the bantustans.

We need to consolidate and extend the level of organisation which has already taken place in these areas. Some big struggles have been fought by our affiliates against companies operating in Bantustans where unions are banned. The CWIU struggle against Matthey Rustenburg Refineries who want to move to Bophuthatswana where super-exploitation is protected is one example. Another major struggle was waged against Impala Platinum where 23 000 workers were dismissed for demanding recognition of their union, NUM.

Many communities, most notably the people living in KwaNdebele and the people of Moutse, have been involved in massive and heroic struggles against the bantustan system and incorporation. These actions have included widespread and sustained strikes by workers in the area. But there has been no real response from COSATU - even at a propaganda level - to these struggles and we have so far lost the opportunity to build working class solidarity with our brothers and sisters in these areas. We need to rectify this in line with our committment to struggle against bantusatans.

3.10 MIGRANT LABOUR

The migrant labour system ensures super-exploitation and works through repressive and arbitrary control and destroys the family lives of millions of workers in Southern Africa. COSATU has consistently called for the scrapping of the migrant labour system including the pass laws and influx control. President Barayi in a speech at our launching rally gave Botha 6 months to scrap the pass laws. This call came in the wake of massive militancy and resistance by workers in SA. In June Botha announced the so-called scrapping of the pass laws. This in fact still excluded millions of black people who were part of the " independent" homelands and was rejected by COSATU. We continue to make our demand that citizenship be restored to all people in a united SA.



Living conditions of migrant workers

The apartheid regime in the course of its attempts to destabilise the Frontline States announced the repatriation of 60 000 Mozambican miners. Though COSATU condemned this ploy and made some efforts to fight this, there was a great weakness in our fight. This was mainly due to the fact that the majority of Mozambican miners were not members of NUM, a weakness we have attempted to rectify with the OTM in Mozambique and in our organising efforts here at home.

What we have seen since the launch of COSATU is a determined effort by some managements and agent provocateurs especially on the mines to destroy our unity and organisation. Factional violence especially on the mines has caused the deaths of hundreds of miners. A joint report on factional violence done by NUM and Anglo American identified the migrant labour system as the root cause of factional violence on the mines. Factional violence in the form of attacks on NUM by the Inkatha-backed UWUSA has also occurred in Vryheid in Natal.

The most decisive action on this issue has been taken by NUM. Their Fifth Annual Congress endorsed a campaign to detribalise hostels and bring them under the control of democratically elected worker committees. Hundreds of NUM members subsequently brought their wives and families to the hostels in areas such as Witbank. This was a real beginning in the battle to transform the social conditions that black workers are forced to live in in the hostels. A number of large companies across the different industrial sectors have now agreed to negotiate the handing over of the hostels and the issue of housing with COSATU affiliates.

The end of the hostel system and the provision of family housing is part of the Living Wage campaign. This is an important resolution to be debated in the coming days of our congress.

3.11 FEDERALISM

The resolution on federalism was opposed to the division of South Africa and its reconciliation in a federal structure. This opposition is based on the belief that the purpose of this is to retain division and thereby protect the power and wealth of a privileged elite.

This type of thinking has now been expressed in a very much clearer form. It is best seen in the Kwa Natal Indaba proposals. The essence of these proposals is that there should be:

- negotiations between interest groups rather than freely elected representatives
- that negotiations take place at a leadership level with minimal report backs during the negotiation process
- that " group rights " be protected. In the case of the Indaba such " groups " are essentially defined racially.

The effect of the proposal is a complex system of government with powerful blocking rights for minorities. Quite clearly this will serve existing interests well and act as an anchor against wealth redistribution.

In one or other form similar proposals are being put forward. National Party proposals are different in racial emphasis rather than in their form. A great deal of money and effort is being spent to propagate the Indaba as a model for other parts of South Africa.

As dangerous is the growing suppression of any opposition to the Indaba. The renewed violent repression of opposition in KwaNdebele is also indicative of the determination of the State to implement some kind of federal solution.

In this light COSATU has consistently condemned the division of our country and campaigned for one person one vote in a unitary , democratic and non-racial South Africa. Clearly this resolution will increasingly be put to the test.

3.12 NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Our Congress launch called for the establishment of broad-based industrial unions to streamline the structures of the federation and to enable us to more effectively challenge the highly centralised structures of capital.

This principle is important because it is the road to worker unity and worker power. It is designed to prevent division and to ensure that groups of workers are not used against each other. The principle also helps to increase the bargaining power of workers in the industry. Although many COSATU unions are in principle committed to the idea of industrial unions, it has taken long to concretely implement the principle. The failure to pull off the mergers within the deadline has greatly retarded the progress and

Cde Chris Dlamini adressing FAWU merger launch

development of the federation. Only two mergers occurred before the deadline - the transport and food sector, although the former was not a full merger but brought together TGWU and GWU into a new TGWU. More significant progress in this respect has taken place since our February CEC.

The following is now the position in the various industrial sectors:

3.12.1 • Food

In May came the food merger which brought together the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Retail & Allied Workers' Union (Cape Town) and the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union as well as food sectors of GAWU. The Union has 65 278 members making it COSATU's third largest. FAWU was recognised as being the industrial union in the food industry.

3.12.2 • Construction

At the end of January 1987, the Construction and Allied Workers' Union was formed bringing together construction workers from general unions as well as industrial unions. The union started out with about 15 000 members signed and paid up. CAWU was recognised as being the industrial union in the building and construction union. Today CAWU represents 26 291 members.

3.12.3 • Chemical

In September 1986, the Plastic & Allied Workers' Union merged with the Chemical Workers' Union. Other unions with chemical membership were supposed to integrate their chemical membership into CWIU before the National Congress which was recognised as the industrial union in the chemical industry. CWIU now has a membership of 29 859.

3.12.4 • Domestic

In November 1986 the South African Domestic Workers Union was formed in Cape Town out of four regionally based domestic worker associations. Paid-up membership is 9 402 and signed up membership about 40 000. SADWU was recognised as the industrial union in the domestic sector.

3.12.5 • Metal

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa was formed in May 1987. Participating in the merger talks were MICWU, NAAWU, MAWU, NISMAWU, MACWUSA, GAWU and SAAWU. The new union has a membership of 130 796 paid-up making it COSATU'S second largest. NUMSA was recognised as the industrial union in the metal industry.

3.12.6 • Health and Education

The National Education and Health Workers' Union (NEHAWU) was launched in June 1987. Participating unions were : GAWU, HAWU and SAAWU. NEHAWU has a paid up membership of 9 197 and a signed up membership of 12 000. This was recognised as an interim step towards the setting up of a broad based public sector union which is to be debated in the Congress.

3.12.7 • Commercial and Catering

This merger took place on 28 June. Participating unions were CCAWUSA, HARWU and RAWU (Pretoria). The new union, called CCAWUSA in the interim has a membership of 56 000 and is the recognised industrial union in the commercial sector.

3.12.8 •Transport

This sector's merger took place in July 1987. Unions involved are TGWU, SASTAWU, SAAWU , GAWU ACUSA, CSAWU, and Ezakheni TAWU. Some unions at this congress walked out . The union that has emerged out of this congress is recognised as representing transport, cleaning and security workers and will attend the National Congress. It represents 18 281 members.

The CEC agreed that SARHWU will attend the National Congress as a separate union because of the SATS dispute but that both transport unions must merge soon after the congress.

3.12. 9 • Mining

NUM is the recognised industrial union in this sector and has a paid-up membership of 261 901.

3.12.10 • Paper

NUPAWU and PWAWU have not merged yet. However the CEC agreed that they will attend congress as a PWAWU delegation and the merger will take place soon after the congress. Paid-up membership in this sector is 23 310 members.

3.12.11 • Textile

The launching congress of the new union took place in June. The new union which is called NUTW and represents 30 538 members is the recognised industrial union in this sector.

3.12.12 • Municipal

The launching congress of the new municipal union will take place before September. The CEC agreed that this sector will attend the National Congress as one delegation. This sector represents 16 967 members.

3.12.13 • Farmworkers Union

The CEC mandated FAWU to handle this sector. Small but concrete progress has been made in organising this sector with material asistance from COSATU and organising efforts by workers on farms linked to organised food factories. Four full time organisers focussing on this sector have now been employed.

3.12.14 • Union Divisions

An example of some of the differences was the conflict in NUTW at the beginning of 1986 when a group within the union splintered to form TAWU. From the outset COSATU tried to reconcile the two parties, believing that differences within a union should not be settled by splits. There was still no success after efforts to heal the split and bring the splinter group back into NUTW. When the splinter group formed Textile and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU), it met with unanimous rejection from COSATU as it went diametrically against the principle of One Union One Industry. A second commission was then set up by the CEC to mediate between the groups. A CEC proposal to end the dispute was not accepted by TAWU, which is now operating independently.

Farm workers looking for organisation

Some of the CEC guidelines emerging out of our attempt to settle this dispute are worthy of mention:

- that splinter unions are unacceptable to COSATU as a way of resolving differences inside any affiliate.
- that while minority views are acceptable the views of the majority must be respected.
- no individual should stand in the way of the unity of the workers.

3.13 REGIONS

COSATU Congress resolved to have ten regions. The CEC - guided by affiliates based in the Northern Cape Region - decided to combine part of the Northern Cape Region with the OFS Region, and to link Namaqualand to the Western Province Region. The decision to have nine regions was based on the assessment that the level of organisation among affiliates in the area was still too low.
Regions which are fully launched and functioning complete with offices and full-time Regional Secretaries are Northern Transvaal, Witwatersrand, Highveld, Western Transvaal, Southern and Northern Natal and the Western Cape.

The Eastern Cape Region was only launched on 15 February 1987 after more than a year of delay. The problems centred on a dispute over the allocation of delegates. The COSATU Executive was eventually forced to intervene. Now that the Eastern Cape launch has taken place, the regional organisation of COSATU in this area has improved greatly.

The Wits region got off to a problematic start after a dispute over the Regional Secretary's election. The CEC urged fresh elections which were held at the end of November returning all members originally elected to the Executive. The Wits region is now fully operational and working to build COSATU in this key industrial centre.

Regions of COSATU have a crucial role to play in the co-ordination and planning of campaigns as well as intervention in problems arising in the regions. As such they need to be strengthened by the strong participation of every affiliate.

In many regions there have been insufficient initiatives taken. Affiliates must ensure that there is more active involvement from their side in the affairs of the COSATU regions.

LOCALS

Although there is no resolution on locals, COSATU regions have been charged with the task of setting up locals in areas where more than one affiliate has a presence.

Locals represent a key aspect of developing worker democracy, training and experience in the federation. They have, however, emerged very slowly in some areas. This can be traced to the uneven regional development and the lack of co-ordination between affiliates.

COSATU's discussion paper and the CEC seminar have assisted in defining the issues and setting a constructive tone for the debate. How do locals relate to other COSATU structures? What links should locals have with unemployed and community based organisations? The CEC has urged a flexible approach based upon the needs in each area. Since then, there has been more open discussion within the locals and affiliates which has helped to curb the tendency for extreme positions and walk-outs. A gradual consolidation of regions is certain to facilitate the establishment of more locals, and the strengthening of the existing ones. At present there are 31 COSATU locals.

SHOP STEWARDS

Shop stewards in the affiliates are the democratically elected representatives of workers on the factory floor. As such they are the key persons in every COSATU affiliate. COSATU has produced hundreds and hundreds of outstanding shop stewards and worker leaders. It is on the shoulders of these comrades that the duty to make worker democracy a reality rests.

3.14 FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Achieving financial self-sufficiency is also one of our weaknesses. We acknowledged in the early period that to establish and root the congress we would be heavily dependent on assistance from

fraternal national centres abroad, especially as, in many regions, we were for the first time setting up the organisational infrastructure.

Secondly, the affiliation fees payable by our affiliates were set at a minimum to ensure that affiliates had sufficient financial resources to strengthen their own organisational infrastructure.
We note that not all affiliates have complied with the requirements of this resolution by submitting information on applications for financial assistance to the CEC.

This congress will have to seriously debate the issue of financial self-sufficiency, particularly in the light of further State plans to clamp down on overseas funding of progressive organisations.

3.15 UNEMPLOYMENT.

The army of unemployed in South Africa is increasing daily. Thousands of our members are joining the ranks of the unemployed every week as a result of the brutal rationalisation programmes of capitalism and the disastrous economic and political policies of the apartheid regime.

We have also, in the recent times, witnessed well organised national attacks on COSATU and the democratic movement by vigilante and other anti-democratic forces. The elements used to wage these attacks are mainly drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. We have also seen that our major struggles have, on other occasions, been broken by employers recruiting scabs from the reserve army of unemployed. Therefore it is crucial for both our struggles on the factory floor and the broader struggle against oppression and exploitation to cement the unity in action between employed and unemployed workers.

The COSATU resolution inspired spontaneous organising by the unemployed themselves, many of the leading activists in this process being ex-members of our own affiliates. The presence in this Congress of observers from the National Unemployed Workers' Co-ordinating Committee (NUWCC) is a fitting tribute to the efforts of these comrades. However, we must also be forthright in acknowledging that the material assistance offered to these comrades is not sufficient to meet their projected needs.

The CEC has, in its meetings earlier this year, agreed on a programme of systematic assistance to support the NUWCC to achieve national organisation and build a co-operative movement that serves the interests of the working class. The resolution on unemployment that we will be debating in our congress will go a long way to redressing the weaknesses in this respect.

3.16 DEREGULATION

The state and capital have pushed ahead with their deregulation policy. The Minister has increased powers to decrease controls, and capital is putting more resources into the programme. The fact that twenty of the country's largest companies provided 70% of the share capital of the Small Business Development Corporation indicates their role in this programme.

The main effect of deregulation is likely to be a limited creation of low wage jobs in working conditions that are less favourable and generally more dangerous than those in regulated areas. Since existing enterprises with less than twenty employers only account for some 5% of employment it does not seem likely that deregulation offers a major or significant answer to unemployment. Small business owners may benefit but deregulation heralds greater exploitation of workers.

An area related to deregulation is that of privatisation. The COSATU Congress had not really addressed itself to this issue.

In assessing our ability to resist deregulation, the conclusion would have to be that we have not effectively mobilised our resources against it. One area of resistance has been within Industrial Councils but even here the forces in favour of deregulation are often overwhelming.

3.17 MAYDAY AND JUNE 16

Our congress resolutions identified the urgent and important campaigns that we should undertake in fulfilment of our role as the leading voice of organised workers. The resolutions formulate certain campaigns aimed at unifying, mobilising, politicising and extending our organisational base. Mobilisation around Mayday and June 16 has been very successful.

May Day rally - Orlando 1986

Mayday

In 1986 we experienced the biggest Mayday celebrations ever in the history of our country. Its success is clearly related to the organisational strength of COSATU. An estimated 1,5 million workers took Mayday as a public holiday.

Out of 24 rallies planned in 1986 a number of them - in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Bellville, Gugulethu, Uitenhage, Pretoria and Brits - were disrupted through bannings and/or police action. Police and army also prevented buses reaching some rallies. Some areas faced difficulty in obtaining venues run by community councillors and tribal organisations. In spite of these difficulties, tens of thousands of workers met to celebrate Mayday.

In 1987 all open-air rallies planned by COSATU were banned except in the Western Cape where permission was granted with a number of restrictions. Hundreds of thousands of workers have already won the right to be paid for this day and Botha has declared the first Friday in May a paid national holiday. COSATU has rejected this and has re-stated our demand that May 1 should be a paid public holiday.

June16

In line with our congress resolution COSATU, together with other progressive organisations, commemorated June 16 and backed a one-day protest action. In 1986 the Botha government reacted to the effect of mobilisation by workers and youth by declaring the State of Emergency on June 12. All rallies and meetings referring in any way to June 16 were banned. Nevertheless the protest action was a massive victory for the progressive forces. Many more COSATU unions have subsequently won June 16 as a paid public holiday.

In 1987, though the protest action was massively supported by millions of people, very few meetings took place because of the threat of state repression.

3.18 SOUTHERN AFRICAN UNION CO-OPERATION.

The future and lives of millions of workers in Southern Africa are inextricably linked. COSATU and its affiliates are beginning to make real strides to develop, consolidate and build Southern African solidarity.

The lead has been taken by NUM with the formation of the Southern African Miners' Federation which has brought together mine workers' unions in SA, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia. The president of NUM, Comrade James Mothlatsi, is also president of the SAMF. NUM have extended this to building links with the African Miners' Federation - Comrade Manual Masita is Vice-President of AMF and chairperson of the Witbank region.

Talks have also been held with the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU). OATUU has resolved the previous differences in their ranks and now, under a militant new leadership, are at the forefront of the working class struggle against capitalist exploitation, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Their policies of non-alignment also coincide with ours. They have strongly defended our policies and principles in international forums. Some of the most powerful affiliates in OATUU like the Nigerian Labour Congress and the Ghana TUC have already invited and received delegations from COSATU.

We have sent observers to some meetings of Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee (SATUCC). We are confident that the unity of COSATU and OATUU will create the conditions for a more effective SATUCC to emerge.

Strong links have also been forged with the National Union of Namibian Workers, with NUM providing material assistance to the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN). In addition COSATU hosted a Namibian delegation and has provided material assistance to Namibian unions.

3.19 ATTACKS ON NEIGHBOURING STATES.

We view South Africa as a major destabilising force in the sub-continent which pursues unprovoked aggression on neighbouring states. It attempts to create compliant client states such as Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi and to push back the boundaries of liberation. We believe that as long as South Africa is not at peace with itself it cannot be at peace with its neighbours. Therefore our liberation is in the interests of the entire sub-continent. COSATU in international forums has called for maximum assistance be given to Frontline States, in particular to develop an independent

transport system and to break South Africa's economic stranglehold over countries of the sub-continent.

For us as COSATU, contributing to the strengthening of the democratic African labour movement is the surest defence of the working class in South Africa. This is to be discussed in the coming days of the Congress.

3.20 STATE OF EMERGENCY

The State of Emergency, the presence of troops in the townships, security force activity, the detention of workers and worker leaders has clearly politicised the labour movement in 1986.

The State of Emergency declared on June 12 last year had a serious disruptive effect on COSATU especially in the first two months. More than 3 000 COSATU people were detained, with about sixty still in detention. These include Noel Williams, Amos Masondo and Dennis Neer.

The wide powers of the security police still hamper mobilisation around campaigns. Raids on COSATU offices and detentions continue all the time. COSATU responded by calling national protest action on July 14 which was most effective in the Eastern Cape and parts of the East Rand. We also attacked employers support and/or passive reaction to the State of Emergency.

We demanded an end to the State of Emergency, the release of all detainees and political prisoners and the withdrawal of troops from the townships. We demanded the unbanning of all political organisations so as to ensure that free political activity and discussions take place in this country.

COSATU also campaigned around a set of demands that would protect the jobs of detained members and give unions facilities inside the firms to continue organising. Many of these demands were won after workers and stewards took up the issues with management. Individual unions also fought back strongly. CCAWUSA workers took strike action at 70 retail outlets across the Reef. A similar wave of strike action hit the chemical sector. On the mines about 30 000 workers took action in the form of strikes, go-slows and half-shifts. MAWU brought a court challenge which reversed some of the severe media curbs of the State of Emergency. Generally though, we

were ill-prepared for the crackdown and were thus unable to initiate strong shopfloor responses to the State of Emergency.

Even more sinister has been the trial of Cde Moses Mayekiso for so-called treason. The offences for which he is being tried relate to activities undertaken on the mandate of workers in COSATU. We have supported in the past and will continue to support the building of democratic structures like street and area committees in the communities where we live because we believe that they are the true expression of a democratic peoples' democracy. We believe that the undemocratic structures forced down our throats by the apartheid regime have lost all legitimacy in the eyes of our people.

3.21 UNITED ACTION AGAINST REPRESSION OF UNIONS/ UNIONISTS.

Since COSATU was launched, the organised worker movement has faced greater repression than ever before. Almost our whole existence has been under a state of emergency. Hundreds of COSATU comrades have been detained; many have been killed; our offices have been bombed and burnt down; our newspapers and pamphlets have been seized in their hundreds of thousands and banned; our meetings have been banned and we have been refused the right to speak on many things. We have in spite of this developed the capacity to continue our work in these repressive conditions.

Under these conditions it has been impossible to react to each and every attack against our organisation or individuals within it. But our efforts to mobilise national action on July 14th and December 1st last year were both responses to attacks against COSATU and its affiliates. Both actions did not succeed and were assessed at the time as set-backs for COSATU. It became clear that in order to meet the challenges before us we have to develop appropriate responses based on a clear reading of the mood of our members, and that our responses must relate to to the capacity of our organisational structures to carry out such decisions.

More successful mobilisations around repression have been: the May 5 & 6 national action which was the most successful in the history of the workers' struggle, even though as COSATU we had failed to mobilise sufficiently in some regions due to shortage of time. The protest campaigns, or threats of protest campaigns by CCAWUSA,

First seige of COSATU HOUSE

PWAWU, MAWU, NUM and CWIU for the release of detained officials was successful on many occasions.

This is a matter which COSATU was required to work through during the course of events and the struggles of 1986. COSATU, in the face of State repression and onslaught, adopted a strategy which took into account the long-term aims of COSATU as well as short-term needs. It was as a result of such an assessment that COSATU agreed that co-operation and united action with progressive organisations were imperative. Hence, as indicated our June 16, Mayday and Living Wage campaigns were in co-operation with other progressive organisations.

Following an approach by UDF, it was accepted by the third CEC (15/16 August) that, in principle, there should be a united challenge to the State of Emergency. The campaign was not very successful because it was not rooted in disciplined grassroot structures.

The events around the SATS strike was used by the State to launch a massive propaganda attack on COSATU to create a climate for further attacks against COSATU.

In this situation, shadowy rightwing thugs bombed our headquarters and attacked our offices throughout the country. At the height of this attack, SATS brought an interdict against COSATU and SARWHU alledging that we were responsible for violence and assault. The case was dropped when it became clear that there were no facts to back up the court allegations.

COSATU responded with the **"HANDS OFF COSATU"** campaign in which we asserted ourselves as a legitimate democratic trade union and demanded:

- **The Right To Meet**
- **The Right to Speak**
- **An End to Repression.**

DISORGANISATION CAMPAIGNS

UWUSA

On 1 May 1986 UWUSA was launched with the clear aim of opposing the voice of organised workers under COSATU and by so doing

promoting the interests of employers and capital in Natal. Inkatha and the KwaZulu government spent massive resources in trying to project this new "union" as a challenge to COSATU.

Many employers have openly and actively supported UWUSA. Despite this, UWUSA has made little headway in poaching COSATU members. However, in many Natal factories, individual UWUSA members are siding with management and provoking COSATU members. Their tactics include threats of violence and harassment. UWUSA activities in the factories are aggravated by attacks on union members and progressive elements in the townships. Inkatha councillors are refusing COSATU the use of venues for meetings and rallies in areas such as Mandini, Isithebe and Newcastle. In these areas COSATU members have been harassed, assaulted and even killed. Last December these attacks intensified and anyone found wearing our union T-shirts were beaten up.

At the same time two MAWU shop stewards and another resident were killed in a brutal attack on Mphophomeni. MAWU has called for a commission of enquiry. The Mphophomeni attack once again highlighted the need for **defence of our organisation**. It is clear that we can no longer rely on the State to intervene to prevent violent attacks on our members. Recently the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court granted NUM a temporary interdict restraining UWUSA from assaulting NUM members . This followed the killing of the NUM organiser, John Ntshangase, in a union office at Vryheid Colliery. NUM members alleged UWUSA members were responsible but UWUSA has denied any unlawful conduct.

MAWU AGM attacked

The killing by police of a worker at the MAWU AGM on 14 November led to a COSATU Commemoration Day on December 1. The campaign involved a one hour work stoppage and focussed on COSATU members who died in 1986. The demands were:

Stop the Killing
We Have a Right to Meet
We Have a Right to Organise.

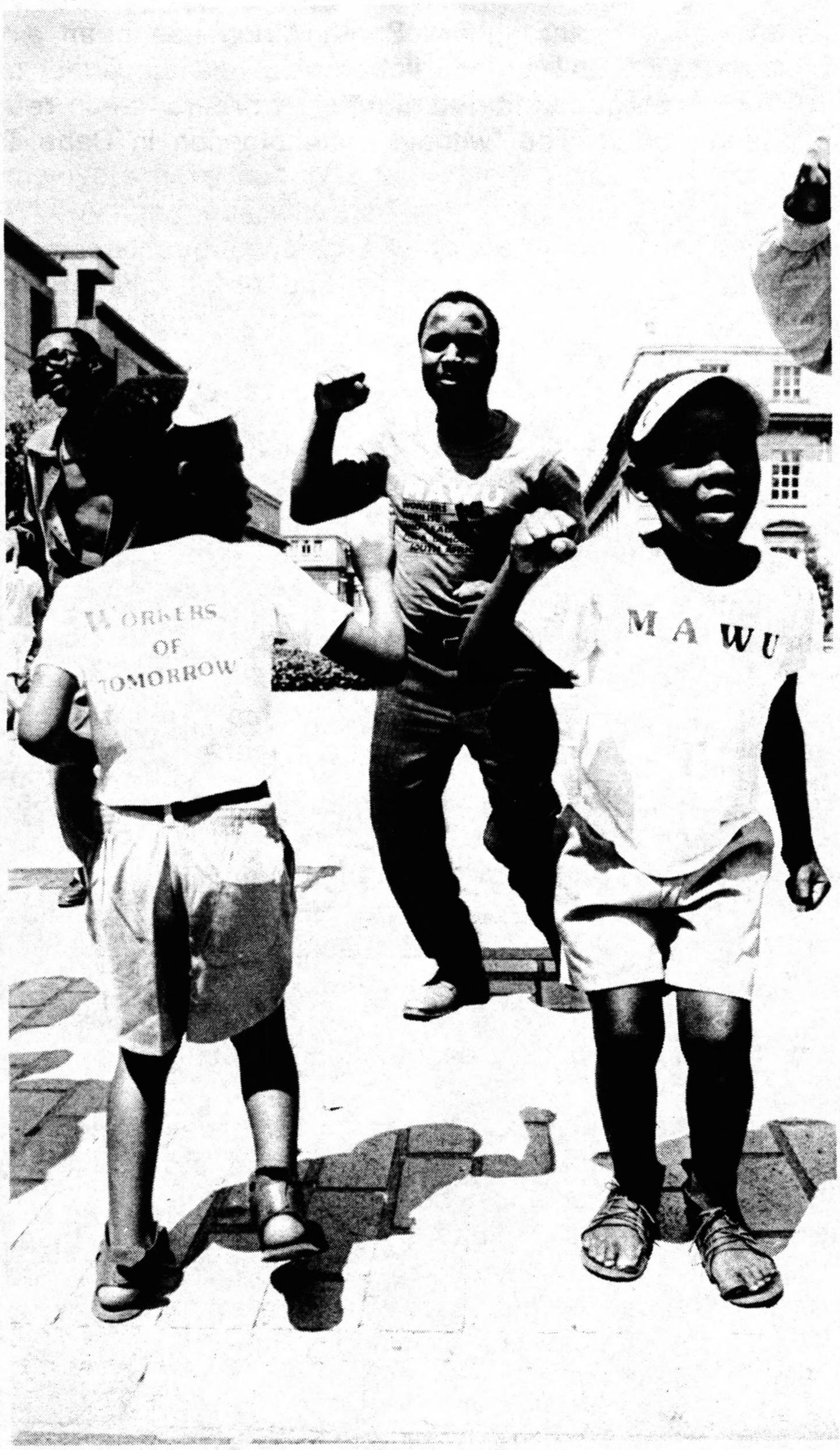
The stoppage was not successful with only a small percentage of COSATU factories taking part in the action.

The role of vigilantes throughout South Africa has been a matter of grave concern to COSATU since it has also had the effect of causing division and disorganisation amongst workers and resulting in worker fighting worker. The "witdoek" phenomenon in Cape Town is a classic example of this.

In these conditions the issue of self defence has became a priority on our agenda. We have to discuss and plan ways and means of protecting our worker leadership and officials and property against brutal attacks. This is going to be a central issue on the agenda in our congress.

3.22 CENTENARY

COSATU came out strongly against the Centenary Celebrations under the slogan: **"We will not celebrate 100 years of oppression and exploitation"**. Pressure was put on many companies by workers to withdraw their sponsorship of the Centenary Celebrations. All this received the strong backing of the democratic movement. As a result the Johannesburg City Council and its backers were forced to scale down the extent of their celebrations which eventually was reduced to a farce.



Workers of tomorrow

ASSESSMENT

In our brief existence as COSATU we have strengthened many times over our position as the most important and most representive trade union voice in South Africa. Our membership has grown by well over fifty percent and, with the benefit of having consolidated our 33 affiliates into 12 bigger industrial unions/sectors, it is set to grow even more rapidly.

The organisation and mobilisation by affiliates have seen us take big steps forward in the struggle for, amongst other things, a living wage, a 40 hour week, maternity rights for women workers, the right to strike, against retrenchments etc. The concrete gains won through struggle from managements' committed to putting profits before workers needs, provides the working class with a formidable weapon in the fight against capitalist exploitation.

COSATU's clear principles and militant struggle has made a significant and historic contribution to moulding a clearer political direction - not only for the working class but for all the struggling masses of South Africa. COSATU is asserting the leading role of the working class in struggle; and through our working class discipline, unity and depth of committment we have won the confidence of all democratic forces. We have also placed socialism even more firmly on the agenda, not just as an academic question, but as the living vision of millions of South Africans fighting to end the capitalist curse of starvation, hunger, degradation and suffering.

One of our shortcomings has been our weakness in consolidating our structures. The building of effective democratic structures is a painstaking process and must be stuck too at all costs. Over the last 19 months working class unity and discipline have triumphed over the division and attacks and we must now move forward again to build even stronger democratic organisation at local, regional and national levels of COSATU so worker unity and worker control can be strengthened.

The delays and weaknesses at these levels is one of the main reasons for our failure, in many cases, to mobilise strong solidarity and national united action (e.g. July 14/December 1, Crossroads,

Impala platinum, GM, Clover and Nels). But having said this, COSATU has still succeeded in mobilising a number of successful national worker actions (May Day, June 16th and May 5 & 6th) and national campaigns (release of detainees, hands off COSATU, living wage and health and safety before profits). In addition, struggles like OK, SATS and Kinross have been greatly strengthened through solidarity action co-ordinated by COSATU. In all these struggles, workers have again and again turned to the solidarity weapons already in the hands of workers - solidarity strikes, blacking action, factory occupations, consumer boycotts and mass pressure. Workers in struggle are showing the way forward for all COSATU workers.

It is possible that stronger regional organisation would have speeded up the organisation of the unorganised, and the growth and consolidation of weaker sectors, such as unemployed, farmworkers and the public sector. The more active and vigilant regions must be commended for the role they have played in building and strengthening grassroot organisation of affiliates as well as COSATU co-ordination. It is now imperative that affiliates place the highest priority on converting the regions into dynamic structures that become the focus of COSATU activity and power.

Of course this will only happen if a solid organisational basis has been laid at a local level. The building and development of our local shopsteward councils in every area, every town, every small "dorpie" where at least two of our affiliates are organised must be our top priority. Properly constituted shopsteward locals, with mandated worker delegates from every organised workplace in the area or town, will become fortresses of worker unity and power. This will massively increase our ability to organise the unorganised and mobilise solidarity action. On this basis too we will be able to build a powerful unity and united action with progressive mass-based organisations at a local level. Workers will be able to build their own leadership in the mass democratic struggle from a solid and democratic foundation.

The Launch Congress in December 1985 ended in euphoria and high expectations amongst workers. But the sceptics believed COSATU would be paralysed by differences and would struggle to emerge as a cohesive decisive force. However, they have been proved wrong. Working class unity has triumphed and many of the expectations have been met, although like any other organisation, there are still areas of real weakness. An ongoing democratic openess and honesty

with regard to our failures will equip us better to address our problems and to march forward united to our total liberation.

LET US TRANSLATE OUR SLOGANS TO REALITY.

FORWARD WITH WORKERS CONTROL AND DEMOCRACY

FORWARD TO WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP

ONE COUNTRY ONE FEDERATION

ONE UNION ONE INDUSTRY

ADVANCE AND CONSOLIDATE

OBITUARY

COSATU HAILS THOSE COMRADES WHO HAVE FALLEN IN THE STRUGGLE

Simon Ngubane and Phineas Sibiya

The late comrades Simon and Phineas were victims of marauding tribal vigilantes. They died defending COSATU principles and promoting working class culture. Their deaths were tragic to us, not just because they were leading shop stewards in the Sarmcol workers' struggle, but because they actively built through their disciplined leadership a formidable culture group promoting the aspirations of the exploited working class. The play "The Long March" clearly depicts the relentless struggles workers have been waging against the bosses and the apartheid regime.

COSATU salutes the brave efforts of these freedom fighters. They inspired cultural activities to promote the ideals of the working class. We assure you comrades Simon Ngubane and Phineas Sibiya, that your work, dedication and efforts in cultural activities will not be in vain. With the same bravery we shall continue the struggle against the enemy and the ruling class on all fronts, including the cultural terrain.

We mourn the killing of 177 miners at Kinross and the murder of 10 miners at Hlobane.

We also salute the hundreds of other comrades who have died in brutal attacks through the actions of apartheid security forces and at the bloody hands of vigilante death squads. We also salute all those who were killed in the mines and the factories by the institutions of profit.

We salute these comrades and say that the ultimate sacrifice you paid will strengthen COSATU's determination and committment to the struggle for total liberation.

APPENDIX

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT - CDE ELIJAH BARAYI

FIRST VICE - PRESIDENT - CDE CHRIS DLAMINI

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT - CDE MAKHULU LEDWABA

TREASURER - CDE MAXWELL XULU

- GENERAL SECRETARY - CDE JAY NAIDOO
- ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY - CDE SYDNEY MUFAMADI

(ELECTED AT THE FIRST COSATU NATIONAL CONGRESS)

CDE DANIEL DUBE

CDE JERRY NTOMBELA

CDE LIZZIE PHIKE

CDE JOHN ERENTZEN

(ELECTED AT THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEE)

FULL TIME OFFICIALS

HEAD OFFICE

- EDITOR - CDE DIRK HARTFORD
- INFORMATION OFFICER - CDE FRANK MEINTJIES

HEAD OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR - CDE GERTIE GABRIELS

TYPIST - CDE ROSE PHEKO

RECEPTIONIST - CDE VIVIAN BADELA

NEWSPAPER ADMINISTRATOR - CDE KHETSI LEHOKO

BUILDING ADMINISTRATOR - CDE CLEMENT MBUYISA

ACCOUNTANT - CDE DIGGIE KOCK

ACCOUNTS ADMINISTRATOR - CDE JOHN KOTZE

PRINTING UNIT JOHANNESBURG

ADMINISTRATOR - CDE MARLENE POWELL

LAYOUT - CDE MUZI MKWANAYANA

- CDE EVIE GOBEY

TRANSLATOR - CDE PROF MOLOI

PRINTER - CDE MIKE MASUKU

PRINTING UNIT DURBAN

ADMINISTRATOR - KHANYA NDLELA

TRANSLATOR - BHEKI NXASANA

PRINTERS - LAWRENCE MCHUNU

- AFRICA MKHWANI

- EDUCATION SECRETARY - CDE ALEC ERWIN

EDUCATION ADMINISTRATOR - CDE JENNY GRICE

REGIONAL OFFICE BEARERS

SOUTHERN NATAL REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE ALFRED NDLOVU

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE JAMES ZULU

- SECRETARY - CDE THAMI MOHLOMI

REGIONAL ADMINSTRATOR - CDE JABU SOSIBO

NORTHERN NATAL REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE JERRY NTOMBELA

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE JEFFREY VILANE

TREASURER - CDE EMMANUEL MPANZA

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE MATHEW OLIFANT

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE THEMBI DLADLA

HIGHVELD REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE SAMSON MANTASHE

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE ISAAC NTUNZI

TREASURER - CDE JOHN MASEKA NKOSI

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE J J MABENA

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE BUSI MTHEMBU

WITWATERSRAND REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE PAUL NKUNA

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE M FADAL

TREASURER - CDE R MOFOKENG

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE T KGOBE

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE DORAH MTSHALI

EASTERN CAPE REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE D DUBE

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE T MKALIPI

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE DENNIS S NEER

ACTING REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE LES KETTLEDAS

TREASURER - CDE H MLUNGUZI

ADMINISTRATOR - CDE NOMAXABISO LOBI

WESTERN CAPE REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE MTIYA MACHLELLINGTON

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE JOSEPH THEE

TREASURER - CDE FRED GONNA

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE NICK HENWOOD

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE RONALD BERNICKOUW

NORTHERN CAPE REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE ARTHUR MOHALE

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE DANIEL BOIKANYO

TREASURER - CDE JOHN POTGIETER

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE MLINDO MAHOGO

WESTERN TVL REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE TSEPO MOTAUNG

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE DAVID MNCUBE

TREASURER - CDE GODFREY MUTHI

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE SETSEDI NHLAPHO

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE MIRRIAM SEGOLE

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

CHAIRPERSON - CDE JERRY THIBEDI

V/CHAIRPERSON - CDE WILLIE KHOZA

TREASURER - CDE SOLOMON NDLOVANA

- REGIONAL SECRETARY - CDE DONSIE KHUMALO

  REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - CDE ROSEMARY MAKWANE

  - full-time officials

CHRONOLOGY

RECORD OF MAIN EVENTS

1985

December

01/12 - Launch of Cosatu - 449 679 members.

1986

January

01/01 - NUM. 30 000 workers at 4 Gencor mines in Bophuthatswana went on strike. SAAWU Metal Box Strike started last year continues.

FEBRUARY

10/02 - MAWU 850 worker at Asea plants went on strike over plant level bargaining.

24/02 - NUM 19 000 miners at Vaal Reefs mine went on strike demanding the release of their colleagues.

March

04/03 - MAWU
2 000 workers at Haggie Rand staged a sleep-in strike over wages.

- COSATU delegation meets with ANC leadership in Lusaka.

10/03 - NUM Miners at Vaal Reefs mine returned to work.

April

04/04 - FCWU 500 striking workers at Dairybelle - Clayville were dismissed.

17/04 - MAWU 30 000 workers staged a 1 hour stoppage in protest against wage offer.

25/04 - CCAWUSA Workers began a national strike at Fouchini stores following retrenchments.

May 01/05 - May Day. About 2 million workers stayed away on MAY DAY. Inkatha-backed Uwusa launched in opposition to COSATU.

07/05 - CCAWUSA 6 200 workers at Pick and Pay stores nationally went on strike over wages.

14/05 - CCAWUSA. Dispute between Pick and Pay and CCAWUSA settled.

May

01/05 - About two million workers take part in May Day stayaway action. Meetings banned or disrupted around the country. The Inkatha-backed Uwusa formed in opposition to COSATU.

07/05 - CCAWUSA. 6 200 workers at Pick 'n pay stores nationally strike over wages. Marked by use of sleep-in strategy.

14/05 - CCAWUSA. Pick 'n Pay dispute ends in victory for workers.

June

01/06 FAWU was formed from the merger of FCWU, SFAWU and RAWU. Membership - 60 000.

05/06 - CCAWUSA. Workers at Nels Dairy plants went on strike. 1 000 workers arrested and detained for 2 weeks.

14/06 - Second State of Emergency declared - 222 union officials and shop stewards detained.

16/06 - An estimated 1 500 000 workers stayed away form work to observe June 16.

17/06 - CCAWUSA Over 3 000 members at different stores held sporadic sit-in strikes in protest against detention of union leaders. 30 000 miners also take action.

29/06 - 920 trade unionists detained; 183 shop stewards and officials and 740 workers.

30/06 - FAWU. Workers at Clover in Pietermaritzburg went on strike. 230 workers dismissed.

July

05/07 - CWIU. 14 700 workers at Sasol plants went on strike over wages.

03/07-09/07 - NUM. Thousands of miners held strikes against detention of union leaders.

07/07 - NUM declares dispute with Chamber over wages.

08/07 - Government banned unions from holding indoor meetings in Johannesburg and Roodepoort areas.

09/07 MAWU, NUM and CCAWUSA announce action in Rand Supreme Cour challenging the validity of the ban placed on union gatherings.

10/07 - NAAWU 3 600 workers at Toyota picket in support of wage demands.

14/07 - COSATU unions hold partially successful national stayaway against the State of Emergency and detention of union officials.

19/07 - UWCC formed under the auspices of Cosatu.

AUGUST

27/08 - Attempts to evict White City residents leaves 26 dead and many injured.

30/08 - Clashes over rent boycott leaves 9 dead and 21 injured.

September

09/09 - PAWU with 1 400 members merges with CWIU.

16/09 - 177 miners die in Kinross Mine disaster.

28/09 - HARWU, with 8 000 members, affiliates to COSATU.

October

01/10 - 300 000 miners respond to the call for Day of Mourning for Kinross victims. Another 300 000 COSATU members take part in a 1 - 2 hour stopppage in solidarity.

04/10 - CUSA-AZACTU launched.

12/10 CWIU - Workers at Pilkington Glass hold 2 day stoppage - dissatisfaction with managements response to negotiations.

21/10 - TUCSA
TUCSA announced that it will formally disband on 2 December.

29/10 - NAAWU. 3 000 NAAWU members at GM go on strike in support of their demand for severence pay, pension.
23/10 - Dispute between NUM and Chamber settled.

November

01/11 - SADWA with a signed up membership of 40 000 affiliates to Cosatu.

03/03/87 - MAWU. The 18 month long strike at BTR Sarmcol finally reaches hearing in the Industrial Court.

December

18/12 - CCAWUSA 10 000 workers at OK stores nationally go on strike over wage increases.

1987
January

31/01 - CAWU a new Cosatu affiliate launches from GAWU, BRICAWU,MAWU, SAAWU

FEBRUARY 1987

09/02 PWAWU. About 2 000 workers at Mondi Board Mills went on strike demanding wage increases.

06/02 - FAWU 2 500 workers went on strike at Beacon Sweets in Mobeni following the dismissal of 2 shop stewards.

12/02 SARHWU. 6 000 workers boycotted hostel food and protested against appalling living conditions at the Kazerne compound.

MARCH

13/03 - SARHWU. SATS strike begins. 600 workers at City Deep go on strike.

25/03 - SATS general manager given special powers of mass dimissal.

28/03 - Living Wage rally in Johannesburg banned. In reply to a COSATU court application, police allege that the Living Wage is part of a revolutionary plot. COSATU House surrounded by armed police where a meeting of 3 000 striking railway workers is taking place .

APRIL

08/04 - POTWA Post office strike starts at Power park depot with 400 workers.

09/04 - NUM. Miners died in methane gas explosion at Gencor's Ermelo mine.

21/04 police surround COSATU House and search all workers leaving.

21/04 - NUM. 23 000 miners at 2 JCI mines went on strike in protest against retrenchment programmes.

22/04 SARHWU. Meeting of SATS workers in Germiston broken up by police and 3 SATS workers killed.

Three workers killed at Doornfontein near COSATU House Johannesburg.

Police and army lay siege to Cosatu House. 400 workers detained; workers and officials assaulted and damage to property at more than R53 000. SATS dismisses 16 000 wokers.

23/4 - COSATU gets an undertaking to prevent further unlawful action by police at Cosatu House.

29/4 - Police once again lay siege to Cosatu House.

MAY

May - 01/05 - May Day rallies banned.

5-6/05 - Cosatu declares May 5 and 6 national days of protest. Action supported by millions of workers.

06/05 - Cosatu`s East London Germiston offices attacked.

07/05 - Two powerful bombs explod in Cosatu House.

11/05 - SARHWU offices in Kroonsta raided and closed by police.

13/5 - NUM received bomb threat.

17/5 - Cosatu regional congress in Western Transvaal disrupted by polic

18/05 - Cosatu offices in Nelspruit burnt down.

23/05 - Launch of NUMSA with a membership of 136 000. Unions involved in merger - MAWU, NAAWU, GAWU, MICWU, TGWU, UMMAWOSA and MACWUSA.

JUNE

05/06 SARWHU strike ends. All workers re-instated and working conditions to be revised.

10/06 NUMSA. 1 000 workers went or strike at Steeldale Reinforcing over wages and working conditions.

12/06 - Third State of Emergency declared.

20/06 - SAB strike begins. 300 workers down tools in protest agains continuous shift. National SAB wage negotiations break down, other 2 500 workers join strike, causing beer shortage.

28/06 CCAWUSA - launch of CCAWUSA from the merger of HARWU, RAWU and CCAWUSA - claimed membership 55 000.

28/06 - NEHAWU. Launch of NEHAWU from the merger of GAWU. HAWU, and SAAWU - paid up membership 9 000.

28/06 - Textile sector congress.

4-5/07 - Transport sector congress.

06/07 - SAB strike ends. All workers at Rosslyn reinstated and management agrees to union demands for negotiations.

7-14/07 - Strike ballots in metal and mining industries in wage disputes involving more than a quarter million workers.

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