

GM/219/0168/2

Congress of South African Trade Unions

Organise for democracy, economic reconstruction and socialism



COSATU

4th National Congress
Nasrec Johannesburg
24 - 27 July



Agenda 1991

COSATU 4TH NATIONAL CONGRESS,
24-27 JULY 1991 NASREC,
JOHANNESBURG

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4th National Congress
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4th National Congress



COSATU

4th National Congress

PROGRAMME

CREDENTIALS

SPEECHES

CULTURE

COSATU - 4th National Congress

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 24 July 1991

14h00 to 19h00 - Registration and book into hotels (a cold supper package will be available at registration)

Thursday, 25 July 1991

1. 09h00 - Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika & Internationale
 2. Opening of Congress by vice-president
 3. Presentation & adoption of credentials report
 4. Ratification of 3rd Congress minutes
 5. Presidential address
 6. Guest speaker (Cde Clarence Makwetu - PAC)
Topic: Attitude towards including basic worker rights in a new constitution, and role of unions in a post-apartheid democratic South Africa
 7. Guest speaker (Cde OR Tambo - ANC)
Topic: Attitude towards including basic worker rights in a new constitution, and role of unions in a post-apartheid democratic South Africa
 8. Messages of support
 9. Secretariat report - general sections
- (closed sessions begin - press & diplomats leave)

LUNCH

10. Social Issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution
11. Organisational issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution
12. Educational issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution

SUPPER

Friday, 26 July 1991

13. Guest speaker (Cde Cunningham Ngcukana - Nactu)
Topic: Attitude towards worker rights and union unity
14. Guest speaker (Cde John Nkadimeng)
Topic: Report on phasing out of Sactu
15. Guest speaker (Cde Joe Slovo - SACP)
Topic: What is the future of socialism and attitude towards union independence
16. Political issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution
17. International issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution

LUNCH

18. Economic issues
 - secretariat report
 - input paper
 - debate and resolution
19. Financial report
 - report by national treasurer
 - report by secretariat
 - discussion & resolution
 - adoption of audited statements

20. Constitutional amendments
- presentation of proposed amendments
 - debate/adoption/amendment/rejection

SUPPER

Saturday, 27 July 1991

Delegates book out of hotels

21. 09h30 - international messages
- * union partners
 - * OATUU
22. Constitutional amendments (contd)
23. Resolutions
- ratification of policy resolutions
 - consideration of other resolutions

LUNCH

(final session - open to press and diplomats)

24. Election of national office-bearers
25. Message from newly-elected president and general secretary
26. 16h30 - closure with national anthem

Notes:

Opening times - 09h00 (Thursday & Friday)
- 09h30 (Saturday)

Closing times - 19h30 (Thursday & Friday)
- 16h30 (Saturday)

Buses leave hotels at exactly 08h00 each morning

Supper & lunch will be provided at Congress venue

Congress programme

**MINUTES OF THE THIRD COSATU NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT
NASREC ON THE 12 - 16TH JULY 1989**

1. CONGRESS OPENING

- 1.1 National Anthem 11.00am. on Wednesday 12th July.
- 1.2 Opening remarks: COSATU Second Vice President: F Gona.

2. OPENING ADDRESS

By Harry Gwala - read by COSATU Assistant General Secretary - S Mufamadi.

3. CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE AND RESOLUTION COMMITTEE REPORT

3.1 CREDENTIALS REPORT

Acceptance of Credentials report.
Moved by PPWAWU. Seconded by SAMWU.

3.2 RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

Accepted: moved by PPWAWU, seconded by SARHWU.

4. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Presented to by Cde E Barayi
Copies circulated at Congress.

MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

See attached list of messages of support Appendix ?

5. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS

Adopted: moved by PPWAWU, seconded by SARHWU.

6. SECRETARIAT REPORT

Presented by Cde J Naidoo - General Secretary
Discussion focussed on the following:

- Progress on mergers in the transport industry and in the public sector
- Assessment of COSATU
- LRA Campaign
- Peace in Natal
- Negotiations

- Anti Apartheid Coalition

Report accepted:

Moved by NUMSA, seconded by SARHWU

DAY 2

7. Address from Guest Speakers:

M. Valli - Acting General Secretary UDF

F. Chikane - General Secretary SACC

8. **CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**

Approved:

8.1 Reference to Gender

8.2 Definition of an official

9. **POLICY RESOLUTIONS**

Adopted as amended.

9.1 Self sufficiency

9.2 Political Policy

9.3 Workers Charter

9.4 Constitutional Guidelines and The Economy

9.5 Building the Mass Democratic Movement

9.6 Process of Political Settlement

DAY 3

10. Introduction of International guests by Khetsi Lehoko

11. Adoption of Resolutions continue

11.1 Anti-apartheid coalition

11.2 Save the Patriots

11.3 Building shop floor structure

11.4 Building Working Class and Trade Union Unity

11.5 Unity in CCAWUSA

11.6 Natal Peace Initiative

11.7 Violence

11.8 Organising in the Bantustans

11.9 Co-operatives

11.10 Unemployment

11.11 Anti-Aids Campaign

11.12 Women Leadership

DAY 3

12. Guest speaker from NUNW - Namibia

13.1 LRA

- 13.2 Namibia
- 13.3 Disinvestment
- 13.4 Sanctions
- 13.5 International Policy
- 13.6 National Women's Organisation
- 13.7 Privatization
- 13.8 Domestic Workers
- 13.9 Media

14. FINANCES

Adoption of financial structures was postponed to the CEC.

15. ELECTIONS

Cde Khetsi Lehoko acted as the returning officer.

The following comrades were elected:

President	- E Barayi
1st Vice President	- Chris Dlamini
2nd Vice President	- John Gomomo
Treasurer	- Ronald Mofokeng
General Secretary	- Jay Naidoo
Assistant Gen. Secretary	- Sydney Mufamadi

- 16. The Congress closed with the National Anthem at 6.30 pm.

COSATU

4th National Congress

Credentials Report

Union	Paid-up members	Delegates entitled	Total present	Workers/ Officials
CAWU	30 123	61		
CWIU	45 147	91		
FAWU	129 480	259		
NEHAWU	18 110	37 - 10 = 27		
NUM	269 622	540		
NUMSA	273 241	547		
POTWA	21 467	43		
PPWAWU	42 962	86		
SACCAWU	96 628	194		
SACTWU	185 740	372		
SADWU	16 462	33		
SAMWU	60 304	121		
SARHWU	36 243	73		
TGWU	33 324	67		

Notes:

1. A breakdown of affiliate membership by region is attached for information.
2. The CEC and Exco have finalised this credentials report. Nehawu's delegation size was reduced because it was unable to make satisfactory arrangements regarding arrear affiliation fees and rentals.

COSATU - Membership details - Credentials accepted for 4th Congress - July 1991

	CWU	SADWU	POTWA	PPWAWU	SACCAWU	SAMWU	CAWU
Witwatersrand	12 261	7 500	4 288	11 307	25 904	10 328	6 658
N Transvaal	3 978	1 535	4 109	4 400	21 955	6 253	4 748
W Transvaal	696	1 200	2 249	376	4 878	1 363	2 905
Highveld	9 641	- - - -	1 304	5 692	3 192	1 525	840
S Natal	8 471	900	4 048	8 790	14 452	10 279	4 560
N Natal	327	100	2 030	2 453	810	594	823
E Cape	5 299	2 550	1 286	5 944	8 775	9 209	3 440
W Cape	4 354	2 040	605	3 915	10 239	19 122	6 149
OFS/N Cape	120	637	1 548	85	6 423	1 631	-----
TOTALS	45 147	16 462	21 467	42 962	96 628	60 304	30 123

FAWU	NUM	NUMSA	SARHWU	SACTWU	TGWU	NEHAWU	Region Totals	
30 540	13 302	105 835	6 108	19 824	6 890	5 025	265 770	W's
15 270	18 222	30 040	5 074	1 744	3 445	4 417	125 190	N Tvl
4 005	98 581	25 550	2 250	-----	1 003	-----	145 056	W Tvl
3 670	43 834	19 918	2 000	1 171	3 445	-----	96 232	H/ veld
26 497	2 347	34 961	7 968	67 796	9 190	2 803	203 062	S Ntl
1 216	250	4 852	200	2 499	1 658	424	18 236	N Ntl
12 705	----	31 451	5 054	22 732	2 861	3 169	114 475	E Cape
30 947	4 285	17 610	2 183	65 649	4 708	-----	171 806	W Cape
4 630	88 801	3 024	5 406	4 325	124	2 272	119 026	OFS/ NC
129 480	269 622	273 241	36 243	185 740	33 324	18 110	1258853	

(jmb2/reports/ncpreps3)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

COSATU'S 4TH NATIONAL CONGRESS, JOHANNESBURG 25 JULY 1991

Comrade Chairperson;

Observers from fraternal organisations;

Comrades and Compatriots,

It is indeed with great pleasure that I welcome you all to this the 4th National Congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Our Congress takes place at the most trying and complex period in history. It is a period fraught with grave dangers, on the one hand, but pregnant with good prospects, on the other. The challenges which are posed by the current phase of struggle are aptly summed up in the theme of this congress - ORGANISE FOR DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND SOCIALISM.

It is a measure of our own resilience that we can have such an optimistic theme as the signpost of our Congress. Certainly, this spirit of hope and optimism is crucial for carrying forward the struggle to win a secure and prosperous society for ourselves and future generations. However, this theme also points to the fact that there still lies ahead of us, a struggle which promises to be intense and bitter.

When we met at our last Congress two years ago, we pronounced our commitment to work for the unbanning of peoples' organisations and for the creation of a climate conducive to a peaceful resolution of the conflict in our country. That pronouncement, coupled with the position we took within the hub of mass democratic activity in all its dimensions, forced the enemy's hand into unbanning political

organisations, releasing some political prisoners and allowing the exiles to return.

This Congress has the task of assessing the climate in which the process of transition is taking place. Do we have in this situation, all the necessary ingredients for a peaceful transition to democracy? We expect in this period of transition, all political parties and organisations, to have an equal and indeed unfettered, chance of mobilising around their respective perspectives and programmes. One of the imperatives of the equation of change in South Africa is the unconditional acceptance of the fact that organisations which were previously banned are part of the body-politik of our country.

Comments made following the recent Conference of the African National Congress indicated very well that the regime and its allies have not come round to accept that it is the sovereign right of ANC members to determine its character and the direction in which it should go. We fail to understand why it should be matter for concern to F.W. De Klerk if communists are elected into the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

We have come to understand anti-communist hysteria to be the property of the Nationalist Party and all those who have fought in vain to preserve minority domination and privilege in our country. This attack on communism is a thinly-disguised attack on democracy and the right of our people to campaign for the fundamental transformation of the present apartheid-ridden society.

If there is anything which must be cause for concern to our people and all peace-loving people the world over, it is the violence which is currently gripping our country. Whoever is behind this violence, given its timing, cannot have been

motivated by any aim other than to stir up apprehension about the prospect of a new South Africa. The religious and business leaders who have initiated a non-partisan process to end this violence can count on our co-operation.

We regard this violence as the gravest threat to the process of transition. We are determined to join hands with all forces in our country and direct all our efforts at eliminating this threat.

Comrades, the theme of our congress obliges us to carefully examine the situation which obtains in our country and to map out a clear programme of transforming it. Naturally, the principal task facing us as workers is how to guarantee that the sacrifices of struggle will not be followed by a false liberation - a "liberation" which leaves undisturbed the white race monopoly over 99% of our country's wealth.

The situation to be transformed is indeed a complex one. For we are dealing with a process of political disempowerment which has been accompanied by a simultaneous, symbiotic and consequent process of economic deprivation. A country with a relatively advanced industrial base, has the most unequal distribution of wealth and income. It is indeed one of the biggest ironies of our time that both the racist regime and the employers are beginning to talk about the need to end the poverty that afflicts millions of black people and to reduce the racial disparities in income and wealth.

We have seen what happens when those who benefit from the present system are allowed to go it alone in determining how the economy of our country should be restructured - primarily to safe-guard their own interests at the expense of the workers.

Whilst we are opposed to their prescriptions regarding the process of economic restructuring, we have to be in

readiness to make an organised and well-thought out intervention. We should therefore regard the process integrally, using the positive elements present in the changes under way and fighting against the accompanying intensification of exploitation.

The interventions which the present phase of struggle require us to make will once more bring the question of organisation into sharp focus. This Congress therefore, has the mammoth task of coming up with decisions which will guide us on our ongoing work of strengthening affiliates in those sectors where our organised presence is still weak.

Comrades, the need for us to pay unflagging attention to organisation-building is more pronounced than ever before. Experience has shown that a secure economic, political and social future can only be built and be made to hold if the masses of the people feel that it is their own. We are aware that the enemies of peace, freedom and social progress, are ready to pronounce their funeral oration over the grave of socialism. Together with our people, we are determined to disappoint them!

Comrades, you have been sent to this Congress to take decisions which are of importance not only to Cosatu, but decisions which are crucial to our people as a whole. You carry on your shoulders serious responsibilities which are central to the future of our country. I trust that you will participate in the deliberation of this Congress mindful of this fact and committed to a free, open and democratic debate on all issues.

"LONG LIVE ANC, COSATU, SACP ALLIANCE!"

"AMANDLA!"

"MAATLA!"

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

"FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!"

SACTU STATEMENT TO COSATU 4th NATIONAL CONGRESS

Dear comrades and friends, invited guests and all our friends from the international working class and trade union movement. I greet you all in the name of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and all those who served under it both inside and outside of our country. It is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to address the highest decision making body of COSATU the National Congress. This has been made possible by the noble sacrifices made by the workers in the ranks of COSATU together with other peace loving people of our country.

Today the ANC, SACP and others are unbanned, thanks to your consistence in the struggle for the liberation of motherland. The theme of this congress indicates the complexity of the stage we have entered in our struggle. The theme: Organise for democracy, Economic reconstruction and Socialism - cast upon our shoulders the task of liberating our country and reconstruct it from the ruins of apartheid to a sovereign state that will occupy its rightful place among the nations of the world. The bulk of the work that still remains to be done cannot be carried out successfully without the participation of organised labour of this country. At the centre of all this stands COSATU. I have no doubt that your deliberations in this congress will equip the working people of South Africa with the necessary tools to shape the future.

Allow me comrade Chairman to use this opportunity to brief our colleagues and fellow workers about the situation in SACTU since the unbanning of the political organisations. However, before I come to the historic decisions we took it will be proper to take a brief look at the time since we took a decision to operate outside the borders of our country. As a result of consistent persecution of our members, we decided to terminate all above board operations of SACTU in 1965. Immediately our members in London, Prague and Tanzania started underground work. We ensured that the so-called the period of lull was in reality, a period of building underground structures and Education work. It was the hardest of times. There were set backs and later there were achievements. I shall not go to the details in this. The time is not far when this history will be written.

However, let us mention that during our stay in foreign countries our wish and what we worked for was a strong trade union movement inside South Africa. It is in this regard that we take delight at seeing the strongest trade union movement in Africa having re-emerged in our country. We attribute this to the collective efforts of the workers of South Africa.

Some of the campaigns we embarked upon towards the end of the 1970's and the beginning of 1980's bore fruit in the formation of the present giant federation - COSATU under whose umbrella gather 1,5 million workers. With the birth of COSATU some of the fundamental principles of the revolutionary trade unionism got home in our country oncemore. From the outset COSATU declared that it will be fully involved in the struggle for the liberation of our country; that it will ensure worker control that it will organise the workers into industrial unions and uphold workers' solidarity.

These are some of the basic principles guiding revolutionary unionism. SACTU fought for these same principles. Comrades, if an organisation is judged by what it stands for and the principles which guide it towards its goal, then allow me to say that there has never been any difference between COSATU and SACTU.

SACTU leadership in exile met on the 19th February 1990 to review the situation in the light of the political changes in South Africa. It was here we felt that the future of the trade union movement in our country was secured under COSATU hence we took a decision to phase out SACTU in favour of COSATU. We then invited SACTU internal leadership and our underground operatives to give their views before we made our decision known by the public. This was followed by consultation with our allies - the ANC and SACP. After this, on the 19th March 1990, we met COSATU at Kafue in Zambia where we presented our decision to phase out SACTU. All those who wereconsulted agreed with SACTU positions.

Important decisions were taken to facilitate the process of phasing out. We must admit that we underestimated the amount of work involved in this process. We thought that by now we would be long finished with this work. The reality proved otherwise. However greater part of this work has been covered. SACTU cadres have been intergrated into COSATU and affiliates' structures. All our international offices are closed. Lusaka office is only handling administrative matters relating to phasing out. The only area which delays the process are the fixed properties although we hope that very soon this work will be finished.

Dear comrades and friends let us admit that the role of SACTU as a trade union federation in exile was made complex by the fact that it had no unions directly affiliated to it. In our efforts to pursue our common goals we relied on underground structures and persuasion. We are glad to note that we managed to bring together unions with different political orientations and persuasions to unite under the slogan " an injury to one is an injury to all ". We propagated the ideas of SACTU of

organising the unorganised workers into Trade unions irrespective of their racial origins.

We are pleased to say that at least we planted a seed in the field of the struggle of our people, the struggle not only for bread and butter but the struggle for a better life in all spheres of human endeavour. We are hopeful that given the present militant trends in the trade union movement in our country COSATU will grow from strength to strength throughout the length and breadth of our country into a mighty vehicle that will carry us to the freedom we all aspire for.

Over many years of exile SACTU won many friends to the side of the struggle of the oppressed people of our country. We tried, where we could, to secure bilateral relations between unions of the same industry in SA and abroad. In the same spirit of brotherhood of the working people we informed our friends about our decision to phase out. We believe that those who supported SACTU did so for the benefit of the people of this country. It is for that reason that we believe and hope that they will continue supporting us through COSATU and union to union relations.

Once more let us thank you for giving us this opportunity. We promise to keep you informed of the developments through our joint structures. Allow me again to express our confidence and wish that this congress be a success whose deliberations will take our liberation movement a step ahead.

An Injury to One is An Injury to All!

NKOSI SIKELEL' I AFRIKA

Nkosi sikeleli Africa
 Maluphakamis uphondol wayo
 Yizwa imithandazo yethu
 Nkosi sikelela
 Thina lusapho lwayo

Woza moya
 Woza moya oyingcwele
 Nkosi sikelela

Thina lusapho lwayo

Morena boloka sechaba saheso
 O fedise dintoa le matsoenyeho
 O seboloke
 O seboloke Morena
 O seboloke sechaba
 Sechaba sa heso

THE INTERNATIONALE I-INTERNATIONALE

Arise ye prisoners of starvation
 Arise ye toilers of the earth
 For reason thunders new creation
 'Tis a better world in birth

Never more traditions' chains
 shall bind us
 Arise ye toilers no more in thrall
 The earth shall rise
 on new foundations
 We are but naught we shall be all

Chorus
 Then comrades, come rally
 And the last fight let us face
 The Internationale
 Unites the human race

Vukan'zigqila zezwe lonke
 Vukan'ejokwen'lobugqili
 Sizokwakh'umhlaba kabusha
 Siqed'indlala nobumpofu

Qeda lamasik'okusibopha
 Asilwise yonk'incindezelo
 Manj'umhlab'unesakhiw'esisha
 Asisodwa Kulomkhankaso

Chorus
 Maqaban'wozan'sihlanganeni
 Sibhekene nempi yamanqamu
 I-Internationale
 Ibumb'uluntu lonke