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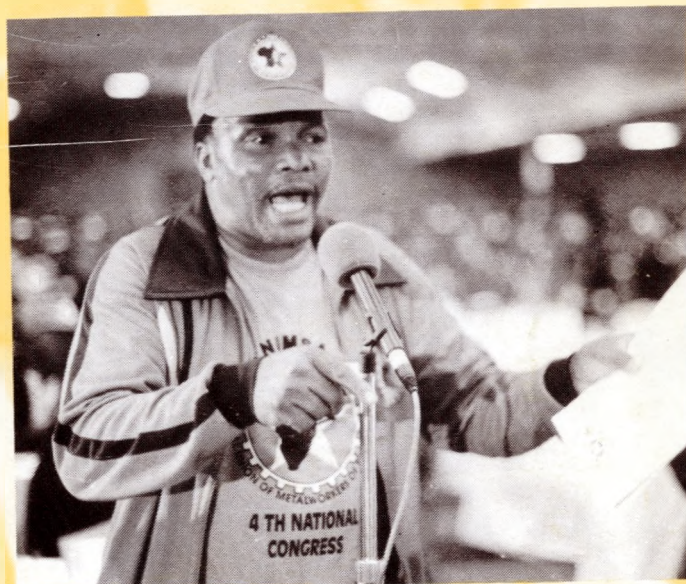
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# NUMSA



**4th National Congress**

**July 1993**

UNION OF METALWORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA  
4 TH NATIONAL  
CONGRESS

# INTRODUCTION

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## The National Congress

The National Congress of the NUMSA was held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, from 19 to 22 September 1993. It was the first time since the formation of the union in 1984 that a national congress had been held.

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Published by: NUMSA P.O. Box 260483 Excom 2023, September 1993

Design and DTP by Lesley Lewis

Photographs by William Matlala (Umanyano Publications)

Printed by: Art Printers, Durban



# INTRODUCTION

NUMSA held its Fourth National Congress in Johannesburg, from July, 1 - 4 , 1993. There were 773 delegates present, representing all our 11 regions. Delegates elected new office bearers until the next Congress in three years time. These are:

- |                |   |  |
|----------------|---|--|
| Mtutuzeli Tom  | - | President, shop steward MBSA (re-elected)      |
| Danny Oliphant | - | First Vice President, shop steward ADE (new)   |
| Phil Bokaba    | - | Second Vice President, shop steward, ATC (new) |
| Moses Mayekiso | - | General Secretary (re-elected)                 |



*NUMSA's new Office Bearers (L to R) Cdes. Danny Oliphant, Moses Mayekiso, Mtutuzeli Tom, Phil Bokaba*

## The National Congress

Our National Congress is the highest decision making body of the Union. Its main task is to adopt resolutions that become the policies of NUMSA. These policies guide the union on how to act until the next Congress.

After previous Congresses, we have only published the adopted resolutions. But this has meant that our members have lost out on the lively debates that have taken place during the Congress.

In this booklet, we try and bring the Congress alive for you. We give you the full text of the General Secretary's report, the debates as they took place, word for word. What was decided on the Alliance? Why do we want "nationalisation without compensation"? What was the decision on the Working Class Party? The final resolutions that were adopted are there for you to see. Extracts from speeches of various speakers are also given. Two key issues - the contents of the Reconstruction Accord and Restructuring Industry - will continue to be discussed in the Union. (The documents are



included; see pages 65-82.) Congress mandated the next Central Committee in October 1993 to take decisions on these issues.

Use the booklet to find out for yourself what was said. You will be able to see what were the reasons given for the different positions. This will help you explain to members why NUMSA has adopted these resolutions.

You will also see how democracy takes place. In some cases, compromises were reached, in other cases there was no compromise and the motion had to be put to the vote.

Comrades, as our new President, Cde Tom, said in the Congress -

*"Our primary duty is to serve the interests of our members and those who have elected us to represent them. It is therefore necessary for us to be accountable to them in shaping the policies of the union....."*

*Most of the time we do not consult our members when we debate issues - even on minor issues we leave them behind. It is very dangerous for us to create a distance between ourselves and our members. The members must not follow but must be there with us. We must remember our base is the factory floor."*

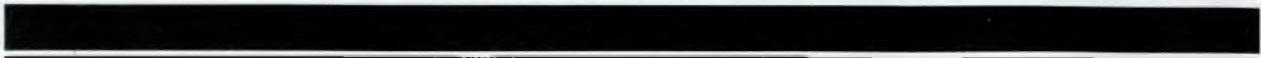
Use this booklet as a tool to get rid of that distance between you and the members. Use it to help you understand the positions that NUMSA has adopted as its policies. The General Secretary's Report also gives a full picture of how NUMSA functions and gives useful background information to many of the discussions. The Tables mentioned are at the back of the book; see page 83 to the end. In this first section the debates and the speeches have been put into shaded boxes so it is easier for you to read. Use the booklet to build, strengthen and consolidate our Union in these difficult times.



The National Congress

NUMSA 4th National Congress 1993





# THE WORK OF NUMSA

## General Secretary's Report

The General Secretary's Report for the year 1992-1993 is a document that provides a comprehensive overview of the work of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) during this period. The report is divided into several sections, each focusing on a different aspect of the union's activities. The first section, 'The Year in Review', provides a summary of the key events and achievements of the year. This is followed by a section on 'The Work of the Executive Committee', which details the decisions and actions taken by the union's governing body. The third section, 'The Work of the Branches', describes the activities and achievements of the various local branches of the union. The fourth section, 'The Work of the Committees', outlines the roles and responsibilities of the various committees established by the union. The final section, 'The Future of NUMSA', provides a vision for the union's future and outlines the strategies and initiatives that will be implemented to achieve this vision.

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# INTRODUCTION

**I**t is my honour to present this report to the Fourth National Congress of NUMSA. It has been no easy task and we have been understandably criticised for circulating it late. The truth of the matter is that NUMSA is now a large and extremely active trade union involving itself in a wide range of activities.

This poses tremendous challenges of organisation and administration for my staff and it has been difficult to do full justice to all aspects of NUMSA's work in this report. In fact a continual theme of this report will be the challenges we now face in this critical period of transition. Unless we can correctly identify our problems and overcome them we'll not develop into the powerful, militant and democratic union envisaged in the Preamble, Aims and Objectives of our Constitution.

## x Developments since 1993

In our Third National Congress in 1991 we correctly identified the need to involve ourselves in both the political and economic developments that are taking place in our country. These developments can decisively affect the interests of our members. However, this involvement has placed a great deal of pressure on the resources of our union and posed very real challenges to the traditions of democracy within our structures.

We have tried to develop new organisational practices to co-ordinate the wide range of work that is undertaken by NUMSA. This is set out below in section 2.2 that deals with the Three Year Programme.

We have employed more staff and strengthened the national and regional teams adding a number of new positions since our last Congress. This is set out more fully in section 3.6 dealing with Administration.

In the 1993 Living Wage Campaign we have developed a new Bargaining Strategy that stretches over three years. This is an important change but it is not easy to implement and both the Strategy and the problems are dealt with in section 4 on Restructuring Industry.

To finance this increased activity we implemented the Third Congress decision on 1% subscriptions. This was not without problems but it has had a positive effect on our finances and we should now be able to move toward self-sufficiency by the end of 1993.

The two years since the last Congress have been regrettably plagued by violence. It is sad to report that hundreds of our leaders and members of NUMSA have been killed in the last two years. We are unable to give accurate figures but the main areas of violence for NUMSA have been in the Vaal, East Rand and Northern Natal.

We have had to take extraordinary steps to protect leadership and membership where we can. This has placed great pressure on many comrades and especially on their families. We salute and sympathise with those brave women who have stood strong in these terrible times. NUMSA has played a positive and active role in seeking to end the violence. We must rededicate ourselves to this so that our people can live a life of peace and prosperity.

In **Table 1** the basic facts about our union are set out. We are a large union as can be seen. The position in regard to membership is however of real concern. There is no doubt that the recession is having a serious effect. However, later we deal with our inability to accurately keep track of our membership which is a serious problem that must be overcome. The apparent large decline in membership may not be an accurate figure.

NUMSA can be proud of its achievements in the last two years. Much has been achieved and we stand as one of the most effective unions in South Africa. This is cause for hope. However, in NUMSA we have always looked deeply at ourselves in order to keep building. We must do this again in this Congress.

## Tasks for this Congress

In this Congress we must once again seriously review our strength, organisation, structures and policies and ask:

☛ Do we have to change any of these things if we want to continue to play a leading role in the period of transition to democracy and in the struggle against exploitation and for workers rights?

☛ Are we committed to building socialism? If we are, do we know what socialism should be? Can we really explain it to ourselves and to workers?

☛ How can we become clearer on these issues?

☛ Do our programmes build socialism and if so how can we strengthen their direction?



# THE WORK OF NUMSA

**T**he 1991 Congress identified an ambitious programme of work for the union. In order to try and deal with this we have developed new work practices in the union.

## 2.1 The Head Office Communiqué (HOC)

Just before the 1991 Congress the CC had agreed to new practices to streamline communication. What we had found was that we had a confusing and inefficient communication process between the Head Office and the Regions. There is probably no better way of describing this than to reproduce a drawing done by Cde Bobby Marie to explain the problem.

This and the proposed solution are set out in **Table 2**

To try and correct this we decided to see the staff as being located in a national team and in regional teams. All staff are under the day-to-day supervision of the General Secretary but in practice it was felt that the idea of national and regional teams allowed us to work more effectively. The General Secretary would co-ordinate the national team and the Regional Secretary would co-ordinate the regional team.

Communication between the national and regional would be through the Head Office Communiqué or HOC which goes out every two weeks. The first HOC went out in early 1991 and we have now sent out the 55th HOC.

It seems that the system has worked fairly well. The purpose of reporting on this is so that all worker leaders should know about it and be able to supervise it.

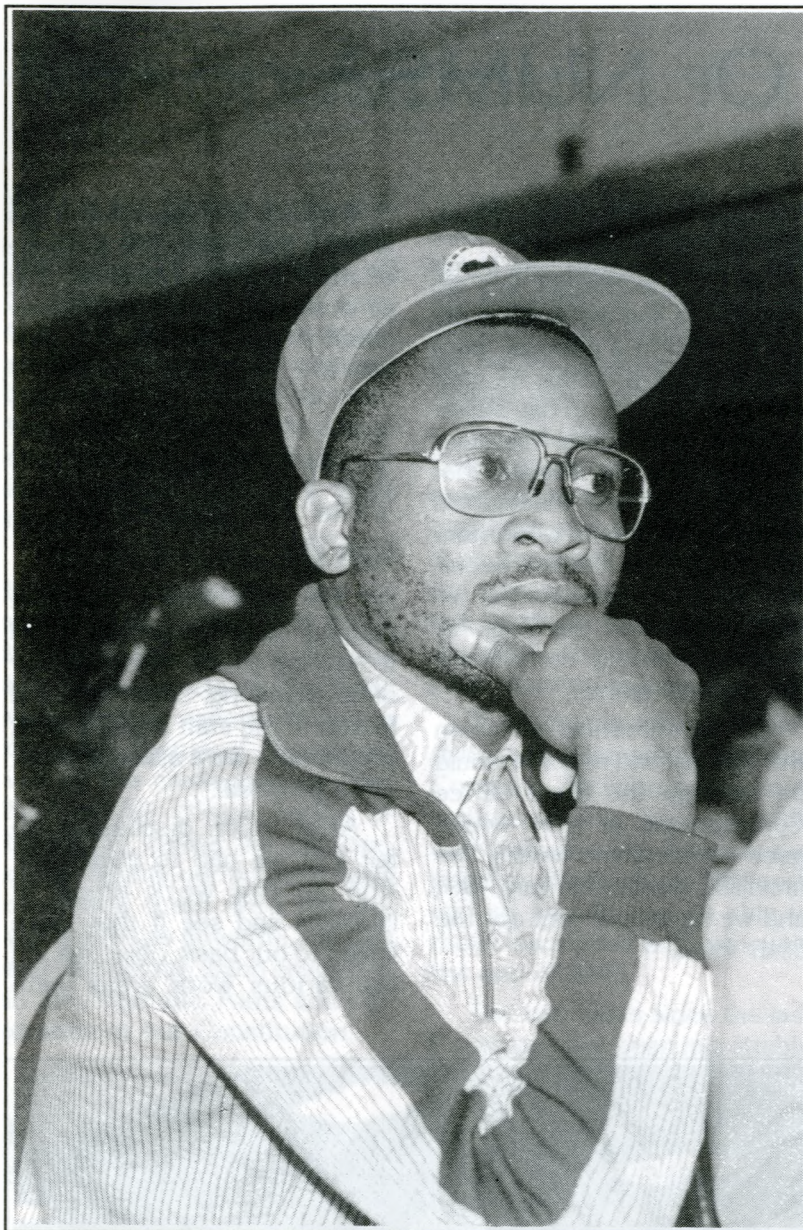
## 2.2 The Three Year Programme (3YP)

At the Head Office level the national team found that it had to develop a more effective way of co-ordinating. Cdes Marie and Foster in the staff development programme were asked to work out a proposal.

After much discussion we felt that we had to clearly define all the work areas of NUMSA and see if they were linked to our basic objective. All the various work areas were







summarised and are set out in **Table 3**.

As can be seen from **Table 3** the political and socio-economic work areas are ones that involve us in work with COSATU, the Alliance and other organisations such as the Civics. In this way we tried to ensure that all work done by NUMSA officials or worker leaders would be reported on even if it was done outside the NUMSA structures.

Since this 3 YP was drawn-up new developments within the work areas have occurred. At the macro level the National Economic Forum, Local Government Forum, National Elec-

tricity Forum and National Housing Forum have all been formed. At industry level new tripartite Task Forces in the auto (assembly, components and service) and electronics industries have been formed. At regional level Regional Economic Forums have been formed in Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Border/Kei, PWV and soon Natal.

All these initiatives are reported on more fully under restructuring industry. However, they involve NUMSA in a wide range of work. The 3 YP tries to co-ordinate this and at a national level regular meetings are held to carry out such co-ordi-

nation. We work through a detailed agenda.

NEC and CC agendas and reports are prepared using the 3 YP. Since May 1993 we have also involved Regional Secretaries in the monthly co-ordinating meetings.

However, it is clear that we have not yet achieved the level of co-ordination that we need and we have also not developed rapid enough and informative enough report-back processes from all these structures.

This co-ordination, planning and reporting back will make the difference between being a national union as opposed to a loose federation of Regions. We must remember this because our objective is to build a national union.

Many of these problems are dealt with elsewhere in this report. However, it is clear that NUMSA covers a very wide range of activities and many of our problems would be easier if we did not do so much. But if we were to cut back activities would it benefit our members? In the situation of transition that we are in many decisions can be taken that will fundamentally affect our members. Surely it is better for us to be there and accept the challenge of improving our organisation rather than to run away from these areas to make our job easier.

### 2.3 The Constitution

As the union develops so we find the need to update and improve our Constitution. Regions have proposed changes and from problems encountered we have asked our legal advisors to also propose changes.

A Constitution is a complex document where clauses link to each other. In order, therefore, to make discussion easier in Congress the Composite Resolution includes a commentary on many of the proposed changes.



# EMPOWERING WORKERS

One of the themes of this Congress is that of Empowering Workers. This is a fundamental part of our work and if we do not succeed in this no other part of NUMSA's work is going to be done well.

In **Table 3** setting out the work areas of the union we have called this Building a National Union and as can be seen from that Table it involves a number of different work areas.

The Composite Resolution on Empowering Workers focuses mainly on the education and training of members, shop stewards and leadership. This is an important area and is dealt with more fully in 3.5 below. However, we cannot focus on this aspect alone. We need to look at our organisational practices more carefully and assess the current state of organising and how well our structures are functioning.

## 3.1 Assessment of Organising

The current recession and the attitude of employers has placed great pressure on the structures of our union. To deal with this we introduced a New Bargaining Strategy in the 1993 negotiations. However, our ability to effectively carry out such a programme depends on our organisational structures and practices. The problems we face are probably well known to all delegates, but it will be useful to summarise these. This summary is not in order of importance.

**3.1.1** We need to carefully assess our factory structures. Are shop stewards performing as a committee **within** the factories and are they using grievance and disciplinary procedures effectively so as to service members and gain further rights in

the workplace? There is a danger that we are relying on shop steward councils in the locals rather than factory based organisation.

**3.1.2** What is clear is that large and important factories that were previously strong have weakened. Iscor, Eskom, VW and Samcor are just some examples here. These plants were key plants in the formation of our union.

**3.1.3** Organisers are faced with new challenges and there is no doubt that organisers training is a priority. At present there are problems with the way that many organisers are doing their jobs. They are not building structures. This has an effect on the overall morale of organisers and there have been some serious acts of indiscipline among organisers.





**3.14** Co-ordination between organising, education and collective bargaining at a national level is still not adequate even with the 3 YP. Within Regions not all Regional Teams working effectively and this causes problems in implementing decisions and giving direction to staff and locals.

**3.15** In 1991 and 1992 financial problems placed pressure on our resources. It is only in 1993 that we have been able to ensure that Regions have full regional teams (except smaller Regions) and where we have been able to allow for more national organisers to support the Regions on particular areas. With more resources we should begin to improve provided we accompany this with co-ordination, planning and training.

**3.16** The Motor sector still remains the most difficult to organise and is where we remain relatively weak.

**3.17** We just cannot be satisfied with our present service to membership, which is often not good.

For instance, in some areas NUMSA members have joined other unions. In some cases this has been due to intimidation. The most serious examples are many factories in Germiston and a few in Benoni where workers have joined UWUSA, and Iscor Vanderbijlpark, where workers have joined SAAWU. Inadequate service has also played a role in

these and other areas. Some factories have also been lost in Southern Natal, Highveld, Border and Wits Central West.

It has been impossible to know if the union is gaining or losing membership because we

used a lot of pressure to get them to toe its line.

At the same time the Supreme Court interdicted the strike on the grounds that the union had not ensured that the ballot was completely free of irregularities. The court wanted NUMSA's ballot to be even tighter than a Parliamentary election.

This is absolutely impossible especially where SEIFSA has for years refused to negotiate ballot facilities. NUMSA had to settle the case and pay costs of R120000 to SEIFSA. Although it was clear that a majority of NUMSA members supported the strike, we could not prove this in court because

the union does not have a completely reliable membership list.

About 2 500 NUMSA members were dismissed in the strike. The biggest dismissals were at Lascon, Boart and Alpha Metals. All of these have a big share holding from the Anglo American Corporation (AMIC). The reason given for dismissing workers at Boart is very different from the reasons given to the union at the time of the dismissals. Someone is not telling the truth. It is clear that Anglo's real aim was to break the strike, as it did to the NUM strike in 1987.

Most of the workers dismissed in the strike have not been reinstated. Their cases are still going through the Industrial Court, but this Court is very hostile to NUMSA and to workers.

### ON UNIFYING NUMSA

*Solidarity amongst workers from different factories is not there. VW workers have a problem - it is their problem not a metal worker's problem. This must change. The slogan AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL must be looked at again. We must do this before we can talk of unity with outside organisations.*

*It is a mistake to look at NUMSA having 4 different sectors. Yesterday's discussion on the motor sector made me happy. For the first time we have realised that motor sector workers are NUMSA members. It is important for us to be united in defence of those comrades - those brothers and sisters. We face the same brutality from the system of capitalism. We must defend those comrades so that they will defend us in the future. I must point this directly to the workers in the auto and rubber sectors. The relationship of these two sectors with the motor sector is weak. We must use the strength of the auto and tyre sectors to help the weakest sector - motor.*

**Cde. Tom, NUMSA President**

have not been able to draw up a reliable list of factories with numbers of members. It must be a priority to get a reliable list, so that we can monitor what is happening in each region, establishment and local.

### 3.2 The 1992 Strike

The national strike in the engineering and auto industries in 1992 was well supported. Gains were made in the auto industry. In the engineering industry, about 100 000 workers came out on strike in South Africa's biggest industrial strike.

After two weeks, the Anglo American Corporation began dismissing workers. They then forced SEIFSA to advise other member companies to get them to do so too. Employers in SEIFSA say Anglo American



The NUMSA Central Committee recommended to COSATU that Section 65 of the LRA should be scrapped. COSATU agreed, but the matter has not been taken up. It is clear that SEIFSA used a technicality in the law to destroy a democratically decided on and widely supported strike.

### 3.3 Gender ✓

NUMSA was at the forefront of raising gender issues in the mid-1980's. Out of this we established a Womens' Co-ordinating Committee within the education programme. There was also a series of workshops for women.

However, the experience was that separate structures often meant that gender and family issues were then not dealt with effectively elsewhere in the union.

In collective bargaining we used the women's educational workshops to formulate gender demands e.g. maternity and paternity leave, pap smear and an end to discrimination. The Code of Conduct to End Unfair Discrimination was introduced into negotiations in 1992.

This early work resulted in Cde Dorothy Mokgalo being appointed as the COSATU Gender Co-ordinator. NUMSA is represented on the COSATU Gender Committee by Cde Maggie Magubane.

However if we do a frank appraisal of gender activity in NUMSA then we see:

- ★ No sector has yet negotiated the Code Of Conduct to End Unfair Discrimination.

- ★ The agreement reached on Pap smears in NUMSA sectors has not been followed up.

- ★ The agreement for creche facilities to be explored at company level was never followed up.

- ★ The recent COSATU Campaign for children rights



was very poorly supported by NUMSA Regions.

- ★ We have no effective representation of the Gender issue within NUMSA. These shortcomings are serious because they will weaken our union and because we are failing to ensure that our principles of the equality of all our members, irrespective of race, sex or creed is actually implemented.

In addition to the points raised in section 7 of the Com-

bargaining department framework.

- ★ Ensuring that the organising department organise and campaign around issues related to racial and gender discrimination within the organising department framework.

- ★ Work within education department to promote a wider understanding of these issues.

- ★ The National Organiser should report directly within the General Secretary's department to the constitutional structures.

- ★ Represent NUMSA, together with workers, in outside forums.

**"We have no effective representation of the Gender issue within NUMSA"**

posite Resolution on Empowering Workers, we would request the Congress to consider the following:

That NUMSA employ a National Organiser to address the question of racial and gender discrimination, whose responsibilities will include:

- ★ Negotiation of these questions within the collective

#### CONGRESS DECISION

Congress mandated the CC to look into the Gender issue.

### 3.4 The Way Forward in Organising

Our programmes, which are aimed at strengthening and rebuilding the union are starting to take effect. We will have to carry on with these programmes for several years, and the Congress should commit itself to this.

#### OUR MAIN AIMS ARE: ✓

- ★ to improve the service to members - not only from staff - but from shop stewards by





building unity and stronger structures in the factories.

✱ to increase and consolidate our membership.

✱ to develop committed, skilled and clear leadership in all establishments, locals, regions and nationally.

✱ to mobilise workers to fight for more control of their own lives and the redistribution of resources and income.

**3.4.1** Goals to improve service to members: These were approved by the Central Committee and are being discussed with staff and members. The goals are aimed at putting the interests of workers first.

**3.4.2** Staffing policy to improve efficiency, working conditions, the skills of the staff, and the commitment of staff members to the union. The policy aims to give staff members more interesting and challenging jobs so that they are more committed. We must still make sure we have the right person in the right job.

**3.4.3** Staff development and training: the organisers and administrators are the backbone of the union. They must know and understand all union policies and be able to advise and educate workers. They must be able to negotiate without always ending up in disputes. Staff training is the key to the growth and consolidation of the union.

### ON NUMSA PROBLEMS

If we look presently there is a change. It is rare to hear of workers engaging in action because someone is dismissed. This is resulting in us losing our members. Insead we talk about the legal department and the industrial court.

We must raise this point sharply. What is important for us on the factory floor? Worker power and unity is paramount in order to defend ourselves against the attacks of the bosses. We must not rely on the legal department.

We do have an education department that is supposed to educate us - but I believe that we are not fulfilling that objective. Our education department is not working to our expectations. It is not defending our members on the ground. Many of the cases we take to arbitration and to the industrial court - we should be using our own skills instead. What is the use of a worker joining a union when a shop steward can't defend that worker if necessary.

The history of our union is marked by its militance in defending worker interests. But this is not taking place. Why have we changed? Is it because today we talk of negotiations? Is it because the leadership is able to turn action on and off without consultation? Is it because they direct us rather than us directing them? The answers must come from us. Comrades we must unify ourselves first.

**Cde. Tom, NUMSA President**



This is dealt with more fully under education and training.

**3.4.4 Encouraging organisers to visit the plants more and to spend most of their time talking to workers.** Many regions have taken this up. It is perhaps the most crucial change which the union needs.

**3.4.5 Improving teamwork.** The union has been developing the Regional Teams since 1991. In almost all of the regions the full team is now in place. In most of the regions there is now good teamwork in the regional office.

We must now concentrate on improving the team work in the locals. Team work must bring together organisers, local office bearers and administrators. Administrators are not just clerks, they must also work with and help workers.

The Regional Organisers and Regional Motor Organisers are meeting bi-monthly with the Head office. This teamwork is also bearing fruit.

**3.4.6 Improving discipline.** There are still too many cases of poor discipline among the staff. In some cases staff members have threatened office bearers to avoid disciplinary actions. NUMSA will never tolerate this.

Employment procedures are being tightened up.

**3.4.7 Re-organising the major plants.** The National Shop Stewards Councils at Iscor and Eskom have been revived.

**3.4.8** The NEC has circulated new rules for the election of full-time shop stewards and rules for how they must work and be accountable to members. The full-time shop stewards are key

in building organisation, but NUMSA must work hard to ensure that they are very skilled and fully accountable.

**3.4.9** To cut the number of disputes, the union is:

✧ Working with organisers and shop stewards to ensure



that they can solve problems quickly at the plant level before they become disputes.

✧ Working with organisers and shop stewards to make sure that they can plan properly how and when to make a dispute and follow it up.

**“It is easy to forget that only a few years ago we were still struggling for basic rights of recognition.”**

✧ Training Regional Legal Officers so that they can advise organisers and shop stewards.

**3.4.10** The Motor Industry: This is a special case. NUMSA still does not adequately organise motor workers. It is hard, because they are scattered. But

they are members and we must properly organise them. This needs more commitment throughout the union - from local leadership to national leadership. The NEC has approved a programme of action for the Motor sector.

## **3.5 Education and Training**

### **3.5.1 The Programme**

The Composite Resolution on Empowering Workers focuses on education and training. This is understandable given the new pressures and challenges facing the union. It is easy to forget that only a few years ago we were still struggling for basic rights of recognition and now we expect leadership to deal with complex economic and technological information.

This is a rapid jump and the challenge is an exciting one. NUMSA needs to be a total educational institution ranging from basic literacy to post graduate knowledge. Our target should be to achieve this but it is not easy.

The basic structure of NUMSA Education and Training Activities is set out in **Table 4**. The breakdown of expenditure and sources of income for 1991, 1992 are set out in **Table 5**, with



a summary of the activities and numbers attending.

### 3.5.2 An Assessment

We have succeeded in developing a fairly large education and training programme in NUMSA and by the end of 1995 we should have in place all the basic educational material needed. However, a number of problems areas remain:

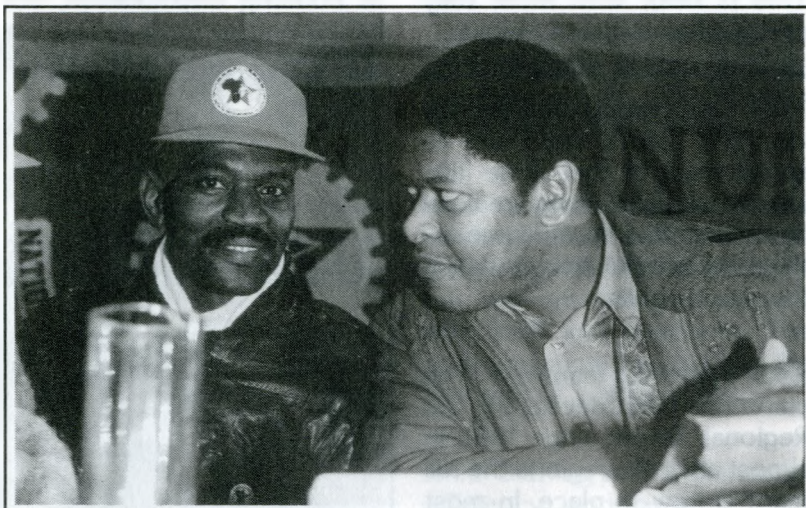
- ✱ we have still not succeeded in integrating the education programme with organising and collective bargaining to a high enough degree.

- ✱ we are not reaching all our shop stewards and leadership on a systematic basis.

- ✱ our records of shop stewards and what training they receive are still inadequate.

- ✱ we are not providing continuous and current training to all staff, both organising and administrative.

- ✱ we do not sufficiently address problems of illiteracy among membership and shop stewards.



- ✱ we need to rapidly develop training material on the New Bargaining Strategy and on the many new issues raised by industry restructuring.

- ✱ we need to provide more opportunities for advanced study.

more effective programme. The main areas being worked at present are the following:

- ✱ making greater use of radio programmes to reach membership.

- ✱ developing more booklets and pamphlets.

- ✱ completing the Shop Steward training modules and training more educators.

- ✱ developing more staff training courses in addition to the basic courses completed.

### 3.5.3 The Way Forward

The Composite Resolution proposes a number of important objectives to take us forward. Some of the current work will be important in developing a





- ✱ developing more educational material on policy, particularly around industry restructuring.

- ✱ starting a systematic study tour programme.

- ✱ beginning to use the study and sabbatical leave programme to develop further advanced skills.

The position in regard to staff resources has improved and from May 1993 we are in a position where all Regions have full time Regional Education Officers. At a national level a new national organiser position to co-ordinate shop steward training was agreed to and Cde. Mbanjwa started in April. A second national organiser to work with Cde Foster in leadership development will also start in July.

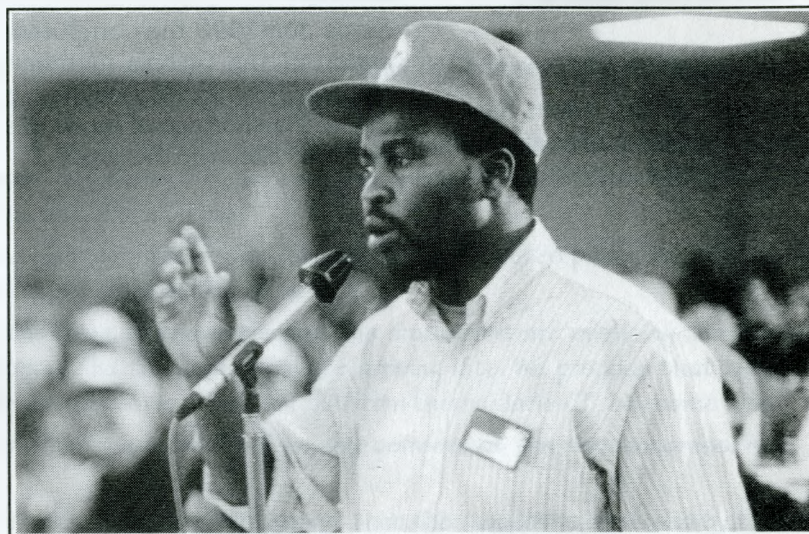
With regard to finance we owe a real debt of gratitude to the IMF who have continued to fund the bulk of our coursework programme. They have also assisted with a number of study tours. Hopefully we can now repay some of this solidarity by helping their Southern African education programme with resources.

From 1993 we have started to allocate funds to an education account so that NUMSA will begin to pay for courses and seminars in addition to the salaries, rent, phone and all administration expenses we now pay.

### 3.6 Building an Efficient Administration

The Congress will be considering a Resolution on Efficient Administration. This is a vital issue since without it the union cannot function, we cannot service members and there can be no real democratic control of the union since there will not be the necessary information on which to base our decisions.

The size of NUMSA poses new challenges as to how we manage and administer it. The management and administration techniques of capitalist enterprises are not designed to encourage democracy but they are efficient in collecting information and controlling systems. We have to combine democracy with efficiency while remembering that without administrative efficiency there cannot be democracy.



The following provides a brief summary of the union administrative developments over the last two years:

#### 3.6.1 Finances

- ✱ Subscriptions - The collection of the 1% subscriptions has improved the union's income since the implementation on October 1, 1993.

There are 2800 employers on the Union's membership computer and 60% of the employers are paying over the new rate.

The NEC in June '93 took a decision to return all cheques from employers who are still paying over the old rate after My 31, 1993.

- ✱ Income - There has been an increase in subscriptions income as against 1991 and this is largely due to the 1% subscrip-

tions implemented in October 1992. The increase amounted to 11,9%. (see Table 6).

- ✱ Donations - The union still receives donations from the IMF and ICEF for education activities and legal aid. The financial assistance could however be phased out over the next three years. Before that time the union should become self-sufficient.

#### 3.6.2 Expenditure - (see Tables 7,8,9)

- ✱ Salaries - This is the biggest expense which has increased by 29,7%. This expense contributed to 52% of the total expenditure for 1992.

- ✱ Legal - This is another major expense and has increased by 100% as against 1991. This is also largely due to the strike cases taken to court.

- ✱ Operating Expenses - The operating expenses for the Regions and Head Office increased by 25% in 1992 which is not a major increase because regions had a tighter control over their budgets.

Whilst the income increased by 11,7%, expense still exceeded income for 1992 and this resulted in a deficit of about R1,9m.



## 3.6.3 Benefit Funds

The claims paid during 1992 exceeded the income and before benefits could be increased an actuarial evaluation has to be carried out to investigate the soundness of the Benefit and Death/Dependent Funds.

The funds in the reserve account of the NUMSA Benefit Fund are presently R1,6 million. The recommendation from the actuaries is that more than one year's claims should be kept as a reserve. (see Table 10).

## 3.6.4 Staff

The staff of the union has increased considerably since the last Congress in 1991.

The staff complement as at May 1993 is 341 as against 285 in May 1991. (see Table 1).

## 3.6.5 Offices

The number of offices of the union has also increased since the last Congress.

The number of offices as at May 1993 is 66 and in May 1991 was 63.

## 3.6.6 Computerisation of Membership

Since July 1990 the computerisation of the union's membership has been in the pipeline but due to the shortage of funds this has not taken off the ground.

At the beginning of 1992, we recommunicated with the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) in the UK requesting them to consider giving NUMSA a loan with a low interest rate in order to purchase a computer for the membership.

NUPE has not considered the loan instead they have purchased a computer for NUMSA.

The membership project has now got off the ground and it is estimated that the system would be implemented at the Head Office by October 1993.

There is quite a lot of planning to still take place around the membership system and the Regions and Locals would be involved in the planning at workshops.

*There was unanimous support for a motion that there should be one Head Office on the grounds that we are wasting money at present with 4 head offices. Congress mandated the CC to "work towards" achieving one Head Office.*

## ON ONE HEAD OFFICE

□ Border : In GS report on expenditure (3.6.5) it is stated that the number of our offices has increased. This has got cost implications because NUMSA has 4 head offices in Natal, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. In order to save costs, the CC must be mandated by this congress to work towards having one head office for this union. Our constitution says that our CC must decide where the head office must be - but somehow we have four. The CC must correct this.

□ NTvI : We support the idea that we must have one head office.

□ ECape : We also need support for that proposal. In the Eastern Cape - the Collective Bargaining department travels to Johannesburg every day of the week, so we also concur.

□ WitsCW : Cde President. We rubber stamp what other comrades have said.

President : Any objections?

Motion carried.



*Some delegates argued that staff positions should be frozen because of declining membership. Others blamed the problem on inefficient, lazy staff, misuse of the telephone, wastage of resources. In the end delegates agreed that a decision to freeze employment of staff could not be made in the Congress. It was a matter for the Central Committee to decide.*

## ON STAFF

□ Border : We as Border would like to refer to point 3.6.4 Staff. We want to know why we have more staff, while we in NUMSA have fewer members due to retrenchment.

□ WTVI : We want to support our comrades especially at a national level. Head Office seems to be growing. We have people who are doing nothing to stop retrenchments. We don't want people who are doing nothing.

President : The people you are talking about are sitting among you. You are doing nothing about it. You must ask why. Regions are submitting requests to employ organisers.

□ Wits East : We as Wits East say that all the vacancies must be frozen and then the present staff must be retrained and then employ where necessary. Also we need a watchdog to stop the misuse of the telephone - we need to computerise the use of the phone.

And on the question of papers - agenda are circulated many times. This just wastes paper. We are not looking at how we are using our own things. Freeze all the vacancies.

□ NCape: Cde, I would fully support the issue of the watchdog. The organisers are misusing the telephones and we are paying the accounts. And the organisers are arriving late. We propose that they should clock in and out like we do in the factories. We should deduct from their salaries if they come late.

Chair: Do we agree with the freezing of staff vacancies? Will we only defreeze at the next congress. We need to discuss this.

□ NNatal : If there is any request from any region for employment then the request is approved by the Central Committee where all the regions are present. Why are regions complaining? We all agreed on the increase of the subs. The CC looks at all of these issues.

□ Eastern Cape: We were looking at the point that NUMSA is now covering a wide range of activities. We are saying NUMSA must be involved in all these different forums. We will be contradicting ourselves if we cut our staff. Therefore to be quite clear, we must support those comrades who say we must hold on on the question of freezing appointments. We will review this from time to time.

□ Wits East: We are talking about the other forums in which NUMSA is represented on a part-time basis. You can't have someone on the different forums employed on a permanent basis. This should not be the basis on which to make a decision about hiring or not. We are complaining about costs here. If we are not joking then we need not rehire.

The comrades must be developed in order to fill any position within the union rather than having to create more vacancies. If we seriously have a problem of costs, then for the coming 3 years we have to freeze any vacancy and if the need arises then we have to develop the existing staff. Otherwise we have to import skills at our own cost. We need to consider this very seriously.

□ NTVI.: It is surprising that the very regions that are talking of freezing posts are the very regions who request new organisers and administrators. The CC does not simply employ - they always check how many are already there. Somewhere along the line there is a need to employ - and the CC will check if there are objective reasons for these positions. It would be wrong for us to apply a freeze. In some cases there may be a need objectively and constructively to employ.

President : Are you happy that we do not have a freeze but allow the CC to review the situation?

□ Highveld: We support the NTVI. We should not put ourselves into a tight corner by adopting a Congress decision on this.



# RESTRUCTURING INDUSTRY

## 4.1 Collective Bargaining

In the Third Congress in 1991 there were three Resolutions passed on socio-economic issues. These were:

- ✱ Economic Restructuring.
- ✱ Fighting Job Loss.
- ✱ Education and Training.

All of these identified a serious structural crisis in the economy and made various proposals to deal with the problems. In addition to these resolutions the COSATU Congress in 1991 also adopted a resolution that called for negotiations and a halt to unilateral restructurings.

However, what exactly had to be done was not clear enough. The 3YP tried to deal with this by identifying work areas that were necessary if we were to deal with economic restructuring and job losses. These are set out in Table 3.

Certain of the activities involve COSATU and the Alliance whilst others can be dealt with more directly within collective

bargaining and organising in NUMSA.

In this section we will deal with those areas in which NUMSA is more directly involved. In the next section on Democratising the Economy we will deal with macro, development and labour market issues.

In the 3 year programme we identified the following:

- ✱ Industrial Strategy.
- ✱ Collective Bargaining Structures.
- ✱ Benefits.
- ✱ Wages and Working Conditions.
- ✱ Research.

The challenge to our Union has been to effectively campaign and bargain for all these issues. We have been trying to improve our bargaining strategy each year since 1991. This can be seen from our basic demands from 1991 - 1993. This is done in Table 11.

It can be seen that we have been attempting to integrate the areas. The New Bargaining Strategy tried to achieve this inte-

gration and was based on an analysis of previous weaknesses. These were identified as:

✱ Negotiations ended up focusing only on wages and did not effectively address other issues.

✱ We were not being successful in both helping lower paid workers and allowing higher paid workers to keep up with inflation.

✱ While we fought for a few cents per hour our industries were changing - workers were being retrenched, no training was being done, benefits were poor and in the factories bosses were unilaterally restructuring. There was therefore, an urgent need for a new strategy.

The main features of the New Bargaining Strategy are the following:

- ➡ reduce the grades.
- ➡ link grades to skills not tasks so that grades go from low levels of skills to high levels of skills.
- ➡ train workers and have a training system that allows a worker to develop new skills and move up the grades.
- ➡ reduce the wage gap between lower and higher grades.
- ➡ negotiate new industry strategies for job security and employment creation. This would also include work security funds to allow for training and retraining of workers who are retrenched.
- ➡ negotiate work organisation.

By the time the Congress sits, the 1992 Agreements in Engineering, Auto and Tyre and





Rubber will have expired and we will either be in dispute or still negotiating.

The move to a New Bargaining Strategy has been difficult but necessary. However it is important to see the New Bargaining Strategy in the wider context of the problem of industrial restructuring and the national economy. This position is summarised in Table 12.

## 4.2 Centralised Bargaining

The question of centralised bargaining is becoming a more and more critical issue. Employers are pushing on all fronts to move to decentralising bargaining. In NICISEMI employers are pushing very hard for exemptions and lower wages in coastal areas.

At a national level the governments so-called Normative Economic Model (NEM) argued that wage flexibility was necessary to encourage growth and that to achieve this centralised bargaining should be discouraged.

COSATU stated that if the regime and employers continued with this stand then it would be a fundamental obstacle to all future co-operation. Bilateral meetings were held with government and then employers.

The COSATU delegations argued that centralised bargaining, complemented by plant bargaining, was essential for the following areas:

- ✱ it is a mutually effective form of collective bargaining
- ✱ it is essential for the union movement in attaining its objectives of solidarity and equity
- ✱ it is essential for industrial restructuring
- ✱ without it forums such as the NEF should be abandoned by COSATU since negotiating at a national level would be in-

effective and against our members

✱ if employers and government wish to proceed with an anti-centralised bargaining policy the consequences would be increased conflict.

At present no agreement has been reached on this at the NEF or in the bilaterals with employers.

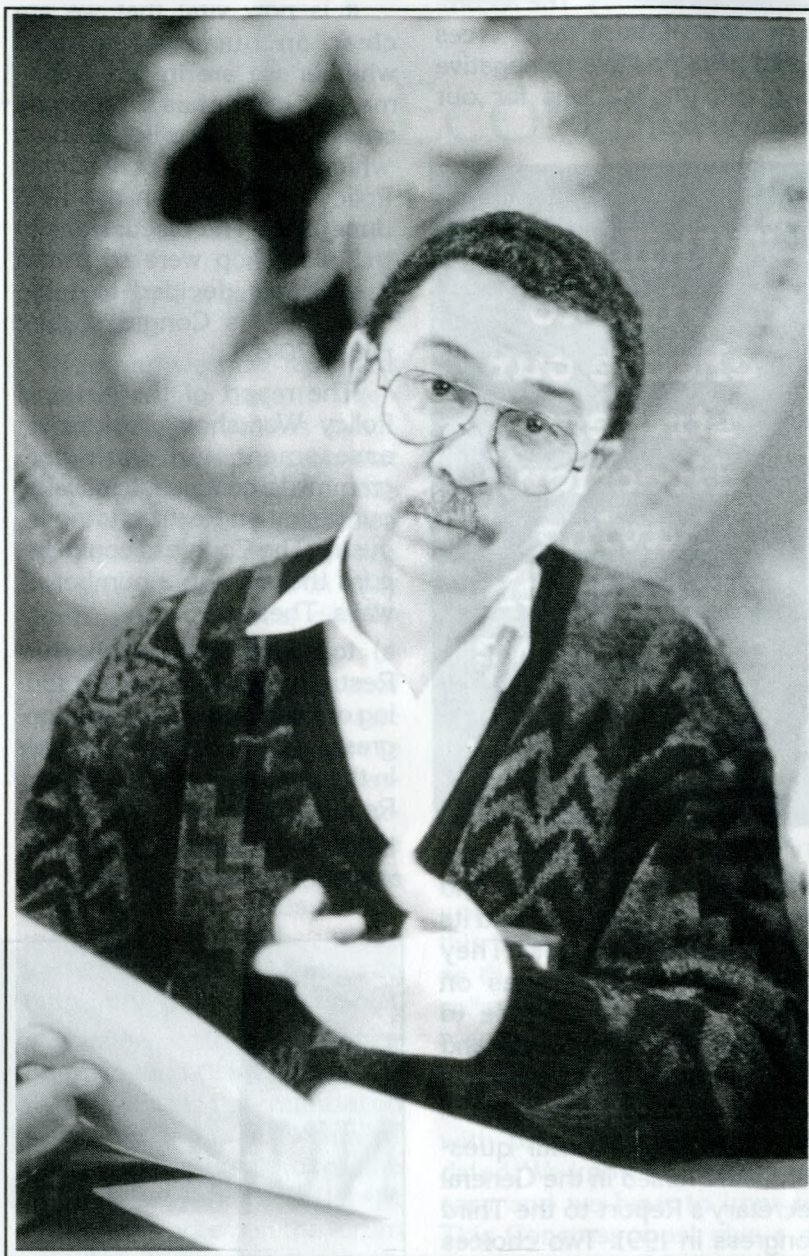
This is a crucial issue which we must be prepared to fight on. What is even more dangerous are the developments around an interim Bill of Rights which will open the door to legally challenge centralised bar-

gaining on this issues, so be ready to fight.

## 4.3 Industrial Restructuring

In Table 12 it is clear that the process of restructuring takes place at national, regional, industrial, sectoral and plant level.

As has already been indicated since our last Congress there have been new developments in that tripartite Task Forces have been set up to formulate new policies for the motor industry (auto, components and after service) and the





electronics industry. The recommendation of these Task Forces could have positive or negative long run implications for our membership.

**"Whilst it is vital to choose our strategic direction, having made such a choice we must not end debate."**

These developments raise some very basic issues and challenges for our union and its democratic processes. They raise fundamental issues on how we intend to advance to socialism and yet protect and advance our members interests now.

These fundamental questions were raised in the General Secretary's Report to the Third Congress in 1991. Two choices were posed and since that Congress we have in effect tried to carry out the first option which was:

"Can we combine a struggle for economic reconstruction with the struggle for State power in a way that advances the struggle for socialism."

However, in that same report we also stated that:

"Finally, we should remember that, whilst it is absolutely vital to choose our strategic direction, having made such a choice we must not end debate. The purpose of debate is to ensure that we are following the strategy decided on."

It is now vital that we are clear on our strategy and whether we are in fact implementing it. This has led to some crucial discussions in the union which resulted in a National Policy Workshop on the 10-11 June 1993. The discussions in this workshop were so useful that it was decided to table them in this Congress. (see pages 70-82)

The report of the National Policy Workshop provides an assessment and work programme to continue to develop our policy on Restructuring Industry. The Congress could discuss the issue in a number of ways. These are:

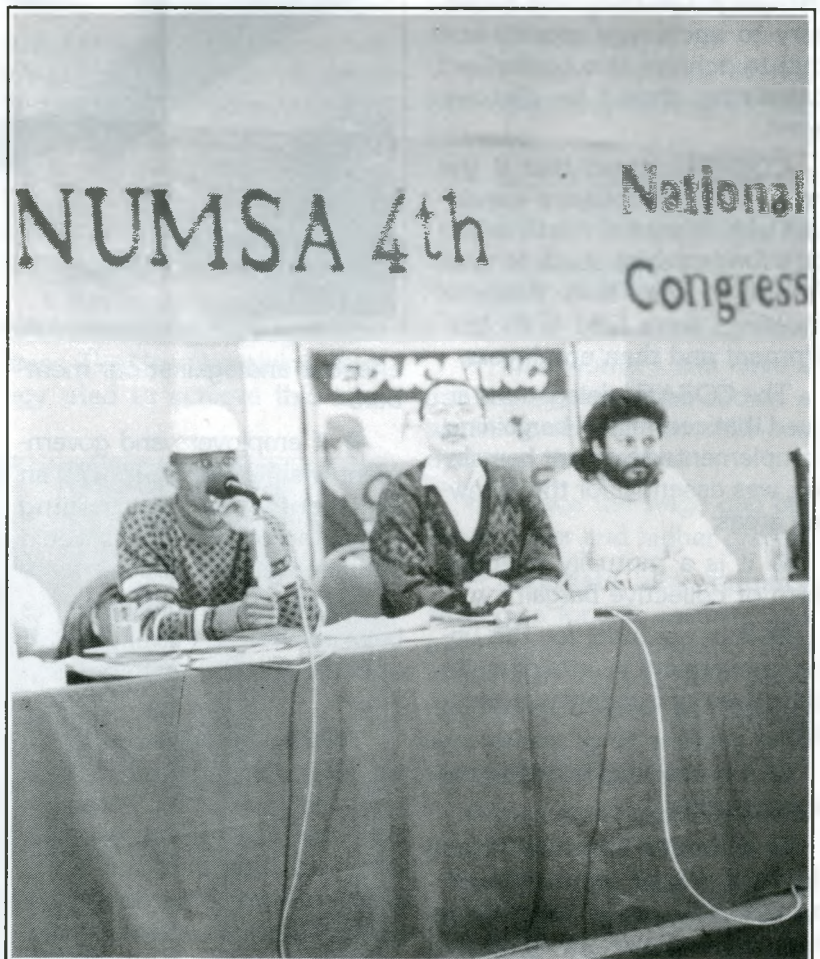
- a) to amend the Resolution on Restructuring Industry by adding or changing areas that Congress feels are better dealt with in the National Policy Workshop Report.
- b) or it can decide to discuss and decide on the programme

outlined in the National Policy Workshop Report.

Which of the choices we take is for Congress to decide. However, what is crucial is that we are unlikely to finalise a fully worked out policy in this Congress so it is very important that Congress does set out a broad work programme for the next three years.

### CONGRESS' DECISION

The issue of Industrial Restructuring was not debated. Instead, Congress mandated the Central Committee to finalise the issue after a National Policy Workshop has been held. The relevant documents for further discussion are included on pages 70-82.





# DEMOCRATISING THE ECONOMY

## 5.1 Implementing Democracy

In 1991 both NUMSA and COSATU Congresses took decisions that were to lead COSATU to intervene in many economic issues. The main objectives of these interventions were to protect jobs and stop unilateral restructuring by the State.

### ON DEMOCRACY

*What do we mean by democracy? Is it sitting in meetings and saying "Hello, President de Klerk?" or playing golf with Harry Openheimer.*

*NO. We mean every person in this country must have a roof over their heads - no shacks. By democracy we mean that the goods produced by you must benefit the people. In Natal people dig up coal and yet their fuel is cow dung.*

*People in the plantations are not allowed to use the wood they cut. The production of the people does not go back to the people. These are the questions that must be answered by the democracy that we are talking about.*

**Cde. Gwala, NUMSA's Honorary President**

There is little doubt that in the last two years we have had great success in creating forums for the discussion of a wide range of socio-economic issues. There is no doubt that these interventions have been able to influence policy and to stop a

fair amount of unilateral restructuring.

However, we now face new challenges. It is easy to intervene but this is useless unless we have alternate proposals that can work. We are now in a position where we have to develop more detailed policy proposals and involve ourselves in very much more technical discussions.

This raises a very real set of questions about democratic practice. Just because there is now a COSATU or NUMSA representative involved in discussions in a forum does not make that forum any more democratic than the previous government and the way they made decisions. We have to ask two other very important questions.

Firstly do the representations made by our representatives reflect the mandated views of their organisation? If they do not then although the person may have different views from others in the forum we cannot say that the process is democratic. In NUMSA we have been concerned about how policy is made. In 1989 we started Research and Development Groups (RDGs) so as to involve workers in research and not just rely on experts.

Although we had problems this process was reasonably successful and we can be proud that our New Bargaining Strategy is based on the work of an RDG. We have held National Policy Workshops and are trying to develop the skills of leadership.

But the truth is that we are not doing enough. The link between NUMSA representatives

- be they there as NUMSA or as part of a COSATU delegation - and our membership and structures is getting weaker and not stronger.

We know that the growing complexity of negotiations and the pace of events places great strain on the processes of mandate and report-back. But if we explain away our problems by saying things are complex, democracy will shrivel and die in NUMSA and COSATU.

One easy way out is not to get involved and to retreat into a union role of looking at wages, working conditions, discipline and benefits. Elsewhere in the world unions have chosen to do this but the cost has been high as they watch their industries collapse and they fight retrenchment.

We must accept the challenge of entering these forums with proposals that are mandated. We know that this is not easy and we **have** to improve. This Congress must give a direction to the CC to address these issues and be prepared to allocate sufficient resources to its achievement.

### CONGRESS' DECISION

**Congress resolved to improve the way Forums operate by recommending that:**

- ⊗ the negotiations must be transparent
- ⊗ the process must be slowed down
- ⊗ representatives must be accountable to those that elected them.



## ON MAKING THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS IN THE DIFFERENT FORUMS MORE "TRANSPARENT"

□ Border: we have heard of the developments in the National Housing Forum (NHF), the National Economic Forum (NEF), National Electrification Forum (NElecF), and there is no way we can say that the NEF should be stopped.

But we would like to emphasise that presently the manner in which COSATU is participating is not satisfactory to say the least. There is no transparency. Working groups are being set up to meet with employers, they report, after 2 months, to the structures after they have had many meetings in between. We only have the opportunity to comment on the eve of agreement being reached, on an agreement that is only known to the people sitting in the forum.

□ WitsCW: It is a time when the grassroots of every organisation must be able to attack the top - not behind the door but straight. When we started negotiations, COSATU was the first to complain about the ANC not being accountable, but now we have forgotten that. We are appealing for report backs from the NEF, on time, so we can give a proper mandate, we do not want to see these things first on the TV. We just wanted to motivate our seconding of Border's point.

□ W Cape: We support Border. The shop stewards are involved in these forums, but we have no idea where we are going - the RDGs have disappeared. We've got no direction - there are even local forums in place and the bosses are putting us under a lot of pressure, we are in full support of slowing down.

□ Border: we need to embark on a capacity building process - whereby workshops will be held to equip the leadership and workers on the ground to deal with these matters.

Secondly, the fundamental question arises as to whether we represent the interests of NUMSA or COSATU members only in these forums? If we only represent the interests of our members then what is our relation to the working class and our aspirations of socialism? This is an issue on which we need to be clear.

It is in this area that the danger of corporatism arises. If we as organised and employed

workers are meeting with employers in the industry we could use a tripartite forum with government to pressure that government to do things that benefit those in the industry (workers and employers) but not the wider society or the unemployed. This is corporatism.

But equally we cannot say that we represent the working class in the forum because this would violate a principle of democracy that we have fought

for. Representatives must be mandated and they can only be mandated by those that elected them. Surely, therefore, NUMSA or COSATU representatives can only be mandated by the members of those organisations. They cannot claim to be mandated by the working class.

How, therefore, does NUMSA or COSATU play a role in democratising the economy or advancing the struggle to a socialist society on behalf of the working class.

In this Congress we need to clear our minds on these issues because they have a number of implications for the role of forums, the position of the working class, the democratic nature of the State and the role of Alliances.

The slogan to democratise the economy is an easy one to say but a difficult one to implement. In NUMSA we must implement and not talk. We shall first briefly look at the national forums, then at the Reconstruc-

## ON POWER

We are not fighting for a black government. We are fighting so that you, the people, can govern yourselves. But where does the power lie for this? Power does not lie in the Constitution. It lies with those who control the means of production. That is why we in the working class, direct our struggle to gain control of the means of production so that we can determine what will be done with the product of our labour.

We are talking about socio-economic transformation. How do we take over the means of production? They are protected by the state machine. We cannot leave the state intact. A new government must correspond with the new conditions.

Cde. Gwala, NUMSA's Honorary President



tion Accord and then at Political Democracy and Alliances.

## 5.2 The National Forums

The National and Regional Forums in which NUMSA is most directly or indirectly involved are set out in Table 12. Here a few additional brief comments will be made:

### 5.21 The National Economic Forum (NEF):

This consists of organised labour (COSATU, NACTU and FEDSAL); organised business (15 different organisations) and the present government (through the Departments of Finance, Trade and Industry and Manpower).

It started work in 1992 toward the end of the year. Work is done through Long Term and

state tender procedures, special employment projects and small and medium enterprises.

The Long Term Working Group is discussing investment, finance, trade and the labour market. Some initial common positions on finance and trade seem possible.

Progress has been made rather slowly and it is hoped that some implementable agreements will be finalised at the Plenary. However mandating processes have been inadequate both in COSATU and NUMSA. The NUMSA representative in the COSATU negotiating team is Cde Erwin who is also the labour co-ordinator for the Long Term Working Group.

### 5.22 National Manpower Commission (NMC):

After long negotiations the National Manpower Commission has been restructured and new people appointed to it. At present it has set up three working groups:- employment law, human resources and institutions. Issues being looked at in these groups are:- dispute resolution, harmonisation of legislation; LRA, health and safety, minimum wages, and equal opportunity.

The agreements on farm workers and domestic workers rights have still not been acted upon.

Cde Dantjie (principal) and Cde Kettledas (alternate) are NUMSA comrades representing COSATU.

### 5.23 National Training Board (NTB):

The main activity here is the establishment of a National Task Team with the brief to try and reach consensus on a proposal for a revised national training system. Certain principles have been agreed but work is continuing. Cde Bird and Cde Morotoba (formerly Samcor) represent COSATU on the Task Team.

### 5.24 National Housing Forum (NHF):

This started in August 1991 and has been working for some time. There are 16 participating organisations including COSATU. It has a plenary, co-ordinating committee and six working groups.

In addition it has a trainee system and Cde Mahlangu (Wits Central West) is a NUMSA comrade who is a trainee.

## ON THE FORUMS

*If we think the NEF will legislate collective bargaining in all factories, then we have never understood these forums.*

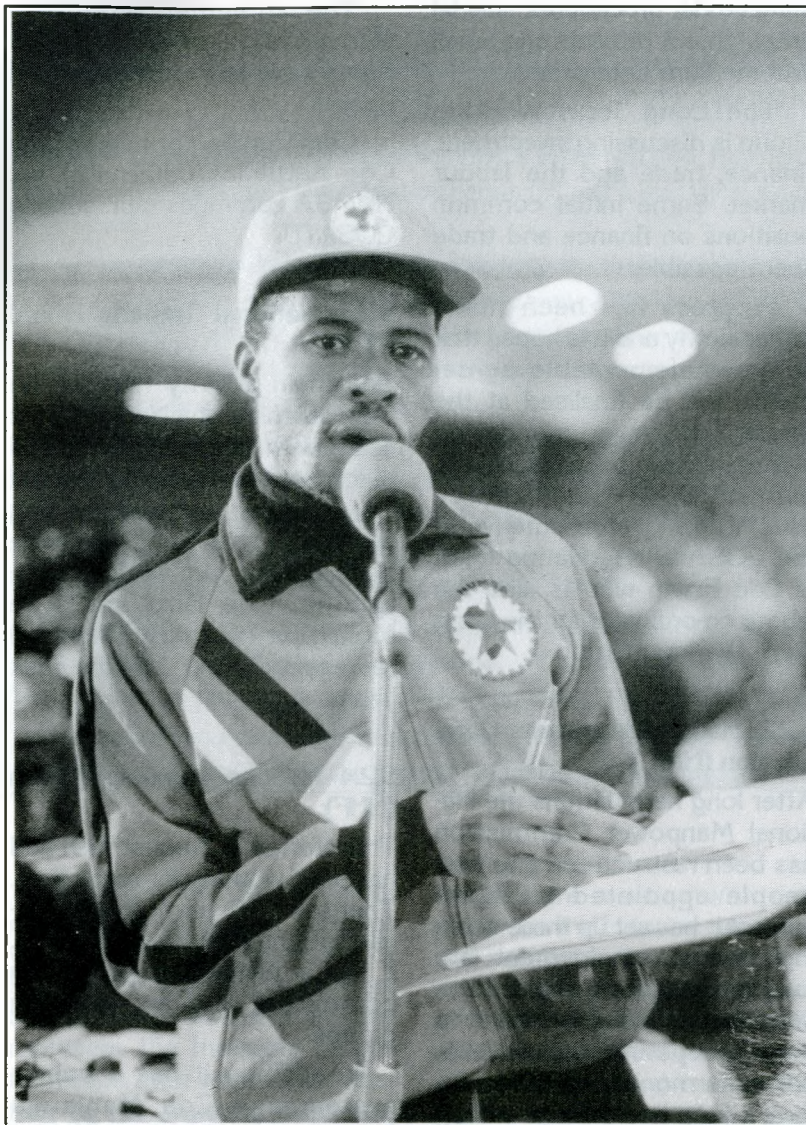
*The new government will not legislate our freedom. We will have to fight for our democracy. These forums create a forum through which we can fight.*

**Cde. Naidoo, COSATU General Secretary**

Short term Working Groups. The first plenary will be held on the 5th July just after this Congress. The Short Term Working Group is dealing with the following issues: centralised bargaining, job security agreements, targeted assistance (e.g. mines), restructure UIF benefits, work security funds, public sector restructuring, labour based construction, public works programme, customs and excise,







### 525 National Electrification Forum (NElectF):

This forum was established in May although it had been operating informally for nearly a year. The participants are: Dept of Mineral and Energy Affairs, ANC, Eskom, NUM, NUMSA, SACOB/NAFCOC, Chamber of Mines, SANCO, United Municipal Executive and Association of Municipal Electricity Undertakings.

It has set up 7 Working Groups. The following NUMSA comrades are participating in these structures: Cde Fanaroff, Kgalema, Phathe and Smith. Additional comrades will be added.

The objective is to develop a strategy that will lead to gen-

eral access to affordable electricity for the entire population as rapidly as possible. In addition Cde Fanaroff also sits on

the Electricity Council which supervises Eskom.

### 526 National Negotiating Forum on Local Government:

After five months of talks a Local Government Negotiating Forum was formed on the 22nd March 1993. Its objective is:

"To contribute to the democratisation of local government and the bringing about of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and financially viable local government system".

Basically there are two parties to the negotiation, being statutory or establishment organisations on one side, and non-statutory or non-establishment on the other side. The non-statutory side is led by SANCO and includes SAMWU representatives.

There is a plenary, management committee and working groups on: legal and constitutional, services and finance and administration and training.

### 527 Regional Economic Forum (REF):

The following forums have started and are active:

- Western Cape - Cdes Sayers and Ruiters.
- Eastern Cape - Cde Hartford
- Border/Kei - Cde Godongwana

## ON THE FORUMS

*Our feeling in regard to these forums is that they are not wrong. But they will not deliver in the absence of struggles on the ground.*

*We must demand transparency - it must be quite clear to us who is directing those forums. It is right to have people to co-ordinate things in the forums - nothing wrong. But those people must be accountable to our structures. It is clear that the interests of the workers must not be undermined. As members of civil society we must participate. We must not allow people who are opposed to us to use these forums to drive their own interest. We must not allow the level of struggle to be redirected. It has to be directed by us - the people who feel the pain.*

**Cde. Tom, NUMSA President**



□PWV - Cde Etkind

The Natal Forum will probably be launched on the 30th July (Cde Erwin and Mabuyakhulu).

These forums are covering a wide range of issues that could affect employment and our members in these Regions. COSATU is providing some co-ordination of the input into the forums. NUMSA seems to be playing a leading role in representing COSATU in these Regional Forums.

### 5.2.8 The Role of Forums:

In the National Policy Workshop report there was concern expressed at the multiplicity of forums that are emerging. This multiplicity of forums poses problems for co-ordinating them into an overall strategy. This does present a problem similar to that raised in the previous section where particular interests are represented in a forum.

If the argument about representatives only being mandated by the membership that elected them applies to all participating organisations in these forums, it means that we should be cautious about their powers. We have to balance between the advantages of participation of key constituencies and the interests of the wider society.

With a democratically elected government such a balance could be achieved. Increasingly however, the need for some overall programme that begins to co-ordinate all these issues is becoming clearer. This takes us to the Reconstruction Programme or Reconstruction Accord.

### 5.3 Reconstruction Programme

In NUMSA we have often discussed and debated a Reconstruction Accord, or a Programme or a Social Contract. In a National Policy Workshop we debated and then proposed that we should develop a Re-

construction Accord within the Alliance. Later many people felt that such an Accord should also include other organisations of civil society such as the civics.

This debate has now been strongly revived in 1993. There are a number of reasons for this:

⊕ as indicated there is an urgent need to co-ordinate all the forums and many other negotiations at local levels. If these things are not co-ordinated there will be no coherent strategy for reconstruction and we may end up with minor reforms and no structural changes that are required to raise the living standards of the majority.

⊕ COSATU has been arguing that economic growth must be achieved through redistribution. But other organisations have to be mobilised to fight for such a strategy.

⊕ as we approach an election through a process of negotiation there is a fear that too much emphasis has been placed on negotiation and too little on the mass mobilisation of people around issues that affect their lives.

⊕ COSATU and many other organisations are concerned at the future of the Alliance. The ANC is under great pressure from many forces. National and international capital and powerful institutions such as the World Bank, International Mon-

etary Fund and the G7 countries will try and influence its policies on economic issues. From past experience we have seen that the economic policies favoured by these interests led to anti-union policy and neglect of the poor and marginal populations.

This would be a disaster for reconstruction so COSATU wants concrete agreements from the ANC to ensure an effective and democratic recon-

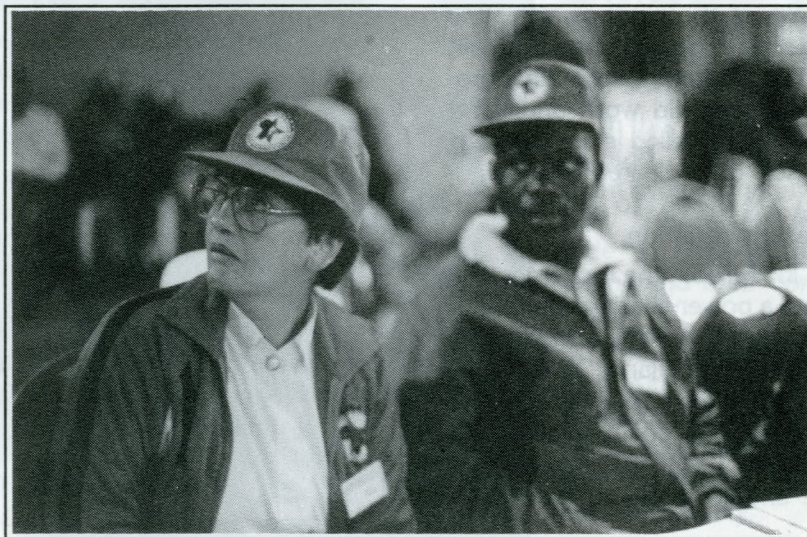
#### ON RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

*Slogans are not enough.  
We are in a new phase now.  
What will replace apartheid?  
We must deliver the goods  
concretely. HOW?*

*How do we ensure that  
whatever government we  
have, the programme of the  
working class is not compro-  
mised. The clearest way is  
that within the Alliance we  
must adopt the programme  
of reconstruction to drive  
the way for workers.*

**Cde. Naidoo, COSATU  
General Secretary**

struction programme which would then also strengthen support for the ANC.







❖ In section 5.1 when we looked at implementing democracy the question was asked as to how COSATU could link to the working class because it could not claim to be mandated by the working class. It is clear that a growing number of people in NUMSA and COSATU see a Reconstruction Programme as a way to help mobilise the working class into a common programme where each component of the working class has a voice and a means of representing their own views.

However, having outlined some of the reasons why this idea has emerged strongly again in 1993, exactly how such a programme could work and what it would be called is not yet clear. To help get a clearer understanding we need to review the present situation.

In NUMSA the movement toward a power-sharing agreement between the ANC and NP was viewed with alarm. In discussing an alternate strategy the Accord was again raised. The January 1993 NEC agreed that we should begin to draw-up a

draft of such an Accord for discussion in NUMSA, then in COSATU and then more widely.

The COSATU Office-Bearers also began to argue the need for a Reconstruction Programme. A NUMSA sub-committee met in early March 1993 to discuss how a Reconstruction Accord could work. This committee drew-up a proposal. (see pages ??) This was circulated on the 4th March

and has formed the basis for discussions in NUMSA.

The COSATU Office-bearers drew-up a discussion document for the COSATU Campaigns Conference 26-28th March 1993. This was based on the idea of 5 pillars to the Reconstruction Accord. This mainly took a point-like form and was designed to start a discussion leading up to a special COSATU Congress in September 1993.

## ON THE RECONSTRUCTION ACCORD

*The Reconstruction Accord unites the democratic movement - it is a social contract within the democratic forces, with that we enter into negotiations with the other side.*

*The Freedom Charter is a set of demands - but you need to spell out how to implement those demands. That is what the Reconstruction Programme is, it tries to say how to implement those demands. But we must debate what are our realities - the capitalists, the army - what then is the best programme to achieve these things. In the section under workers' rights you will see the same demands as in the Freedom Charter - there must be housing for all, right to strike, etc.*

**Cde. Naidoo, COSATU General Secretary**



Within the Alliance the issue of a Reconstruction Programme was discussed at an Alliance Summit on the 26th and 27th May this year. It was agreed to prepare an Alliance discussion paper on the present strategy of the Alliance and on the Reconstruction Programme. This should be available by the time of our Congress.

It would seem as if we have more draft Reconstruction Programmes than we know what to do with. However, to make matters easier to discuss, the following points should be borne in mind:

- ✱ the NUMSA Congress should discuss and decide on:
- ✚ whether it supports a Reconstruction Accord or Programme (see comments on this below).
- ✚ if so what are the contents of this. A draft is before the Congress and Congress can also take into account the COSATU document and, if it so wishes, the Alliance discussion document.
- ✚ is there a difference between an Accord and a Programme (see comments below).
- ✚ who should be the parties to an Accord or Programme. If there is a difference should the parties be different.

✱ the NUMSA draft would be an input into COSATU discussions in preparation for the COSATU Congress in September.

✱ the COSATU draft would have to be discussed with other organisations within and beyond the Alliance.

At this stage it is necessary to comment

on the question of terms used. In the NUMSA draft it is proposed that there be an Election Manifesto and a Reconstruction Accord that is developed in stages. In the COSATU document three documents are referred to: an Election Manifesto, a Reconstruction Accord and a Reconstruction Programme.

These two positions are easily reconciled. Both positions in effect see three possible documents. These are on:

- ✱ Election Manifesto.
- ✱ Reconstruction Accord.
- ✱ Reconstruction Programme.

The Election Manifesto would be a fairly brief statement of what the ANC stands for and what it wants people to vote for in an election. It would be an ANC document that would be supported by the Alliance.

A Reconstruction Accord would be a more detailed agreement between the Alliance partners. In regard to COSATU the key areas would be workers'

rights, labour market policy and economic policy. This Accord would be the basis both for COSATU to support the ANC in an election and to work together with the ANC and SACP in a process of Reconstruction after an election.

However, actual reconstruction would involve many more organisations if it was to succeed. Also more detailed proposals would have to be implemented in many areas. How does this wide range of activities and organisations get co-ordinated. In the NUMSA draft before Congress, it is envisaged that a wide range of consultations with many organisations would develop into a Reconstruction Accord that was more and more detailed. In the COSATU proposal this wider consultation process was seen as the Reconstruction Programme.

In order to get clarity in the discussion in Congress it is therefore proposed that we start with the following terms:

✱ Election Manifesto - being an ANC document supported by the Alliance.

✱ Reconstruction Accord being an agreement within the Alliance.

✱ Reconstruction Programme - involving a wide range of organisations in civil society.

In this way we can all start at the same point even though we may thereafter decide to change the terms and their content.

The debate on the Reconstruction Accord cannot be separated from that on the struggle for Political Democracy.





# POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

## 6.1 NUMSA, Democracy and the ANC

**T**he resolutions submitted by Regions on Political Democracy covered a wide range of issues. In the Composite an attempt was made to order these points so as to start with those that directly affected NUMSA and ending with those that related to socialism.

A very direct choice is posed for NUMSA in the Composite and that is whether it supports the ANC in the coming election. NUMSA has supported COSATU in its decision to enter the Alliance and we have passed CC resolutions on membership of political parties within NUMSA. This is a very fundamental question and it is important that this Congress gives a guide to the union for the future.

It has been an important principle in NUMSA that our membership is open to all irrespective of race, creed or sex. We know that to build worker unity and strength we cannot be divided in the workplace.

Yet it is vital that we have a strong democratic State that is able to remove the legacy of apartheid. If workers do not vote decisively for one party we are going to be left with a weak state which will be more under the control of existing interests and particularly that of big capital. In this situation workers will suffer from the neo-liberal social and economic policies so favoured by international capital and the international financial institutions.

The position we face is this: each and every member of NUMSA is equal to every other no matter what their race or sex.

### ON DEMOCRACY IN NAMIBIA

*The employers in Namibia are confusing things to the extent that at the end of the day they will create problems between yourselves and the government.*

*I will take the example of Cde Mayekiso. They will see him and take him to be Minister of what, what, what ... If Mayekiso goes there then they give him a Mercedes Benz and give him a house and pay him R15 000 a month. Will Mayekiso come and sit with you?*

*Comrades this democracy is a problem. I don't want to dwell too deeply on this. I will get angry and will talk things that I am not supposed to talk about. What you must do comrades, is that you must unite (saamstaan).*

**Cde. Themba, MANWU  
General Secretary**

Every member has the right to choose their own political creed and their religion. It is these rights and this equality that allows us to be a powerful and united organisation of **workers**.

As a **collective**, however, we cannot stand outside the political process because its outcome will affect our collective and individual interests. All true democratic trade unions face

this problem and the solution is clear.

If, as a collective, the majority in NUMSA believes the ANC offers the best prospect for a strong democratic State, then we can pledge our organisation's support to the ANC on the basis of its election manifesto and a Reconstruction Accord (as is being proposed).

However, this in no way alters the individual rights of each member to vote according to their wish and on no account can they be discriminated against because of this. We can argue and persuade but we cannot force by any means whatsoever.

Comrades we must all consider this point carefully because if we are realistic we know that in our present circumstances this is not so easy.

If NUMSA wants to build and defend democracy it must defend this principle. If we do not we will weaken the union and weaken the working class. Let us on no account make that mistake. Nowhere in the world today can you find a strong trade union movement where unions are organised according to political affiliation.

## 6.2 Negotiations, the Alliance and Power-sharing

The resolutions from the Regions all express a clear concern at how the negotiations are being conducted, at the weakness of the Alliance as a structure and they oppose the power-sharing concept.



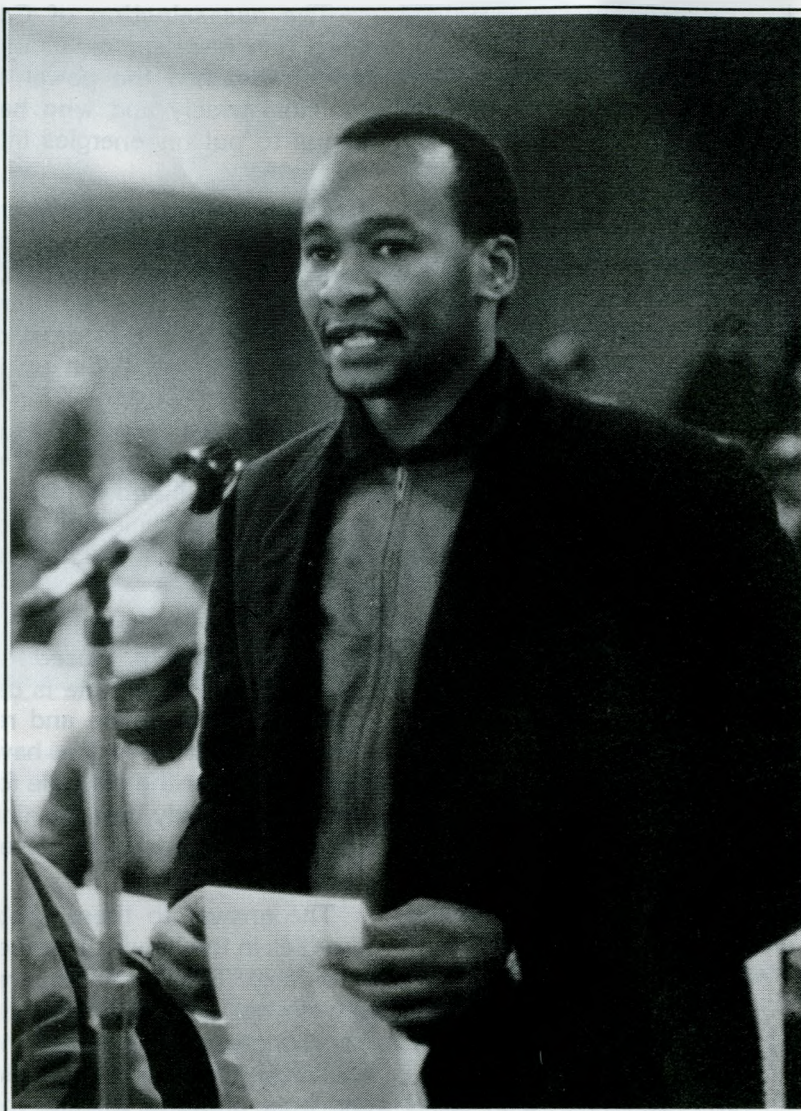
The truth is that all resolutions taken by NUMSA in the last two years to both strengthen the Alliance and shape the negotiating process have had no real impact. We should reflect on this experience because it is clear that passing resolutions does not shape political events - it is organisation and action that shape events.

This frustration with the negotiating process and the concession to power-sharing is widespread in COSATU and is why so many are now arguing for concrete written agreements and the building of an Alliance of the mass organisations of civil society.

The arguments around these issues are well known and we will not summarise them here. However two very important points will be made.

Firstly, COSATU is not watching the negotiating process carefully enough. Both in regard to regionalism and the interim Bill of Rights, the Technical Committee proposals are very dangerous in their implications for reconstruction and the right to collective bargaining and in particular centralised collective bargaining and agency shops. If we do not fight these issues then we are going backwards in terms of worker rights.

Secondly, if we want to influence the political process as workers we must commit re-



sources to that process. It is correct to argue that we must not weaken the union movement but then surely we must not allow a political process to

continue which will also end up weakening the union.

This Congress must take these issues seriously and not just pass militant resolutions. Fewer words and more commitment to action are what is needed.

The Composite Resolution again reaffirms that COSATU should be independent of political parties. However, we propose to remain in the Alliance even though there is general criticism of how it is functioning. In the two years since the last Congress, many CCs and NECs have discussed this and often we have passed resolutions to try and deal with the problem.

## ON NEGOTIATIONS

*The great defenders of democracy - NP and DP - are insisting that democracy means that they must have more rights than in the past. (In the World Trade Centre talks) they have attacked centralised bargaining and labour standards, including the right to strike. (They are pushing) deregulation. They responded with the Bill of Rights to roll back our rights.*

*Democracy is inevitable. There will be an election on 27th April - with or without COSAG. And The CA will draft the new constitution. But we have to see that the task of defending democracy lies with us. We must be ready for battle. We must be united, organised and mobilised.*

**Cde. Naidoo, COSATU General Secretary**



## ON SOCIALISM

*Some say why talk about socialism when it is dead in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? Socialism is not the product of these places. It is not the product of Karl Marx. It is the product of the class divided society. Marx put it in a scientific framework. We are not going to get socialism by saying prayers. We have to fight ideologically.*

**Cde. Gwala, NUMSA  
Honorary President**

Resolution are not the answer. We need workers to decide on a course of action that will strengthen the working class. The Reconstruction Accord is one proposal to try and achieve this. However, as a Congress of worker representatives it is our duty to give leadership. This Congress must take up the challenge.

## 6.3 Socialism

In the Third Congress we passed a Resolution on Socialism. Looked at closely this Resolution calls for two concrete actions. The first is to develop a working class programme and the second was to move toward the unification of the left and a calling of a conference of socialist organisations.

In regard to the first we have made some kind of progress in that more proposals have been developed. However, these don't constitute a clear working class programme which links to a vision of socialism.

The unification of the left has not made any progress. At the COSATU Economic Conference it was agreed that COSATU should first hold an internal workshop on socialism and then convene a conference of the left. Neither step has been taken.

The assassination of Cde Chris Hani has deprived us of a leader who had the power to mobilise widely and who had begun to put his energies into this activity.

The socialist left faces a crisis. Many worker leaders occupy prominent positions in the SACP but if we evaluate their positions honestly, we find that most of their energies are taken up in union or civic activities. This is understandable because of the day-to-day pressures that the working class is under - unions and civics are organisations well equipped to resist such pressure.

But we need a clearer political direction. The proposed Reconstruction Programme is designed to democratise and reconstruct. Clearly this does have significance for the struggle for socialism. Exactly how this link could work, needs to be developed more fully.

The answer to these problems lies in the hands of worker leadership. The Resolutions really do not say anything new. The Congress must accept the challenge of deciding on a new and bold proposal to take the struggle for socialism forward.

## 6.4 Alliances

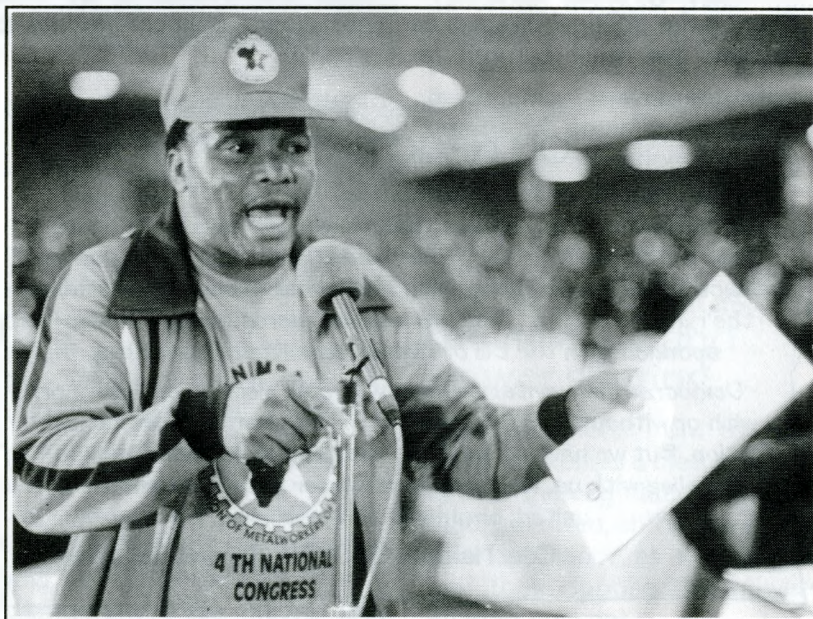
The Resolution on Alliances deals with international worker alliances. It is encouraging to see that Regions are wanting to reassert the need for international worker solidarity.

NUMSA's major links continue to lie with the IMF and its affiliates and the ICEF. Cde Thomas represented Southern Africa on the IMF Executive and we have attended and participated in a number of IMF activities in the last two years.

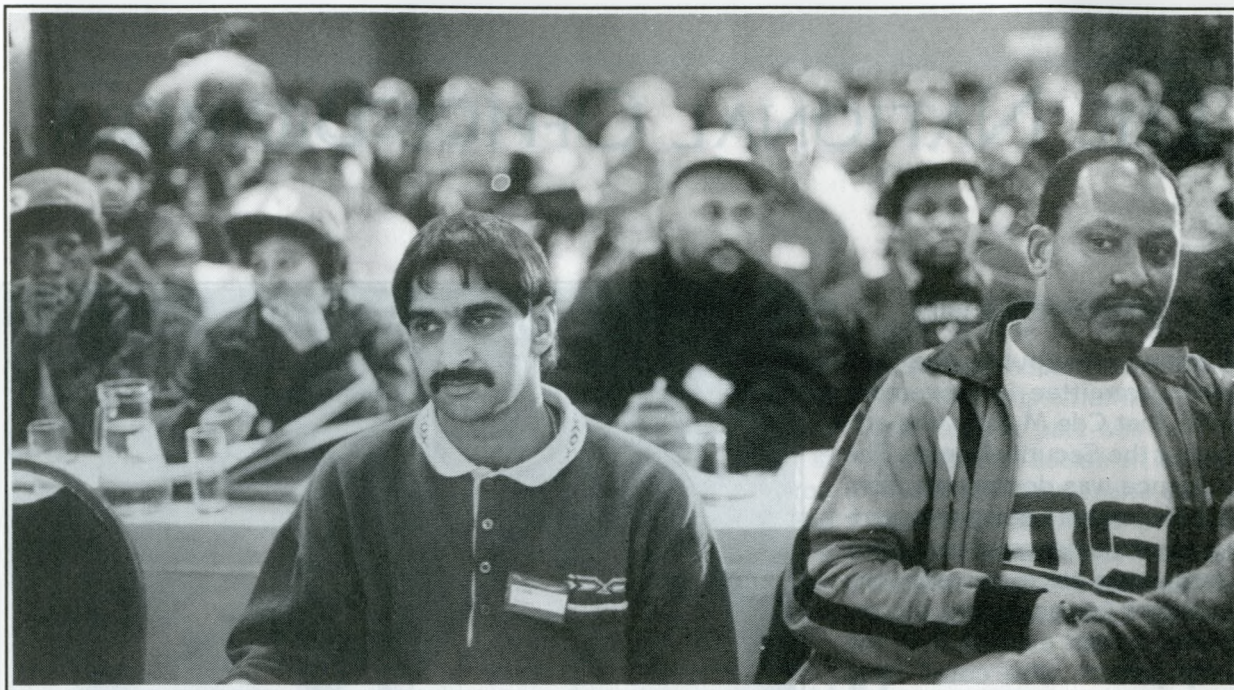
What is becoming clear is that solidarity is more important than ever and that it now takes on the form of continuous working relations around union, industrial and economic issues.

The development of our training proposals was an excellent example of this. We had detailed help from IG Metall in Germany, MEWU in Australia and Svenska Metall in Sweden. Cde Chris Lloyd from MEWU was seconded to assist us and we have now persuaded him to stay on for much longer as a national organiser.

We are finding that in developing industrial policy the combination of research done by the







Industrial Strategy Project and active links with unions overseas is absolutely essential. Our proposed Study Tour programme is designed to strengthen these links into an ongoing work programme.

We believe that it is crucial to develop a common union response to the challenge of neo-liberal restructuring of the economies of the world. We want to work with the IMF, ICEF and key affiliates to develop this.

Countries such as Brazil face very similar challenges to South Africa and we must start to build stronger South-South links. NUMSA will actively participate in the CGIL (Italy), CUT (Brazil) and COSATU meeting in September.

The other challenge we face is to build worker unity in Southern Africa. We must take this very seriously and assist the IMF in this. We have offered educational support and Cde Maepe from the Eastern Cape has joined the IMF office in Johannesburg to develop educational assistance programmes for Southern Africa.

At present, however, not enough is being done and the Congress must give direction.

## ON BUILDING UNIONS IN AFRICA

For some years now your work with metal unions around the globe has been mainly in developed countries. With the great progress you have made in recent years the IMF believes you should now be playing a more active role in Africa. As some of you may be aware, the IMF is stepping up its activities on the continent. We request and expect NUMSA to assist us in this work, particularly in the Southern African Region.

I am not saying that your problems are over. I know that with the depressed state of South Africa's economy, you are facing tough tasks ahead. Also even though you may have an interim government in the not too distant future, this does not mean your job is fulfilled. You may well have to be even more vigilant than in the past. NUMSA is however the best organised and largest metal union on the African Continent. It is in your own interest to assist and develop strong metal unions in other parts of Africa. Unions in South Africa have I believe a lot to offer in terms of their experience. From the IMF we assure you of our continued co-operation. We look forward to working together with you for the protection of metal workers in Africa and around the world.

**Cde Malentacchi, IMF General Secretary**



# THE NATIONAL OFFICE BEARERS

## 7.1 Maxwell Xulu

Evidence was put to the Central Committee in November 1991, that Cde M Xulu was acting for the Security Forces. The evidence was documents from the Movement's security department over a period of two years. Steps were taken to verify the evidence by analysing the reports. It was evident that the only person who could have



### DEBATE ON MAXWELL ZULU ISSUE

□ SNatal: We would like the house to bear with us on the issue of Cde Max. It was discussed in the region and discussed in all the structures - but there are still problems at the grassroots. There is a question about the procedure - was it the correct one? The comrades feel that the Central Committee was not empowered to expel him and it should have been done by this house. So we are asking about the procedure.

□ NNT: We believe that the procedure followed by our leadership to expel Cde Max was correct.

□ Border: We believe that the procedure was correct - it was a political issue and we cannot live with rats in our houses. It was correct.

supplied the evidence was Maxwell Xulu.

The Central Committee confronted him and he gave no acceptable answers. He was asked to step down and he did. He was asked to write a letter to this effect. He agreed to do this. On Saturday he phoned the General Secretary and said he would not write the letter and wanted an investigation. The Office Bearers decided to inform the NEC members of the situation. The NEC decided to inform the full Central Committee that evening. The Central Committee decided to suspend him with immediate effect. The issue appeared in the press through a leak - the problems were made worse because he tried to get support. He informed NUMSA that he did not accept the suspension and wanted an inquiry.

On 21/22 February 1992, a committee was appointed by the Central Committee to look into the matter. In October they reported that they were satisfied with the suspension and the Central Committee confirmed his expulsion. They agreed that they would report the matter to this Congress.

## 7.2 Percy Thomas

Cde Thomas lost his job through a dispute with his employer. Seeking reinstatement through the courts would have taken a very long time and the matter was not pursued. When the Central Committee approved the new position for a National Organiser for Motor, he was the best qualified applicant and got the job. As an employee he could not occupy the position of president. He withdrew himself. So we have been working with one president.

## 7.3 Moses Mayekiso

SANCO has written to the union asking it to second Cde Mayekiso to them until April next year. The NEC and CC discussed the matter - they felt the matter could not be dealt with them. It was then referred to the Congress. The regions have said that they reject this request. So the status quo remains. We therefore withdraw this.



# CONCLUSION

**T**he last two years have been very intense on the political, economic and collective bargaining terrains. Considering these pressures a fair assessment of NUMSA must be that it has handled a difficult time relatively well. There can be little doubt that our worker leadership has developed.

But we have to consolidate these gains and deal with the many areas of weakness identified in this Report and in the Resolutions submitted. We have learnt to criticise ourselves in order to build and not to destroy. Such criticism is healthy and this Congress must not hesitate to criticise and praise where necessary.

In conclusion, however, if we look at the 14 Resolutions passed at the last Congress our record of implementing the actual Resolve part was not very good. Let us decide on concrete issues and then make sure we implement them. It is not the time for rhetoric - it is the time for well planned action based on strong organisation.

**ALUTA CONTINUA!**



# THE NATIONAL OFFICIAL JOURNAL

in Congress. The House of Representatives passed the 14th Amendment on July 13, 1868, and the Senate passed it on March 2, 1869. The Amendment was ratified by the states on July 9, 1868. The Amendment was designed to protect the rights of African Americans and to ensure that all citizens are treated equally under the law. The Amendment was a landmark in the history of the United States, as it was the first time that the federal government had taken action to protect the rights of a specific group of people. The Amendment was a result of the Civil War, and it was a response to the demands of African Americans for equal rights. The Amendment was a victory for the Union, and it was a step towards a more just and equitable society.

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## ALTA CONTINUA!

### DEBATE ON MAY 1993 ISSUE

The debate on the May 1993 issue of the journal was a lively one. It centered around the topic of the 14th Amendment and its impact on the rights of African Americans. The participants in the debate were experts in the field, and they brought a wealth of knowledge and experience to the discussion. The debate was a valuable one, as it allowed for a thorough examination of the issues at hand. It was a chance for the participants to share their thoughts and ideas, and to learn from each other. The debate was a success, and it was a testament to the importance of the topic.

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# Campaign in the Motor Industry

## Resolutions and Debates

### This Congress therefore resolved that:

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# Debate on Resolution 1

## ON MOTOR SECTOR

### Motivation

•W.Cape: We need to look at and discuss the options we have regarding the collapse of the council, and what is the way forward. SAMIEA should be exposed for the animals they are. All they want to do is get whatever they can out of the situation. We need to expose them by calling a press conference and by using the NEF. We highlighted the fact that our members are not fully aware of what is happening in the motor industry. Around the programme of action, we support these, but also feel we need to adopt this resolution.

•S. Ntl: we feel that the union's position that we are trying to build one union is going astray. This sector does not get support from the rest of us. We support this as part of an ongoing campaign not as a resolution.

•W. Tvl: We support S. Ntl, but with the following additions:

1. This issue should be discussed in every constitutional structure of NUMSA - and that means beginning at the factory and then in our locals and regions. We cannot leave this issue to the motor sector alone.

•N. Tvl: This issue should be taken further to the Alliance. We don't want to see the situation that happened with Checkers/ Shoprite.

•N. Tvl: We need to consolidate our structures as a national union of Metalworkers, but we should also avoid having documents and documents as Cde. Gwala said. We make programmes but we fail to implement those programmes. We need to co-ordinate our actions so we channel our militancy properly. If we look at the programme it is nothing but meetings. We need to ensure pressure from the ground to force the employers to meet us half way or 100%. We need to consider overtime bans. We need to consider stoppages, like the

one on the 23rd. Let us look at pickets - this congress has the responsibility to address such things and plan a way onward that we will all implement.

•W. Cape: order - the Cde is not addressing the resolution.

•N. Tvl: It is indeed urgent, but we need to look at how we will implement resolutions.



•E. Cape: We support the resolution, but amend that all sectors must take action on 2 August.

•Border: Support W. Cape - but have a problem with E. Cape proposal - because we are not sure of the status of the overtime ban in auto.

•Wits C.W.: Support. W. Cape but, this should be part of the campaign - but we amend

a) draft letters to companies asking whether they support the dissolution of the IC, and

b) pamphlets,

c) meetings with alliance structures, and SABTA, regarding a stayaway, people shouldn't be taken to work

d) if any employee is dismissed in the course of these actions, we will march as a whole in support of him/her.

•Wits E: support W cape, but delete point 1 under resolve

•E. Cape: We are not saying everyone must take the same action on 2 August, but we must evaluate their campaigns and take some co-ordinated action on that day.

•Border: the problem is critical. We need a brief and to the point programme which addresses where the problem lies. Up to now we are battling to go forward, we suggest that the resolution should be adopted as a campaign. The congress should resolve a programme to address the motor sector campaign. But point 2, does it mean the proposals outlined by Cde. Fanaroff need to be amended to stipulate all those options? We need to avoid the trap that other affiliates have fallen into, we need to raise this with other structures although this shouldn't delay us.

### Amendments:

➤ day of action to be supported by all sectors

➤ letters asking if employers support SAMEIA's destructive attitude

➤ discussion with alliance

➤ announced to all workers and the press

★ S. Ntl: MOVES as amended

★ Wits C.W.: Those employers who are against deregulation must support our action and march with us.

★ W Cape: We oppose the joint action of Wits C.W., otherwise we SECOND. Resolution adopted without amendment by Wits CW.



# Resolution 1

## Campaign in the Motor Industry

This Congress notes that the collapse of the Motor Industrial Council will be a reality on the 31st August 1993 and that our members' rights will be detrimentally affected.

*This Congress therefore resolves that:*

1. A Plan of Action be adopted to mobilise our members.
2. The campaign programme as set out below is ratified and must be announced at this Congress and discussed in all constitutional structures.
3. The campaign must be popularised with all workers and discussed with the Alliance, SABTA, SANCO and other organisations.

### Programme of Action

1. The programme of action set out by the NEC is endorsed.
2. SAMIEA leaders who are trying to destroy NICMI should be isolated. Their garages and businesses should be picketed. This must first be explained to workers in those garages.
3. NUMSA members and the communities should phone SAMIEA leaders from 5 July on to ask them why they do not want to settle.
4. The big groups must be well organised and they must be pressed to get SAMIEA to keep the Industrial Council and settle.
5. Letters must be sent to all motor employers to ask if they support SAMIEA's attempts to destroy NICMI.
6. Other mobilising action should also be undertaken.
7. There should be a day of action in the motor sector on 2 August. This must be supported by all sectors and the community should be asked to support.
8. The threat to NICMI must be raised by the COSATU delegation at the NEF on 5 July.
9. Our aims in this campaign are:
  - ♦to get SAMIEA to settle on wages and conditions for 1992.
  - ♦to get them to negotiate in good faith for the 1993 agreement.
  - ♦to stop the break-up of NICMI.
  - ♦to stop the deregulation of the petrol price which will cause up to 40 - 50 000 job losses and the closure of many small and Black owned garages.



# Debate on Resolution 2

## ON RECONSTRUCTION ACCORD

A counter proposal by Wits CW opposing the Reconstruction Accord found no support. The need for a Reconstruction Accord was agreed to.

• ECape: what is the status of the NUMSA Draft Accord relative to the COSATU Accord?

Chair/ Cde. President: It was drafted before the COSATU Accord, the NEC felt that we should continue to table it, and Cdes could amend the COSATU draft. The final COSATU draft will be in September. We will therefore take forward decisions from here.

• W Cape: Motivation for a Reconstruction Accord:

Our country is in a transitional phase from apartheid to democracy and our economy is in a bad state. The new government will face a number of demands from our people and the poor in particular. It is our duty to map out a plan for what the government should deliver - it should not just be on paper but be a fighting document. It should bind the ANC to issues like housing, electrification, etc. When the ANC fights for such things, we will fight with them, if they fight against it we will fight the ANC. COSATU and the civics will be directly involved, and as such we must ensure that our interests remain dominant and ensure that the ANC protects the interests of the majority.

• Highveld: SECONDS

• Wits CW: We believe that as the working class we do have a programme and that programme is socialism. We believe that the Reconstruction Accord (RA) does not really address that goal. If we look carefully at the RA it does not include rights for workers. The ANC has already agreed on power sharing - we believe that we will not be able to ensure that the ANC will be bound by that Accord, because it will not be alone in that government. In other words we would have to sell this Accord to the ANC and the NP - we reject the Accord.

No seconder for Wits CW, the Resolution was carried with amendments.

## ON THE WORKING CLASS PARTY

Delegates agreed that the proposal that a "Workers Party" could be formed to help take forward a programme to implement socialism was not wide enough. It should be changed to a "Working Class Party" so that all members of the working class could join.

• Border: point 7iii: we have a political problem with that last sentence, it appears that this refers only to workers - change to "working class" party.

• W Cape: SECONDS

Chair/ Cde. Mayekiso: working class in capital or small letters?

• W Cape: capital letters

• Border: no problem

• W Cape: ORDER, are WE not the official movers of the whole resolution?

• Chair/ Cde. President : yes and Border SECONDS.

• ECape: we need to differentiate between capital and small letters - we support the generalised small letters.

• Chair/ Cde. President: its debateable. Now let's move amendments to green document from point 4 of red document.

• ECape: You missed us, and now we have gone back - we are opposing adoption until we clarify our point of concern - you said it was debateable - but you didn't let us debate? We are opposed to another working class party.

• Ntlv: I think this means the same, we should delete "party" and leave working class.

Chair/ Cde. President: This opposition must take the form of a vote to reopen closed issue.

• NNat: We believe we should proceed, noting that they have a problem, but they raised it incorrectly and we should move on.



# Resolution 2

## Reconstruction Accord

*This Congress resolves that:*

1. We agree with the Reconstruction Accord subject to the condition that the ANC achieves, in the constitutional negotiations, a bottom line of a strong and democratic unitary state based on majority rule without any minority veto.
2. We agree that COSATU should enter into the Reconstruction Accord with other organisations and parties.
3. Parties to the Reconstruction Accord should be COSATU and other Trade Unions, ANC SANCO, SACP and other organisations who fit the following criteria:
  - a. have a history of opposition to apartheid
  - b. fought consistently to unite organisations of the oppressed people
  - c. have democratic practices
  - d. support majority rule
  - e. agree to put working class interests and issues high on the agenda.
4. After the signing of the Accord, COSATU should monitor and assist with the implementation of the Accord. The signed Accord should be used to mobilise people to support ANC.
5. COSATU should now look at strengthening and uniting the Working Class inside and outside the factories; in urban and rural areas. We should do this by:
  - i. carrying out the resolution of our Congress to call a conference on socialism;
  - ii. call a conference of Civil Society;
  - iii. Look at new forms of organisation that will unify the Working Class organisations and parties to take forward a programme to implement socialism. This could take the form of a Working Class Party.
  - iv. Set into motion a concrete programme of action to address the needs of the unemployed and under-employed.
  - v. Instead of simply calling conferences, we want a mechanism to be put in place to monitor the decisions implemented after these two conferences. This mechanism must be based regionally and nationally.

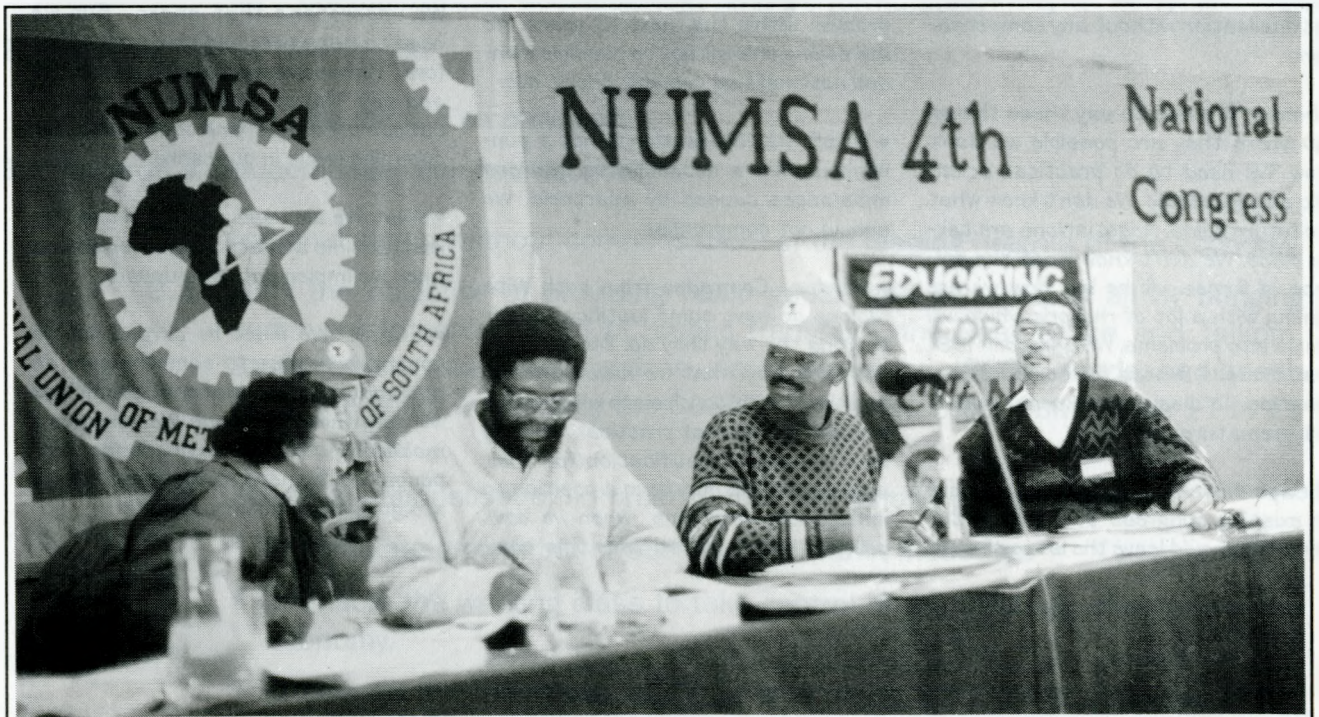






# Resolution 3

That the Reconstruction Accord and Restructuring Industry be referred to a National Policy Workshop for finalisation by the next Central Committee. (See pages 65 - 82 for relevant documents)





# Debate on Resolution 4

## ON NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION

The Congress decided to add a new clause on "nationalisation" to the COSATU Draft Reconstruction Accord. Lively debate followed over whether this should be "with or without compensation". No agreement could be reached, the issue was eventually put to the vote.

455 voted in favour of "nationalisation without compensation"

312 voted in favour of "nationalisation" 1 abstention.

THE MOTION WAS CARRIED

Here is the debate. . .

• Border: We support, we should delete "without compensation"

• SNat: Add: "those companies found guilty of union bashing should be nationalised. No South African workers should have to fight for rights in foreign companies which workers in those countries have already won."

• WitsCW: There is no point in rewarding people who have robbed us in broad daylight. We oppose compensation - nationalisation without any compensation.

• Border: It's nice to say these things, but where they are possible we don't know. We need to be practical, scientific and strategic. We don't know what the future holds. Negotiations are taking place. We don't know what the balance of forces will be but now we are coming with a lot of rhetoric which will run us into problems. We agreed in 1991 that there is a need for some nationalisation. To discuss compensation, is still premature.

• ECape: We re-emphasise that we have an existing congress position on the issue. We should leave the issue of com-

pensation - there is no point in putting forward empty statements. To be safe, let's remain silent.

• NNat: We are convinced that we should scrap the words "without compensation". Also, on union bashing - who is going to find companies guilty of union-bashing?

• Wits CW: In 1991 we were silent. Now we say that this should be open. NUMSA proposes solving the housing problem within the next 10 years. We are saying this will not be possible without nationalising cement, bricks, etc.

• WitsE: Nationalisation is not a punishment, it's a necessity to address imbalances caused by apartheid. We should not compromise.

• Border: Comrades from both Wits regions do have some justification for thinking the way they do. But we need not be led by what we have suffered, and then reach conclusions which might be right, but are not practical. Do they have historical justification for their arguments? We may be in a position to make these decisions when we have political power, but to take this posi-

tion now will only make getting power more difficult. Perhaps in our 1996 congress we will be able to adopt such a position.

• WitsE: We are aware that our comrades are very much worried. But all in all, this is South Africa not Germany. We need to say now what we need for the future - otherwise we will be very much late. Those who are going to parliament and those who are now rich must know that this is our stand.

• Wits E: We have no money - how can we compensate?

• WitsCW: We agree, we want to ask another question differently. It is a question of power - are we saying that if we don't have the power we can't nationalise anyway?

• NTvi: We want to be Charles Nupen here and mediate. We understand the imbalances we have. It's like in the ANC we have Peter Mokaba shouting slogans that the NEC has distanced itself from. We understand that anger. But we need to ask where has this worked before? Perhaps we should play with words and say "Nationalisation with or without compensation" and continue to discuss the issue in our ranks.

• NNat: We also said we should give this matter time and look at the conditions when we implement. We support.

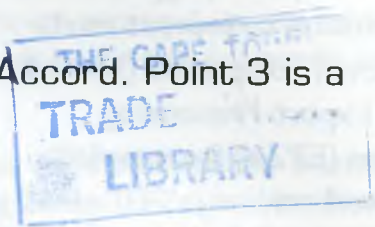
• ECape: We must be careful not to commit ourselves to something we do not understand. Material conditions will determine this issue. We will make a mockery of ourselves calling for no compensation. We need resolutions that we are going to be able to defend.



# Resolution 4

## Amendments to the COSATU Reconstruction Accord

**NOTE:** Points 1 and 2 refer to the COSATU Draft Accord. Point 3 is a new addition to this Accord.



### 1. Additions to the Pillars of the Accord:

- 1.1 Land for re-distribution , housing and protect our natural resources
- 1.2 Environment protection of the working and living environment
- 1.3 Poverty to alleviate rural and urban poverty
- 1.4 under the Pillar of Human Development put forward a wage strategy to cover all workers
- 1.5 under Pillar of the Social Wage we should add:
  - i) the pensionable age to be 55, however the person should still have the right to work and be entitled to see benefits.
  - ii) equal payment of pensions to males and females
  - iii) unemployment, social benefit fund be formulated.

### 2. under Rights we should add:

- i) the right to employment

### 3. "Towards a democratically planned economy".

- 3.1 Nationalisation (without compensation) of the leading heights of the economy.
- 3.2 Fulfil the objective of providing basic goods and services to all by bringing under public control ESKOM, public transport, the Post Office and Telkom, State Forests, Municipal services, water, education, ISCOR, roads, and health (as in the policy adopted by the COSATU Economic Policy Conference 27 to 29 March 1992)
- 3.3 Strategic nationalisation in order to fulfil the following objectives:
  - \* To stimulate growth both nationally and within industries
  - \* To enable the working class to take control of the strategic direction of the economy.
  - \* To enlarge the resources available to a future democratic state (as in the policy adopted by the COSATU Economic Policy Conference 27 to 29 March 1992).



# Debate on Resolution 5

## ON EPZS AND MNCS

Delegates agreed to tighten up the proposed resolution to prevent multinational companies (MNCs) and Export Processing Zones (EPZs) from exploiting workers.

- W Cape: on point 2: delete "therefore whether by multinationals or EPZs" - EPZs are extremist exploitation - we should not leave ourselves open to this kind of exploitation. New clause to read "any investment must be directed..."

- Border: We are saying Export Processing Zones (EPZ), multinationals must invest on our terms. We don't approve

of EPZs as they are - we do not say that they **must** come but instead we are trying to restructure them. We believe that things that are going to happen have got to be clearly stipulated so that workers on the ground can understand what we actually mean. Right now Cde Madiba is meeting Clinton in the USA. Sanctions may be lifted. That is a reality. If we remove this clause, it will open the gates to allow multinationals to come and do what they like, to exploit workers. If comrades still feel they want to leave it vague we do not have a problem as Border.

- Chair/ Cde. President: Aren't we trying to say: "Any investment must comply with South African labour legislation and labour standards, whether it be by multinational or through EPZ's and must...."

- SNat: We support

- W Cape: We SECOND.

- Border: We are saying workers of the world unite - you have nothing to lose but your chains - we do not need to be competitive with other workers in other companies - there is no need to compete with our class workers in other countries.

We need to standardise in all companies world-wide. The conditions that apply to a South African worker at Barlow Rand and to a worker in Mexico need to be the same. Conditions in multinationals must be uniform as a start. As we are moving towards socialism - this is a first step.





# Resolution 5

## Globalisation and Restructuring

### *This Congress resolves:*

1. That the bottom line to us as the working class is that any restructuring must have as its primary objective the empowerment of the working people through higher skills, job security, creation of new job opportunities, technological innovations appropriate to our needs and a sustainable environment.
2. That any investment, must comply with South African labour legislation labour standards whether it be by a multinational or through Export Processing Zones (EPZs) and be directed towards meeting those social needs. To this end, we must take control of the workers' moneys in the form of Pension and Provident Funds to ensure that they are invested in projects that:
  - a) sustain the performance of these Funds.
  - b) are directed towards meeting our social needs such as job creation, better labour standards etc.
  - c) sustain the environment i.e. socially desirable investment.
3. That the **democratic** state should play an important role through strategic nationalisation, anti-trust laws and various economic instruments at its disposal to ensure that restructuring and investment direction meet the above needs.
4. That the Union will embark on a massive capacity building programme for shop stewards and organisers to be able to meet these challenges.
5. That while we accept that in the context of "free trade", we may have to deal with institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, we must resist any attempt by these institutions to dictate or shape the restructuring and investment agenda.
6. That the extent to which we manage to achieve the above will depend on the unity of the working class internationally. We must establish worker to worker contact. COSATU should therefore play an important role in uniting the working class internationally and in engaging international institutions such as GATT and others. We should campaign for social clauses to be adopted by GATT.
7. To re-affirm our affiliation to both the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) and ICEF. Our relationship with them should go beyond financial assistance by them and instead should be based on a practical programme around economic restructuring with shared information on multinationals, shared aims, shared resources and shared action. We must develop Global Bargaining in some sectors and co-ordinate strategies in unions organising multinationals.
8. That we must develop our links with the ILO.



# Debate on Resolution 6

## ON OFFICIALS' RIGHTS IN CONSTITUTIONAL MEETINGS

Attempts to curtail the rights of officials in constitutional meetings, were squashed when Western Cape got no seconder to its proposal....This is what was said:

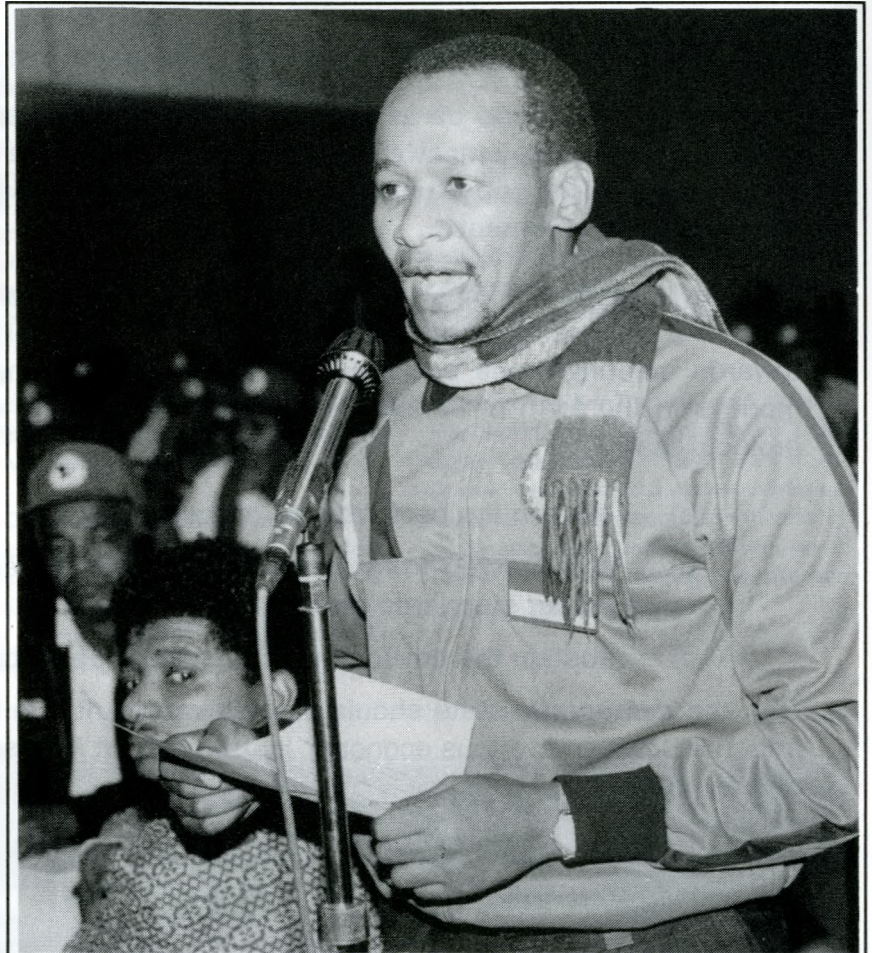
- WCape: Clause 7.5 we want to delete and replace with "Constitutional meetings must be structured to increase worker participation e.g. In the CC all workers should sit together, whilst national and regional secretaries are grouped separately together. This process would require workers to forward regional positions. This should work on the same basis as the National Congress does presently. This should not, however, stop inputs from these secretaries."

Chair/ Cde. President: We want clarity on amendment on 7.5 - will officials have speaking rights.

- WCape: We want to empower our members, we want workers' control - but we want the officials to have speaking rights, but we want the worker delegates to debate the issues.

- NNat: on 7.5 - we think this falls under constitutional amendments - there should not be resolutions on constitutional structures, though we agree with the idea.

- Border: point 7.5 : see page 25 of the constitution, clause 4.2.2. "The CC shall manage the affairs of the union" - it took a decision that the Regional and National Secretaries should be part of that body - it was not the Congress - we are totally rejecting this amendment. We don't think we should specify



women - the constitution does not say MEN, it says workers. Also, those secretaries are also there WITH a mandate from the Regional Congresses, a worker mandate. Worker delegates are working, the role of the Regional secretaries is to ensure the proper carrying out of the business of the union, and their inclusion was done to ensure this.

- WCape: We are having one of the best Congresses without official involvement, and it seems that officials are dominating our other constitutional structures.

- WitseCW: We also support Border. If we want to further restrict officials - then those structures must make that

decision. Worker leaders must exert themselves so as not to be tools, and deny speaking rights if necessary.

Chair/ Cde. President ; it appears that no-one agrees with your amendment there is no seconder, it falls away.

- Border: this is a good time for us as worker delegates to explain to the Congress that the notion that officials decide for the worker leadership is not true in the constitutional meetings. Workers who go back and blame losing a position on officials are totally wrong. In the CC only workers can move and second resolutions - if regions send weak delegations they must point fingers at themselves.



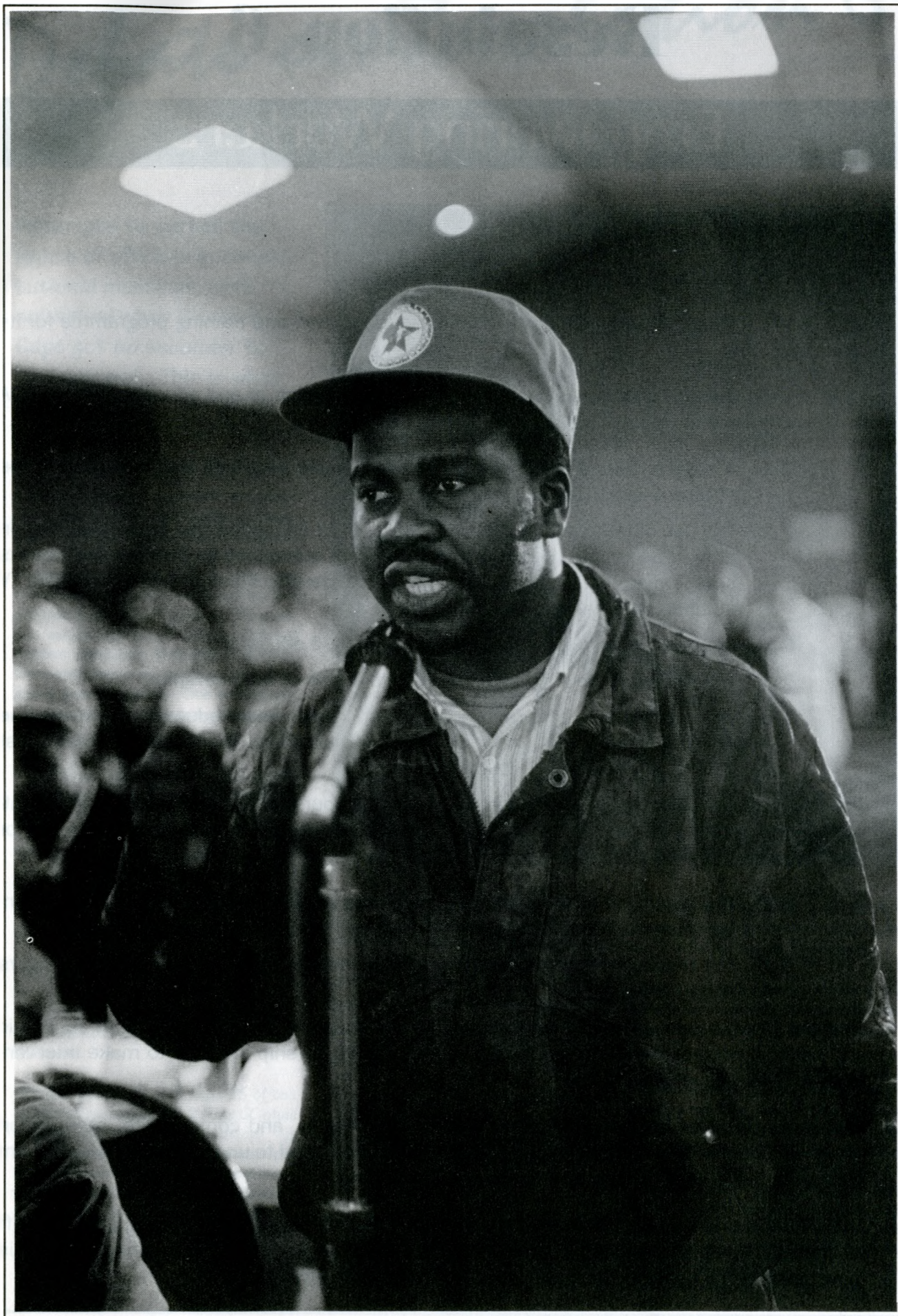
# Resolution 6

## Empowering Workers

### *This Congress resolves:*

1. That NUMSA should develop a clear and coherent education and training programme for its leadership.
2. That NUMSA develop a clear programme for the popularisation of and education on NUMSA that reaches our membership. This would be based on:
  - 2.1 A popular based Newspaper that uses simple language and is written in the different languages common in NUMSA.
  - 2.2 The use of radio and television as part of our education and the popularisation of NUMSA issues. However this should not substitute for proper report-backs at factories, locals and regions. Worker leadership must be trained in radio/TV at local, regional and national levels.
  - 2.3 Renewed efforts to implement factory based education.
  - 2.4 The use of surveys to ascertain the concerns of membership.
  - 2.5 The combination of formal, informal and adult basic education to overcome illiteracy, semi-literacy and low levels of numeracy. These programmes must lead to the empowerment of workers .
3. That we must greatly increase education and training on our New Collective Bargaining Strategy which involves industry restructuring. This requires detailed knowledge of each sector and industry. This must involve:
  - 3.1 The training of shop stewards to negotiate around these new issues. This training must be in addition to the existing education programme.
  - 3.2 The training of organisers and worker leaders to be experts in specific sectors and or industries.
4. That the NUMSA education and training programme should cover and link in with economic and political developments in the country so that the leadership are able to make interventions in these developments.
5. That there must be an active programme of study tours to, and contact with, other union movements so as to understand their position in the world and to understand and learn from their experience of economic and industry restructuring.
6. That NUMSA and COSATU to develop a campaign for shop stewards to receive paid time-off to attend training and education provided by the union and associated organisations. This must particularly apply to the New Collective Bargaining Strategy.







7. That there must be an active programme to increase worker participation in the union and particularly to address gender issues. This should include:
  - 7.1 A commitment to fight all forms of harassment and discrimination against women in all spheres of life including the union structures.
  - 7.2 That the union negotiate an affirmative action programme with employers that will ensure this.
    - 7.2.1 That there are adult basic education classes and the necessary infrastructure both in the workplace and in the communities to benefit the entire working class and particularly disadvantaged sectors such as, women, unemployed and the marginalised youth.
    - 7.2.2 That there is employment equity.
    - 7.2.3 That more women are trained in specialised fields including apprenticeship in order to combat gender ghettoisation.
    - 7.2.4 That unfair taxation of women is ended.
  - 7.3 The fight to ensure appropriate legislation, including a Bill of Rights, to empower **women** to make decisions about themselves.
  - 7.4 Ensuring that **women** are part of policy formulation both in the union and society at large.
8. That COSATU leadership programmes should be developed and leadership of various affiliates be made to interact and debate issues in order to develop common understanding and a common perspective when approaching issues that confront workers as a whole.



# Debate on Resolution 7

## ON AFFILIATING TO THE ICFTU

An informative debate took place over the issue of whether or not COSATU should affiliate to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). A hard-line proposal that the ICFTU would have to meet certain conditions before COSATU joined it, was amended to say that "COSATU must consider affiliating to the ICFTU and in doing so must take into account principles that should apply to an international federation."....

- Border: We are now delaying with a very crucial issue. This issue has been outstanding for some time. Much as we conform with the idea of international solidarity and take the initiative for making this a success, we cannot agree with Clause 10 (to affiliate to ICFTU unconditionally). We wish to bring the House's attention to the fact that we are compelled to affiliate to an international body, but we need to understand that when we do this we are going to join a new house - when we go this must not undermine the gains and achievements we have made in our long struggle.

I want to highlight something regarding the historical split in the international labour movement. Without us highlighting those difficulties, our step will be naive.

The problems are within the ICFTU and how they affected the labour movement internationally even in the days of

SACTU. The ICFTU was problematic in the way that it undermined the workers, and its relationship with the imperialists in Western Europe.

We know capitalism cannot deliver, and that we need an alternative - but the ICFTU stands against Communism and we are championing socialism which is not in the interests of the ICFTU! We need to look at what will be the implications of this move on our struggle. We know the problems for Eastern Europe that also have implications for us. In the light of all of this we as Border feel that:

"We consider affiliation to the ICFTU subject to it committing itself to:

"1. stop destabilising the labour movement world-wide" (we have heard for example the covert activities to undermine the policies of OATUU as well as KMU in the Philippines. This should not undermine moves that we have already made in our struggles)

"2. Stop supporting governments who do not have workers' rights" (if we look at the US for example - workers there are still fighting for workers' rights)

"3. Support the emerging democratic unions in developing countries" (we know that for example the ICFTU has not assisted the KMU)

/continued on P.50





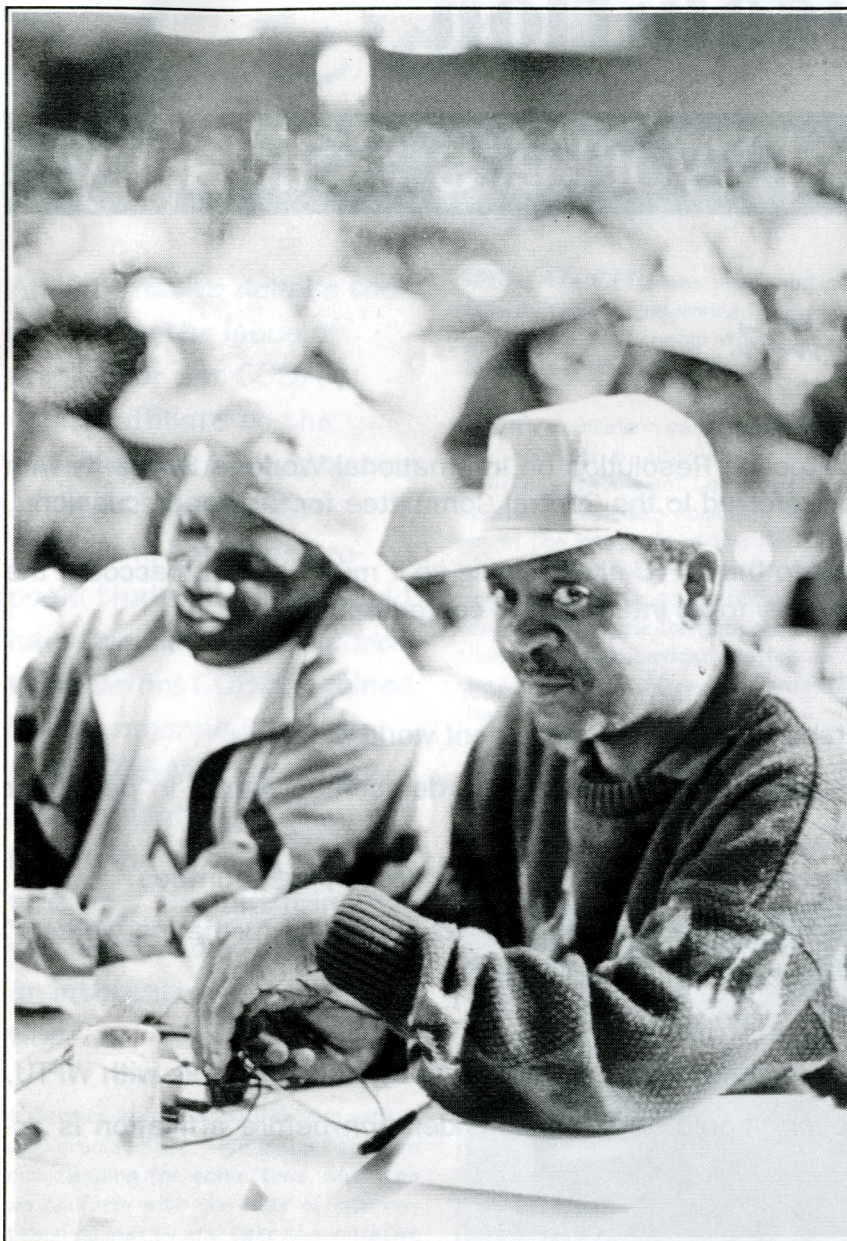
# Resolution 7

## International Workers Solidarity

*This Congress resolves that:*

1. The points contained in the Composite Resolution on International Workers Solidarity with the exception of point 10 will be referred to the Central Committee for further discussion.
2. COSATU must consider affiliating to the ICFTU and in doing so it must take into account the following principles that should apply to an international confederation.
  - i. It should not destabilise the labour movement world-wide.
  - ii. Stop funding or supporting regimes with no democratic rights, in particular Trade Union rights.
  - iii. Should support emerging democratic unions in developing countries.
  - iv. Commit itself to a programme of solidarity action and of furthering workers' interests in international institutions.
  - v. Respect the mandates of affiliates.
  - vi. Commit itself to a programme of international unity including talks with WFTU.
  - vii. Ideological inclination should not be a consideration before affiliation is accepted.





"4. Solidarity..."

"5. Respecting the mandates of its affiliates"

"6. A programme of international unity including WFTU."

"7. Ideological affiliation should not be a consideration before affiliation should be accepted."

This issue should be debated openly.

• Wits E: We have been largely covered. The formation of the ICFTU was based on the Cold War - we support Border.

• WitsCW: We appreciate the education for the last few minutes - the wrongs, the rights - we were discussing mobilisation and changes in our world. We believe we should affiliate to the ICFTU - the IMF has strong links with them. The CGIL, they are our friends, and they have affiliated. Kenya, Zimbabwe have also done this. You can't talk globally in isolation - if you want solidarity you have to get in there.

We are not saying the ICFTU is good, but to build international worker solidarity we have to be there. Let us turn this around and make this our programme to correct the wrongs within the ICFTU. We can't say COSATU

shouldn't go there when we are already affiliated through the back door.

• NTvl: I can hear from the eastern bloc that deadlock is coming: We have discussed thoroughly - we don't want to remain behind in the Cold War - we learn that most of the comrades that have been with us all along have affiliated. So we no longer have grounds to oppose. They have seen fit to affiliate to the ICFTU. If we want international worker to worker contact, we have to do it through the ICFTU.

Again we are not saying it is the best organisation but since our allies have been joining the base is becoming stronger - so we want to pursue this process of international worker to worker contact. We should go there with one special interest, of trying to put our ideals into reality, that workers of the world should unite. It is time now that we say that we now need to go there and correct it from within - we do not need to stand outside and throw stones and do nothing. We can no longer do nothing to unite workers throughout the world. We support WitsCW fully - to go in and reform - or to completely transform and bring the workers of the world together.

• Border: We should say a bit more. How did the ICFTU come into being? The fact is, and it's the truth, traditionally the ICFTU supported the sweetheart unions in the Afro-Asian countries, it is a product of the Cold War whose purpose it was to combat the ideas of Marx and Lenin. So we are saying that before we affiliate we should have conditions - we are not opposed to affiliating. Let's rather discuss the conditions, not about whether or not to affiliate. We believe in internationalism but we can't just join a federation with a bad track record.

Chair/ Cde. Erwin: We believe that the two positions are not so far apart - we are proposing that there is consensus that COSATU should join, but we should put forward these conditions as guidelines.

• Highveld: We are not aware of the consensus - not many of us have this information - we say that we should not rush into this - we need more debate and information - and not rush in at this stage.



- Border: Whilst there is consensus, it should not be misinterpreted. If those conditions are not met we don't affiliate.

- Wits CW: So what do we do, write to the ICFTU and demand 1., 2., 3 or we don't join?

- Border: Those wrongs are not being rectified - those are conditions to guide COSATU in deciding - if they aren't met then we don't join.

- WCape: There are merits in both sides, but we believe that we as leaders understand the issues, but we need education around this so we can take our members with us in any decision that we make. We are proposing a compromise: "We must propose to COSATU that we maintain a working relationship with all international federations as long as it advances the interests of the working class and we must work towards one world federation, and a pro-

gramme of education on this issue". There is no hurry in South Africa.

Chair/ Cde. President: There seems to be a deal being negotiated for consensus.

- NTV: Realising that the issue is very important we would like to continue to mediate and propose something which is close to what the table has proposed. We are saying that we should think about proposing that "the COSATU CEC should consider principles that can unite workers world-wide". More information should be made available.

- Border: We are playing with words. We do not need to debate whether to affiliate but why are we affiliating. We need to set up principles or conditions that will ensure that when we join the ICFTU, we join with a clear programme. Comrades from Asia are appealing to COSATU, they are say-

ing - before you join the ICFTU, you must look at our plight here. In countries where there are strong unions, these people continue to fund reactionary unions. The ICFTU needs us more than we need them - they need us in order to appear progressive - we need to make sure that our vision of socialism should be taken into account by these people.

Chair/ Cde. Erwin: Summary: We want to mediate: proposal "that COSATU considers affiliation to the ICFTU and in doing so it must take into account (Border's principles) and it must precede any decision by an education programme."





# Debate on Resolution 8

## ON SUPPORTING THE ANC

Some delegates objected to Point 1.2 of the original resolution because it was too vague. Its vagueness would mean that members of NUMSA could be asked to contribute financially to the election campaign. Delegates felt that this was encroaching on the rights of individual members. Instead a compromise position was agreed to: NUMSA "will encourage its members to support the ANC".

• WitsE: We propose a step by step process. The ANC has its own history and tremendous support - and we would make a mistake not to support them in this election. MOVES section 1.

• WitsCW: SECONDS

• SNat: We do not totally object but we object to material and financial support - instead we will simply encourage our members to support the ANC.

• WitsE: What do we mean by materially - we are going to use our shop stewards to educate other people, teach ourselves to vote, etc. - we agree that we are not giving financial support.

• NNat: We propose amending 1.2 replace 'support the' with "encourage its members to vote for".

• WCape: We support NNat.

• WitsE: No problem with NNat

• WitsCW: With amendment it defeats what the GS has just said about people within our organisation being free to vote in whatever way they like, the organisation should support - the clause should remain.

• NTvl: Support Wits CW

• SNat: We support NNat, the support is broad - it could mean financial, staff or whatever. We know that our members have various positions, but if we say encourage it still leaves people free to choose.

• Border: NUMSA is in alliance with the ANC through COSATU - we are in support already - the clause should remain.

• NTvl: As an organisation we support, and that simply implies that each individual member has a choice - we can't encourage - we have many members who belong to different organisations - we can't as an organisation encourage them.

• NNat: We feel that encouraging our members to vote for the ANC will ensure that the ANC wins the vote - we will not be forcing them but ensuring that the ANC wins.

• WitsCW: We are worried about NUMSA as an organisation supporting - we will encourage our members - that is how we will support - we support the amendment.

• ECape: It should stay as it is. It will then be the duty of the shop stewards to encourage members to support.

Chair/ Cde. President: I think it suffices to remain as is because the issue of how to support is in the GS report -

and it can be left to the CC to put in the detail as events unfold.

• Wits CW: Here there's a fear of financial support - by supporting you get 100% vote.

• WTvl: We support amendment.

• NNat: We would like to elaborate on the problem we have in our area - if you go to a political meeting and you talk about NUMSA and COSATU you are talking about something that has an ANC ear. We must take a position that is practical to defend in the factories.

• SNat: We do not want to bind ourselves to financial support - we need to specify what kind of support.

• Highveld: We shouldn't waste so much time on this - but to accommodate add "by encouraging our members to vote for the ANC".

• Wits E: The wording is not so much of a problem - this Congress needs to take an organisational position on this issue that also doesn't interfere with members' individual rights. What you will find at the end of the day is an organiser employed by NUMSA who will be conducting education on voting. He will then be giving organisational support and it will not interfere with people's individual rights.

• Border: As NUMSA we have a position in terms of the Alliance which has not jeopardised any individual rights in NUMSA. We have also adopted the Freedom Charter, it also hasn't obstructed people in terms of their political affiliation. We suggest that we say "...would encourage its members to support the ANC...".

□ SNat: We are happy with that.



# Resolution 8

## Political Democracy

*This Congress resolves:*

### **1. In regard to NUMSA Political Policy**

- 1.1 That the Central Committee decision in regard to Membership of Political Parties be adopted by this Congress.
- 1.2 That NUMSA as an organisation would encourage its members to support the ANC in the coming elections.

### **2. In regard to COSATU**

- 2.1 COSATU should remain independent of the political parties or government both now and in the post-apartheid State.
- 2.2 COSATU must intensify efforts to strengthen its structures and develop its leadership in order to ensure it has a strong support base.

### **3. In regard to the workings of the Alliance**

- 3.1 The workings of the Alliance need to be improved by strengthening the local and regional Alliance structures so that decisions can be taken involving members and lower structures and not only a top down process of decision making.
- 3.2 The Alliance should establish a report back process and establish a mandating process. The report back should start at a national level and go down to all levels. The mandating process should start from bottom structures to the national level. This process should be done within a specific time period.

### **4. In regard to Political Negotiations**

- 4.1 NUMSA should conduct regular discussions Locally, Regionally and Nationally wherein positions pertaining to the political negotiations should be adopted. These positions should reflect the interests of our members and through COSATU we should influence the positions of the Alliance.



# ON POWER SHARING

Point 5.1 of the Proposed resolution on Political Democracy said "we reject the notion of power sharing."

In the debate, delegates agreed that a Government of National Unity was a reality, and that that meant there would be power sharing. So instead of rejecting power sharing outright, the delegates agreed that a resolution needed to be adopted that would say that the final constitution that is adopted for the country must reject power sharing.

- Wits E: We from Wits East are proposing that 5.1 is deleted and replaced with:

"We commit ourselves to majority rule. We therefore reject any constitutional arrangements which will impose any form of multi-party government on a party which has won a majority in the constituent assembly or parliament. We further reject any arrangements that will give any minority the power to veto the majority positions."

- Wits CW : We appreciate the comrade's input; we reject power sharing as he says. Otherwise we are not clear.

- WCape : We accept 5.1

- SNatal : We want to replace 5.1 with:

"We support the idea of a government of national unity provided that there is no rotation of the presidency."

- NNtl : We would like to SECOND the amendment by Southern Natal because we believe that the power sharing could mean that all the parties that get 5% will be in the government of national unity. We must have one president that will have majority in that government.

- Border: We are not objecting or supporting. Is it still relevant to debate the notion of power sharing or not? We have heard Cde Charles Nqakula yesterday motivating why there should be a government of national unity which is power sharing. Our main reason for taking these resolutions is to take these resolutions to COSATU and to the Alliance. Is it still relevant for us to debate this?

President : It is already agreed that power sharing is going to take place. So it is a relevant question to ask whether it is relevant to debate this when it has already been agreed.

- Wits CW: We believe it is very relevant to discuss these things. We understand how this decision was taken. Maybe people think we don't want ANC. We want the government of the ANC not a government of national unity. As an organisation we must reject the idea of power sharing.

- NTvl: I believe that if we can detect from Cde Nqakula yesterday he was clearly indicating that progress has been made so far - whether we like it or not, that is what is going to happen.

Simply it means that it is meaningless for us to take this resolution. Therefore we should continue with the question of national unity. As Cde Nqakula said, if we do not draw in the forces of darkness then they will damage our gains.

- Highveld: Our position is that we feel that it should be deleted because it is merely making a woolly statement and there will be power sharing anyway.

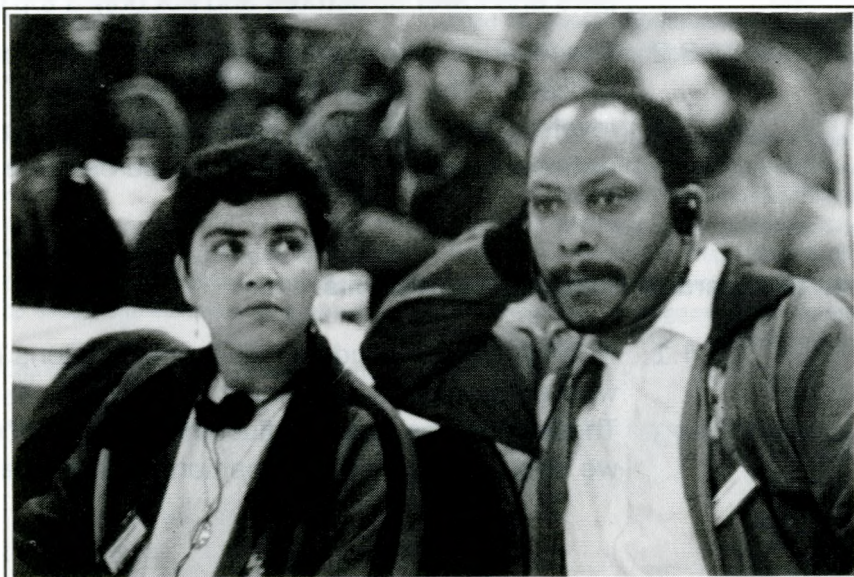
- Wits East: We have put forward our proposal as "We commit ourselves ... etc." In principle our amendment does not say we reject completely power sharing. Our first point on 5.1 was that the majority must not be dictated to by the minority.

What we would like to guard against in this amendment is this. We know power sharing is already there. But we don't want it to be in the constitution - that is why we put in our amendment. The majority party should invite in the minority, but not in the constitution.

Chair/ Cde. President : Wits E resolution is different. We recommend that instead of considering the power sharing proposal, let us rather look at the Wits East proposal which will allow us to move forward. It is too late to look at power sharing issue.

- Border - Share sentiments with Wits East.

- NTvl: thirded.





- 4.2 NUMSA should influence COSATU to conduct the same discussion in its structures. In addition forums should be held for the leadership of affiliates in order to give them opportunities to air views and disseminate information.
- 4.3 All political negotiation processes, whether bilateral or multilateral, should be publicised in a simplified form in order to serve the best interests of the South African people. This process should not be delayed so as not to frustrate the masses on the ground.
- 4.4 COSATU must mobilise its masses and gear them up for consistent actions so as to force negotiations to reflect mass interests. COSATU should have a clear programme of action and adhere to it till our objective is achieved. It is important that the Alliance put a time frame on negotiations since the regime is using other measures to retain power and weaken our position.
- 4.5 We must rebuild our mass struggle around all our present demands.

## **5. In regard to Power Sharing**

- 5.1 We commit ourselves to majority rule; we therefore reject any constitutional arrangements which will impose any form of multi-party government on a party which has won a majority in the Constituent Assembly/Parliament; we also reject any arrangement that will give any minority the power to veto majority positions.
- 5.2 That a conference is urgently convened of all mass formations to decide on and to agree on a programme of struggle. This national Conference must be preceded by local and regional Conferences.

## **6. In regard to Violence**

- 6.1. We support the activities of the National Peace Accord
- 6.2. The National Peace Accord should be restructured with mechanisms that reinforce its powers and make it more representative e.g. to include all TBVC states and that it be supported by an International peace keeping force.
- 6.3 We recommit ourselves to organs of self-defence.

## **7. In regard to Elections for a Constituent Assembly**

- 7.1 We must now progress directly to elections for a Sovereign Constituent Assembly.
- 7.2 NUMSA and COSATU should establish a steering committee that will determine and oversee the election campaign.
- 7.3 We must establish a Voter Education Committee and a Political Campaign Programme in conjunction with other progressive forces. These committees must be empowered and trained so that they can educate members on the ground.
- 7.4 Technical committees, including COSATU, SANCO and organs of civil society must be established to oversee the polling stations.



## ON NPA

**A motion from WitsCW to pull out of the National Peace Accord was rejected. Instead delegates called for the NPA to be restructured...**

- WitsCW: We believe we should pull out of the National Peace Accord it has not been functioning, instead we have been seeing corpses, instead we should be forming defence structures, and defending ourselves.

- W Cape: We agree that it should be there and restructured with additions, add "so that it is more representative and include TBVC states"

and "it be supported by an international peace-keeping force."

- WitsCW: OK it can be restructured, but let us agree that there be defence structures in our communities.

- Border: We agree with the WitsCW addition, but we have said we are pro-peace, so we really can't come out

against the peace structures - we need to show this. We agree that we need to defend democracy so we fully support WitsCW addition, as long as we don't withdraw from the peace structures.

- WTVI: We should not withdraw, it should be restructured.

- SNat: we move adoption

- WCape SECONDS.

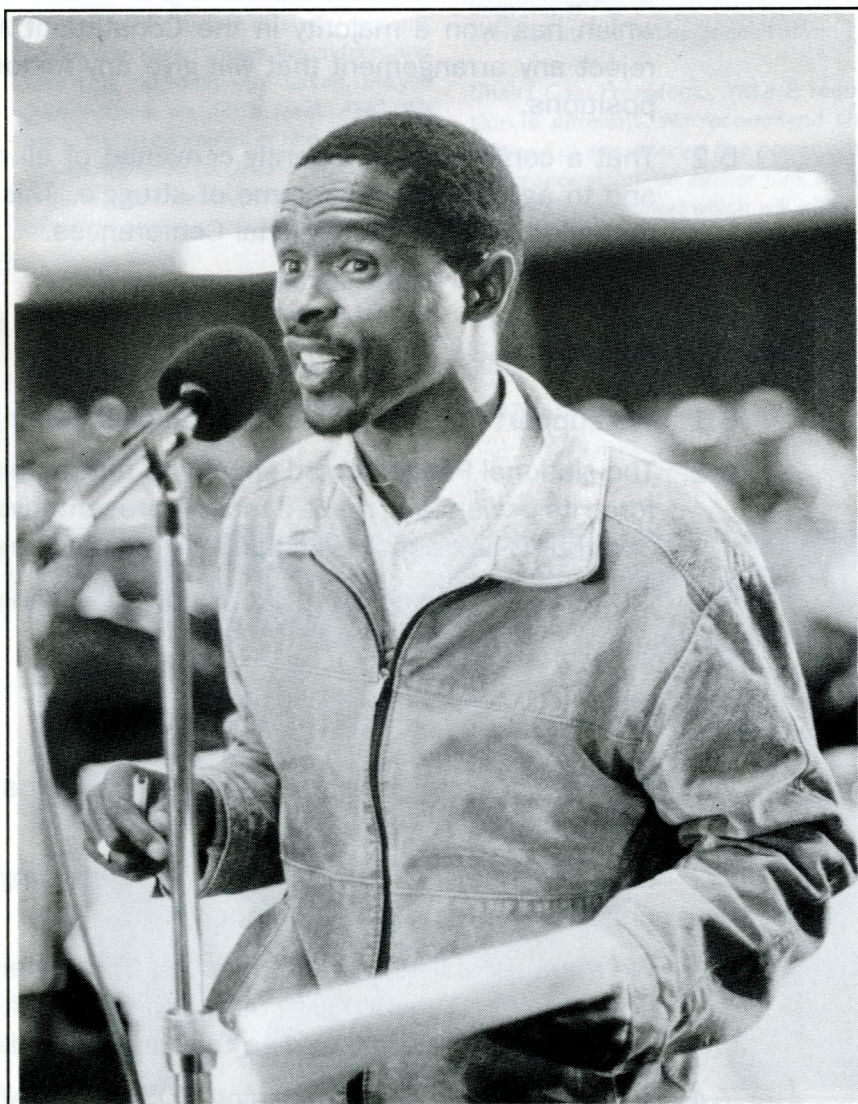
## ON POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

**Congress took a unanimous position that the Alliance must end once the ANC is the government....**

- Highveld: The alliance structures are weak - they have not been operating as they should have been. If the ANC government is in place, we need to be independent, we don't want to be a conveyor belt. There is going to be a conflict of interest between the government and labour movement. We can anticipate that Cde Madiba is going to call our General Secretary and give him a hiding for the resolution on nationalisation.

- WitsCW: Why should we second the motivation? We all agree.

- Border: There is a fundamental point here - once the ANC is the government, the Alliance ends.





## **8. In regard to candidates for the Constituent Assembly Election**

- 8.1 Candidates both from NUMSA and COSATU on the ANC list must be seconded for a duration of the Constituent Assembly once the drafting of the Constitution has been finalised. The Candidates must be given the right to choose whether they come back to the Union or not.
- 8.2 Candidates who stand for elections to the Constituent Assembly must:
  - 8.2.1 have a good record of defending and advancing workers' rights and working class interests.
  - 8.2.2 reflect the rural, urban and colour make-up of our community.
  - 8.2.3 be accountable and stick to mandates.

## **9. In regard to the Workers Charter**

- 9.1 We reaffirm the 1991 Congress resolution that called for a Workers' Summit to adopt the Workers Charter. This has not happened.
- 9.2 Therefore, a Workers' Summit should be called prior to the Constituent Assembly to adopt the Workers' Charter aimed at uniting all workers interested.
- 9.3 Workers' Rights must be entrenched in the Constitution.

## **10. In regard to Socialism**

- 10.1 Endorse the resolution adopted by the NUMSA Third National Congress save for the deletion of "democratic" in point 1 of the believing part.
- 10.2 COSATU must implement point 6 of this Resolution.
- 10.3 Implement the 1991 resolution on the Unity of the Left. The Left was defined as those organisations with a programme reflecting the following:
  - commitment to control of the means of production by the working class for the benefit of society as a whole
  - democracy
  - internationalism
  - anti-imperialism
  - non-racialism
- 10.4 Once an Interim Government of National Unity is established and the ANC is part of it, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC. We should deal with the ANC as part of the Government of the day through engagement in forums such as NEF, NMC etc.



The resolution on Culture was passed unanimously without debate.





# Resolution 9

## On Culture

### *Believing that:*

1. The working people of South Africa have a rich and diverse cultural talent.
2. The political history of our country has denied workers the opportunity to develop and expose their cultural talent.
3. Cultural activities are another form of expression of people's feelings and aspirations.

### *This Congress resolves that:*

1. The NUMSA Education Department should play a role in ensuring that the cultural talent of NUMSA members is exposed and developed.
2. NUMSA should strive to get employers to afford workers the right and facilities to expose and develop their natural cultural talents.
3. NUMSA should work with cultural organisations which have a history of supporting the South African workers' struggle, to generate financial resources in order to assist members' cultural projects.
4. NUMSA will recommend to the Alliance as a whole to regard culture as a bridgebuilding block to achieve reconciliation and respect for one another in our country.



## ON DEPUTY/ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

One of the longest debates took place over creating a new position of Assistant General Secretary. No compromise was reached. The debate was put to the vote and lost by the proposers. This is how the debate went:

• ECape : Motivation for Assistant General Secretary:

1. Our organisation currently has more than 230 000 members which it is supposed to efficiently service and give political guidance to.
2. We need to run an efficient and successful administration and co-ordinate our activities effectively.
3. We have currently 4 sectors to service and this is outside of normal activities. Even if you have an efficient and effective General Secretary, that person is unable to meet all these challenges.
4. Our staff has drastically increased with four National Secretaries whose work needs to be effectively co-ordinated.
5. Our role to actively intervene and build strong civic and youth organisations continues and cannot be lost.
6. We also need the General Secretary to intervene in regions to ensure that our union grows stronger and is democratically controlled by our members. This interventionist

role can only succeed if a person is empowered by the constitution to do so.

It is against this background that our region has taken a sober and strategic and principled decision to amend our constitution to take a decision to elect an Assistant General Secretary to be based in Johannesburg. His/her job will be to assist the General Secretary to carry out jobs already outlined and other constitutional duties. We cannot address all the finer details here. It is our intention to move a motion to empower the Central Committee to deal with the details and enshrine them in our new constitution.

• WitsE: Eastern Cape covered us. We go with them. But the person should be called "Deputy" so that there can be unity between the two.

• Eastern Cape : No problem

President: Any objections?

• NTvl: I think that when we say things we must understand them. If you look at the duties of the General Secretary they are enshrined in the constitution. On top of that the Central Committee was mandated by the launching congress to have sub-generals/secretaries to deal with some of the jobs that would normally be done by the General Secretary - education, organising and collective bargaining and administration. They would do this on a day to day basis.

We must not create a new vacancy without being clear about the functions, the explicit job description of the new vacancy. We have a national General Secretary who is supported by the National Secretaries which are not constitutional positions but who do assist. We are not convinced that there is a need for an Assistant General Secretary.

The mover has not come up with a clear job description. Under administration we dealt with expenditure - and we have talked about vacancies. And earlier we spoke of freezing posts. We have not applied our mind about creating this new position. We don't want to be seen as being influenced by outside forces. We must carry our mandates from our own regions. We are not convinced. There is no need for an assistant or deputy at this point in time.

This also has implications - some of our staff members have not had increases when they should have had e.g. they got increases in April when they should have got them last year. We have an Administration Secretary to deal with administration. We have a Collective Bargaining Secretary and so on. If these secretaries do not do their jobs then we have procedures to correct the comrades. We are not convinced and we urge the Congress not to agree to an assistant general secretary.

• Highveld : The NTvl has said it all. We therefore support them.

• N.Ntl: As Northern Natal we are not convinced by the proposer's motivation. Cde Chair as NTvl has correctly said, there is no clear job description for a new position. Just close the issue.

• Border: In order to have an efficient administrative union we need to have an assistant General Secretary. The two General Secretaries will assist one another in doing the job of the union. We will be happy as Border if it is proposed that we dismiss the National Secretaries and have a Deputy General Secretary.

• Eastern Cape: Let me start by addressing the question of the duties. We cannot put forward as a region the job description of the General Secretary. Because of the unfolding events of our



country, our union will be faced with a mammoth task to ensure that we are not left behind. We accept the role of our General Secretary as a senior official of the union.

Regarding National Secretaries, they cannot play the same role as an assistant General Secretary who is elected by Congress and empowered by the constitution.

Comrades, if we miss the opportunity to solve the problem now, then we must wait for three years. When our General Secretary goes to intervene in the civics in line with NUMSA policy, then we will have no-one to co-ordinate the activities of the union.

- NTvl: With due respect to our comrade Mayekiso. The issue of SANCO is not on the table at the moment. We don't yet know who the General Secretary will be as the election has not taken place.

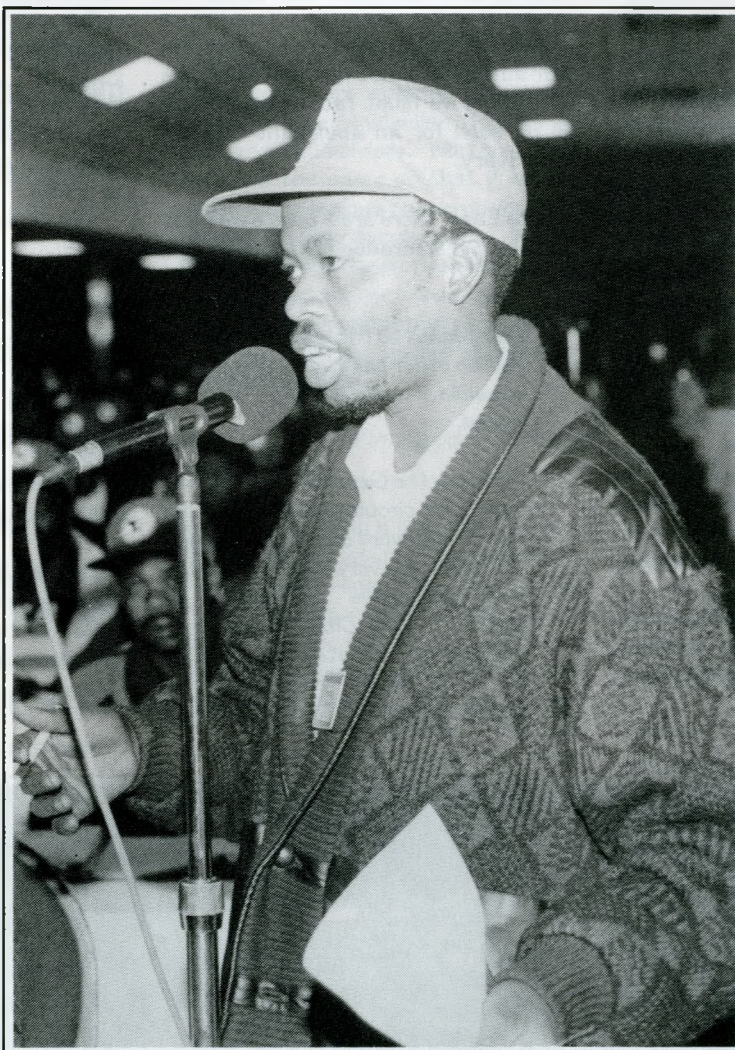
- Eastern Cape: I did not mention SANCO. Whoever that person is he will have to go and intervene in Housing Forum and Civics etc. Even if Cde Mayekiso were to die tomorrow, we would have a new person who would be entrusted to do the same things and intervene in SANCO etc. We are saying that whoever we elect, that person will have to carry out the same duties. We cannot afford to have a union that can only address shopfloor issues. We cannot be left behind. Our region is very adamant, and at no stage will we withdraw.

- WTvl: We reject the Assistant General Secretary.

- Wits CW: Cdes, when we were discussing efficiency of administration of our organisation we understood the role of the General Secretary and the National Secretaries. After checking all the problems and realising the commitments of the General Secretary both locally and

internationally, with a sober mind and with the spirit of the working class - we are convinced that we want a deputy General Secretary.

When we look at the issue of deputy General Secretary, we are living in a very changing world. In COSATU we have affiliates - like NUM. NUM has got an assistant General Secretary. In addition it has heads of departments like our National Secretaries. If you look across the world, one of the speakers



said we must think internationally, unions internationally all go in line with an assistant general secretary.

- NNTl: We are saying that there is no description of the duties of that AGS (Assistant General Secretary). There has never been a report, both from the National Office Bearers or the General Secretary during his term of office that now he is overloaded. We would have thought otherwise if we had had such reports.

We don't know what has influenced the comrades to think that there is a need at this point in time to create an AGS. Where is this based and where does it come from? We don't want to be seen as people who can't think. As I've said, there is no job description for a person who will simply sit in head office with nothing to do. We are not convinced. Please ask those regions who are still insisting to reconsider.

- Highveld: We are not convinced by other comrades. We would have understood if this had happened when our membership was high, but now our membership is down.

Secondly, all the other secretaries make a consolidated report to the General Secretary. Even in the absence of our General Secretary, this can still be done and the report can still be consolidated.

In 1987, when Moss was in prison we never thought of employing another General Secretary and never feared that the union's duties would not be done. So there is no reason now to get another General Secretary. If we have a problem with this, we believe we should vote on this issue.

- Border: Seemingly the motivations are based on assumptions. Will we be electing a General Secretary to second someone to other forums, so there

is no need to elect a General Secretary as such? The comrades do not have motivations that are convincing. They are saying that we are electing someone who is going to be seconded to other organisations, and we will still only have one General Secretary - the assistant.

- Eastern Cape: Cde Chair, we in the Eastern Cape are adamant that we believe we should have an AGS. They are saying that our motivation is not convincing. But it is convincing. What they



are saying is they want to sacrifice the political side of the organisation in order to save costs. On job description, we have said that the Central Committee should be mandated to work this out. We have accommodated on other issues that the Central Committee can work out the details but this does not seem to be acceptable in this case. On costs, we motivated that the National Secretaries should be based in Johannesburg which should address the question of costs. Our international guests have said we must be involved internationally so this must also be considered.

- NTVI : We would like to re-state the position by the previous speakers. We should not take issues on speculation. It has two heads - either right or wrong. At the Central Committee we have discussed many things, what are the responsibilities of the various secretaries - many weaknesses have been revealed.

And yet we have failed to solve the weaknesses and correct the situation. Now the congress is saying that we must correct a wrong with a wrong. The General Secretary has been over committed so now we must duplicate the position. We have outlined weaknesses from the General Secretary report. Yesterday we agreed to discuss the General Secretary report rather than simply sending things to the Central Com-

mittee. Now we want to reverse that process.

It is not actually an issue that we should be motivating and demotivating. If we are having a problem now, if the congress fails to address the problem, how is the Congress going to empower the Central Committee to work out the duties of the Assistant General Secretary? Where is the report going to be consolidated?

The issue is clear. We cannot afford the luxury of sister unions who have structures - let us be viable, we can perform our duties, we must not fantasise the situation, we must face reality. There is no need for an assistant General Secretary.

- Wits East: There are 2 points we want to make as comrades that are for this motion:

1. With regard to the issue of convincing the other comrades, this is only possible if they want to be convinced.
2. Obviously the General Secretary report was circulated late, but on page 1, last word on first paragraph "NUMSA is a very large union with many challenges ...difficult to do justice ..." Cde Chair, we are not prepared to debate the question for 10 hours as requested. The comrades are not going to get any

job description. The Deputy General Secretary would deputise for the General Secretary.

We want to take the issue to a vote as we are not prepared to debate the issue for 10 hours.

- Border: We believe we are a national union. Why can't we put our cards on the table? Why do we need an AGS without putting his duties on the table? The problem is to open up a vacancy without knowing what he is going to do. Comrades are not coming clearly. Comrades are howling at me.

President : It is clear we will not be able to reach a consensus and there have been many requests to put this issue to a vote.

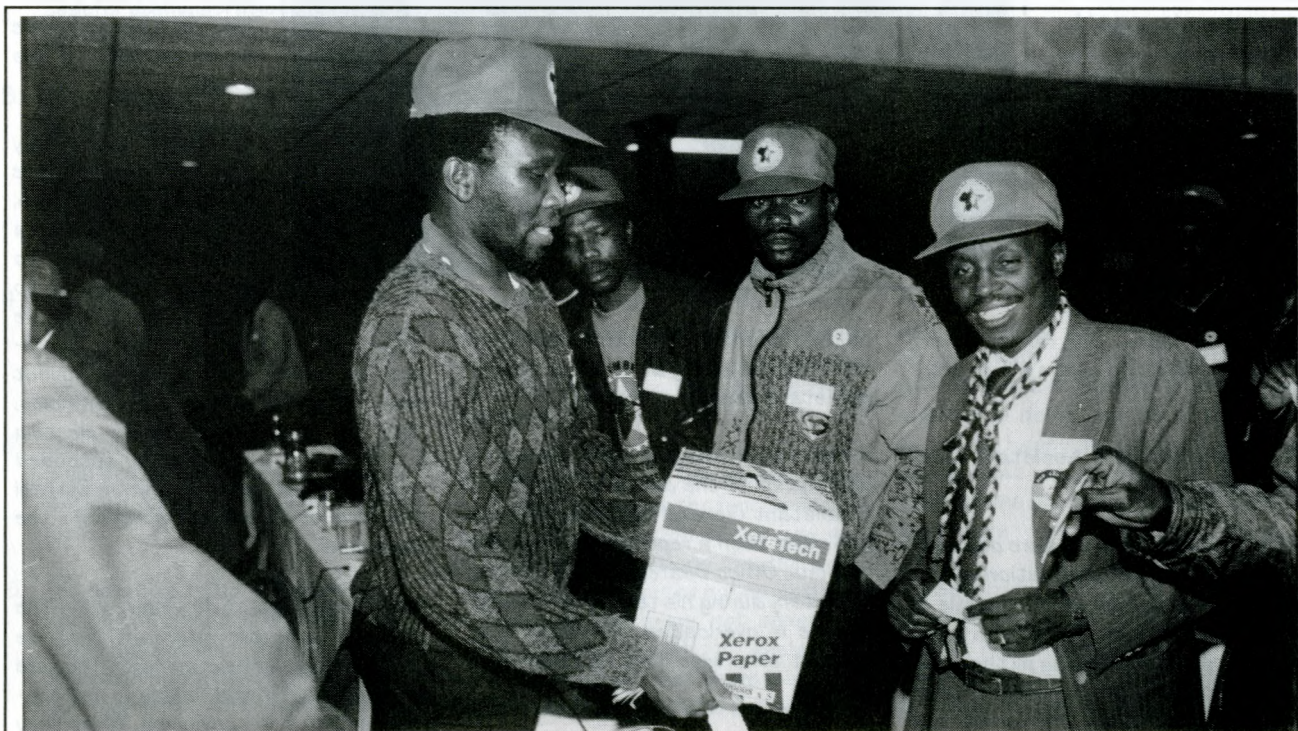
#### VOTE:

in favour of the amendment to create the position of deputy General Secretary: 321

against the amendment - status quo remains: 438

abstentions: 3

Chair/ Cde. President: As per our constitution, a two thirds majority would require 512 votes, therefore this resolution was not carried. The status quo will remain.





## ON NATIONAL BARGAINING FORUM

Documents for further discussion

A resolution to set up a National Bargaining Forum was proposed by Wits East. This would be composed of delegates from each local.

The most contentious part of the proposed resolution was point 6 which proposed to introduce proportional voting in decisions of the NBF. i.e. regions with bigger membership would get more votes. "(This will) allay the fears of our members that we call off action without achieving our demands because we have been outvoted by other regions" (and) will allow bigger regions "who have the majority membership to have a decisive role in deciding the way forward for those actions".

Even though the resolution was eventually withdrawn, important issues about how a national union should function were debated. This is how the debate went:

•N. Tvl: We find this resolution very encouraging, but there are flaws. The resolution empowers workers, but we are talking of a national union. Regions are just artificial borders. Workers' interests are the same so that if we empower some regions to overpower other regions we will have divisions. We feel that this is dividing and weakening workers. We support the resolving part except for the proportional part, and we want to retain the powers of constitutional structures.

•E. Cape: We are in support of all the other regions.

•Wits CW: There is a fear that the constitutional structures may evaporate. We are remembering the strike of 1992 - where workers were not to go on strike but in the constitutional structures some small regions and uninvolved delegates were able to call it off. If there is a strike, the comrades in the NBC will be better able to evaluate the strike. We fully support proportional representation when we are discussing action by workers. We do not feel that this in any way detracts from the powers of the constitutional structures.

*After more debate, Wits East agrees to drop the word "card carrying" but retain "proportional" votes when strike action is being decided on.*

•Highveld: It appears that Wits E is rigid - when we talk about solidarity we feel very strongly that we should not talk about proportionality.

•Border: We believe in consistency. Wits CW and E are very consistent - they have had very revolutionary arguments, but they are now undermining what Cde Gwala said about internationalism. They will make smaller regions look like affiliates of a national union. An NBC will solve the problem of strike decisions even without proportionality.

•Wits CW: We don't understand where the fears of the Cdes lie in the context of point 6 - even here we are proportionally represented.

•W. Cape - delete 6 - we use proportional representation to block reactionary forces in our industrial negotiations - it has no place in our union.

•NTvl: delete 6 - you will end up having regions defying decisions. Are we proposing federalism in NUMSA?

•Border: delete 6 - We propose a vote on proportional representation.

•Wits CW: You still haven't explained your fears - we are trying to solve our real problem - that we will use the power of workers to combat the useless law which made our strike illegal. We were complaining about the way our structures take decisions, and we are now in the highest decision-making structure...

*After further debate, Wits East withdraws point 6 and then the whole resolution.*



# ON NATIONAL BARGAINING FORUM

A resolution on bargaining  
National Bargaining Forum  
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Documents for further Discussion



Two important issues - the Reconstruction Accord, and Restructuring Industry - were referred to a National Policy Workshop for further discussion and finalisation by the next Central Committee in October 1993.

Here we give the relevant documents that need to be discussed and looked at.

# THE RECONSTRUCTION ACCORD

## STAGE 1

### *Preamble*

Led by our country's liberation movements the struggle against the evils of racism and apartheid has been long and costly. Critical to the success of this struggle has been the role played by ordinary people in their communities, civics, trade unions, rural organisations, parent-teacher-students associations, churches, women's organisations, youth organisations and other organs of civil society.

It is these people who have suffered most from apartheid and it is these people who stand to gain or lose most as we rebuild our society. This Reconstruction Accord stems from the firm belief that having been part of the struggle to defeat apartheid these same organs should be part of the reconstruction of our society that will forever eradicate the legacy of apartheid.

It is our further belief that the mass participation of our peoples in this exercise will deepen, strengthen and defend democracy and reconciliation in our society. It is not only the objectives we set ourselves that are important but how we achieve those objectives that will ensure a prosperous, stable and just society in future.

### 1. Principle Objectives

There are four principle objectives of this Reconstruction Accord:

- 1.1 To provide basic social infrastructure to all of South Africa's people by the end of this century.
- 1.2 To carry out a policy and institutional reform that will lead to stable and environmentally sound economic growth with a rising standard of living for all.
- 1.3 To ensure that we develop mutually beneficial socio-economic relations within Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.
- 1.4 To carry out the above objectives through a process of democratic participation and the establishment of rights that will remove all forms of discrimination by race, sex or creed and that will ensure that all persons - in particular women, youth and rural peoples - benefit from socio-economic reconstruction.



## **2. Basic Social Infrastructure**

The following would be our objectives in the provision of basic social infrastructure for our society:

### **21 Housing**

Every South African will have access to a home that is of a reasonable standard, affordable to that person's circumstances and where tenancy of property rights are transparent and protected in law. We should achieve this target by the end of this century.

### **22 Electricity**

Every household, be it urban or rural shall have access to affordable electricity and such electricity should also be available to small scale production and commercial activities in urban and rural areas. Again the target should be the year 2000.

### **23 Water**

All homes should have access to running water from a clean and environmentally sound source. The target should be the year 2000. A Southern African water system should be developed by the year 2010.

### **24 Health Care**

The basic facilities in the form of hospitals and the infrastructure for a primary health care system must be in place by the year 2000.

### **25 Education**

The basic facilities for primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational and adult basic education must be in place by the year 2000.

### **26 Welfare and Community Services**

All communities must have access to facilities for child care, care of the aged and disabled, library and recreation by the year 2000.

### **27 Transport**

A basic system of usable, all-weather roads should be in place by the year 2000. An integrated and effective public and private transportation system should be developed by the year 2000.

### **28 Communication**

All houses and enterprises should have access to telephones, radio and television by the year 2000.

### **29 Transportation and Communication Network**

A modern effective and rapid transportation and communication network should be in place in Southern Africa by the year 2010.

### **210 Environmental Protection**

Effective legislative and policing mechanisms for the protection of the environment should be introduced and an environmental clean-up programme commenced with significant achievement targeted for the year 2000.



### 3. Stable and Viable Economic Growth

Central to the programme set out in this Reconstruction Accord is the objective of successfully combining the provision of the basic needs of our people with the development of an economy capable of stable and viable growth.

A careful examination of how basic social infrastructure will be provided shows that it is a redistributive programme in relation to the pattern established by the apartheid economy. Services, skills, income possibilities and capacities for government and decision making are provided to people whom apartheid actively denied such resources.

This is a very fundamental point and one of the basic reasons why we believe a Reconstruction Accord to be necessary.

However, this process is also a protection for stable growth because it offers greater political stability through allowing the people the realities of reconstruction, it underpins democracy.

Such stability is also not in itself sufficient for the growth to be viable in the long run. Here the programme addresses three other areas:

- the impact of past and future growth on the environment;
- the ability of our economy to survive and trade in a rapidly changing world economy;
- the mutual development of all Southern Africa economies.

All these factors need to be borne in mind when talking about economic growth. If any one of these - redistribution, the environment, the world economy or Southern Africa - is ignored or sacrificed in pursuit of economic growth then such growth will be short lived.

The programme aims to address the following key areas:

#### 3.1 Employment

Virtually all aspects of this Reconstruction Accord are aimed at employment creation. However, since this is a reconstruction programme it is accepted that there will be changes in employment patterns. By the year 2000 we should:

- be moving toward full employment
- be upgrading the quality of all employment in terms of skill, conditions and income
- have active labour market policies to train, retrain and facilitate changing employment patterns.

#### 3.2 Basic food supplies

By the year 2000 we must have achieved a large supply of food to all people that is cheaper, better quality and where the income to producers is spread more evenly.

#### 3.3 Manufacturing and Commerce

At present these sectors are characterised by static or falling employment, high production process, export capacity. By the year 2000 these export capacity trends must be reversed.

#### 3.4 Exports and Imports

At present the composition of and relation between exports and imports is an obstacle to rapid growth. Trade, industry and investment must loosen this bottleneck by the year 2000.

#### 3.5 Tourism

A policy that encourages tourism to increase foreign exchange earnings, create employment in local communities and enhance our cultural heritage and diversity must be developed.

#### 3.6 Southern Africa

We need to develop mutually beneficial trade relations and industrial policy relations with Southern Africa commencing talks now.



## 4. Institutional Reform

### 4.1 Peace and Security:

Socio-economic development is not possible in situations which are exposed to violence and insecurity. Immediate priority must be given to reviewing and restructuring those institutions - the courts, basic rights, the police and security forces - that are responsible for these areas in our society.

With peace and security we can proceed with socio-economic development which will act to consolidate that peace and security.

### 4.2 Land Reform:

An overall land reform in South Africa is essential in order to:

- redress the abuses of racial and apartheid land seizure
- to effectively provide social infrastructure in urban and rural areas
- to restructure and make more effective small scale enterprises and agricultural production.

### 4.3 Restructuring Government

The apartheid state has to be restructured so that its racial divisions are replaced by a unitary state with regional, metropolitan and local government functions within that unitary state. The public sector must actively facilitate and guide this programme.

### 4.4 Labour Market Institutions

Apartheid was based on discrimination, repression and the wasteful and cruel usage of our human resources. All these institutions must be restructured to:

- ensure equity and transparency of rights in the labour market.
- develop the human resource potential to its fullest.
- put in place institutions that facilitate smooth and effective changes in employment patterns as our economy develops.
- develop a position of employment security in the labour market.
- build on an effective and equitable formal education system.

### 4.5 Public Policy Making

In all areas of public policy we need to build and facilitate through legislative measures and by providing resources build new policy institutions. These institutions should:

- allow constituencies in civil society that are affected by a public policy to have a real measure of participation in the formulation and implementation of policy;
- create a high degree of democratisation in all aspects of public life.

Such institutions will not deny democratically elected governments their constitutional rights to govern but will create an ongoing democratic interaction between government, the wider State and the citizens of the society.

### 4.6 Science and technology:

The revitalisation of our scientific and technological capacities is vital. We must reverse the neglect and stagnation left us by apartheid.

### 4.7 Economic Policy Reform:

The retention of a high degree of macro-balance to avoid inflation should remain a priority. However, reforms are necessary in other areas to facilitate the success of this programme. The key areas are: fiscal policy, investment policy (including foreign investment) and trade policy.



# RESTRUCTURING INDUSTRY

Congress referred the issue of Industry Restructuring to a National Policy Workshop for finalisation by the next Central Committee in October 1993. This includes discussion of the following documents:

- ♦ The proposed Composite Resolution on Industrial Restructuring and Industrial Policy for the Metal Industry (not discussed at Congress)
- ♦ Discussion Document from the NPW of 10/11 June 1993 - "NUMSA strategic change: Towards a trade union strategy for industrial renewal, job security, employment creation and prosperity"
- ♦ A Summary Document of the NPW of 10/11 June 1993 (see the following pages 70-)

## COMPOSITE RESOLUTION ON INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY FOR THE METAL INDUSTRY

### MOTION

This NUMSA National Congress 1993 resolves that:

#### 1. Vision

11 The objective of restructuring our industries is to improve their efficiency and to simultaneously increase workers' power in the factory, the industry and the economy, by increasing workers' skills and their rights.

12 The right of management to restructure unilaterally must be restricted by changing the law and by strong workers' organisation on the shop floor, in the industry and in the economy.

13 Industry must be restructured to create more wealth and jobs for the country and all its people. The fruits of restructuring must not be taken for a few people only. Better efficiency must be used to create more jobs, to create more social services, to get rid of poverty, and to improve conditions in the industry.



**14** NUMSA and our members must control the restructuring process at all levels to make sure that the rights and conditions of workers and of the working class are protected and improved. If we leave industrial policy and industrial restructuring to the capitalists, they will do it in a way that will hurt workers and will not help the masses.

**15** Industry cannot be restructured only at the shop floor level. The State must intervene to ensure that industries are restructured and developed and that this restructuring and development benefits the whole country.

**16** Industry cannot be made more competitive by cutting wages and employment. It must be restructured by increasing skills, improving management, investment and many other factors. We must aim for an internationally competitive industry based on a high wage, high employment, high skills economy.

**17** The main areas of growth and wealth creation for our industry are in high value-added production.

## 2. Strategies

**21** We do not want to fall into the trap of allowing management to dictate the way restructuring takes place. Workers and organisers must be clear about the issues, and the union must have clear guidelines, so that we can avoid traps and build on our opportunities to increase workers' rights, improve conditions and create jobs.

**22** Workers and the union must be militant and well-organised so that management does not have the power to dictate company restructuring or policies for the industry.

**23** All restructuring negotiations and industrial policy negotiations must involve the members so that they own the process.

**24** Our policies must be clearly explained to our political allies so that they fully support our programmes of restructuring industry and the economy.

**25** We must build stronger links with other unions in SA and in other countries who are facing the same challenges from restructuring, so that we can share experiences, build strategies and help each other with solidarity.

## 3. Conditions for NUMSA to sit in negotiations

**3.1** It is only possible to negotiate industrial policies with central bargaining forums.

**3.2** At company level, we cannot negotiate restructuring which leads our members to lose jobs. Our co-operation must therefore depend on the employer agreeing that there will be no job losses as a result of restructuring.

**3.3** Restructuring negotiations must lead to agreement on clear career paths, training and recognition of skills.

**3.4** All necessary information must be disclosed to the union.

**3.5** There must be a real right to strike and picket in the law and in agreements.

**3.6** The union must have adequate time and facilities to report to and discuss with workers and to get mandates.

**3.7** The negotiations must lead to an increased role for NUMSA and workers in the decision making of the company and the industry.

**3.8** The negotiations must lead to programmes for humanising work, especially in factories which are restructuring.

**3.9** The benefits of restructuring must be ploughed back into the growth of jobs, of the industry and of services.



## 4. Key Points of an Industrial Policy for the metal industry

4.1 Industrial policy discussions must be linked to industry-level negotiations of a framework agreement for modernisation.

4.2 All aspects of industrial policy must be debated and agreed by tri-partite forums which are independent of government. These forums must be paid for by government. They should identify potential markets, develop incentives, set targets for companies to meet to qualify for incentives, stimulate research and development and make recommendations on other relevant policy issues. They must be given statutory powers to audit companies' performance, especially with respect to targets set for the continuation of incentives.

4.3 The main area of growth for the metal industry will come in the short term by supplying goods and services for the major infra-structure projects in which government must invest heavily, especially electrification, housing, transport, telephones, health services, education and so on. These infra-structure projects will also generate industrial development through the availability of electricity and telephones.

4.4 Some incentives will be needed for industry. These incentives, such as tariff protection, preferential State procurement of locally produced goods, etc. must be given for a limited period and must be dependent on the companies and the industry reaching targets of quality, human resource development, price and so on. Incentives must not be wide and unfocussed.

4.5 If contracts are placed in countries outside Southern Africa, there must be clauses for the offsetting of production, design and development to take place in South Africa. This must be true for both public sector and private sector investments. Offsetting arrangements must be transparent. Offsetting must concentrate particularly on developing technology transfer, design and development skills in South Africa. This Congress confirms the resolutions of the NUMSA Central Committee dealing with offsetting of orders for Alusaf and Columbus.

4.6 The very big national investment in the arms industry must be used to assist the rest of the manufacturing and service industries to develop. The arms industry must diversify away from arms production and must take on joint ventures with other manufacturers in SA.

4.7 COSATU must urgently improve its co-ordination of negotiations on industrial policy so that the NEF can negotiate macro-economic policies which support appropriate negotiated industrial strategies.

4.8 In particular, COSATU must develop active labour market policies as part of economic policy which ensure that workers who are displaced in restructuring are not thrown on the streets but can be kept in employment and retrained. COSATU must also develop and negotiate youth training programmes which can help to give young people vocational training and work experience.

4.9 The very large institutions which influence industrial strategies and control funds for the State's investments in industry must be subject to tri-partite control. These include the Industrial Development Corporation, the Development Bank, the National Productivity Institute and the Board of Tariffs and Trade.

## 5. Key Points for a Regional Industrial Policy

5.1 In many areas, such as the bantustans, the metal industry depends on incentives, low wages and repression of trade unions for survival. This must change quickly.

5.2 A centralised negotiations forum should be established in each area to negotiate to bring wages and conditions to the same level as in the rest of South Africa.

5.3 The National Economic Forum must ensure that Bophuthatswana and Gazankulu immediately accept NUMSA and other COSATU unions and all the companies in these bantustans immediately recognise the unions.



**5.4** The central forums must also develop regional industrial policies. These should be based on:

- ➔ How the industries in the area can take advantage of the markets which will be created by the infra-structure development projects and other potential markets and how regional preference in procurement can be implemented;
- ➔ How the industries can become more efficient so that they can survive without relying on subsidies and low wages.
- ➔ Investment by government in industrial infra-structure such as technikons, training facilities and industry advisors.

## **6. Restructuring of the industry**

**6.1** Our negotiations at industry level are aimed at establishing a framework for modernisation of the industry. This framework must establish safeguards for workers against increased exploitation and against job loss. It must establish a clear grading, training and skill recognition system to allow workers to move up a career path. It must decrease differentials.

**6.2** Workers must have a right to lifelong training.

**6.3** Workers must have the right to be paid for their skills.

**6.4** Workers must have the right to negotiate restructuring of their companies and the effects of the introduction of new technology.

**6.5** The industry must concentrate on upgrading skills and retraining, not on shedding jobs.

**6.6** The industry must agree on what programmes are necessary for investment in the industry's infra-structure and how to make maximum use of State investment in infra-structure projects and the mega-projects to stimulate the industry.

## **7. Restructuring of companies**

**7.1** NUMSA and its members must get involved in this process where it is taking place or where management wants to start.

**7.2** NUMSA must get our members to say what they want and need in the restructuring process and they must be fully involved. We must have facilities to report to our members and get mandates.

**7.3** NUMSA must demand job security agreements in all restructuring programmes.

**7.4** NUMSA and its members must have the right to full information on all matters relevant to restructuring. Management must give adequate time for the union to consider its positions and understand information.

**7.5** All company level restructuring must take place in line with the framework negotiated nationally. This must cover grading, skill recognition, job security, training, work reorganisation etc.

**7.6** All restructuring negotiations must be coordinated through the regional teams.

**7.7** NUMSA must urgently carry out a programme to make sure that:

\* We have clear guidelines to strengthen the position of workers in restructuring and to avoid the dangers.

\* All organisers and worker leadership are able to deal with and understand restructuring issues.

**7.8** In all restructuring negotiations, the rights of workers must be protected and increased. In particular, workers and the union must get more say in company decisions and especially over the work process.

**7.9** Management in most companies absorbs over 40% of the wage bill and is very unproductive. Companies must negotiate changes to the role and structure of management as part of all restructuring negotiations.

**7.10** NUMSA must ensure that workers' organisation is built and not weakened in the process of negotiating restructuring.



Discussion Document from NPW June 1993

# NUMSA STRATEGIC CHANGE: TOWARDS A TRADE UNION STRATEGY FOR INDUSTRIAL RENEWAL, JOB SECURITY, EMPLOYMENT CREATION AND PROSPERITY

## Introduction

The last two years have witnessed massive changes in the strategic orientation of the union. This is still largely confined to our 1993 proposals for a three year wage agreement (wages/grading/skills/leadership) and some general thoughts on industrial policy that are by and large confined to and understood by a few individuals in leadership.

In a very real way we are faced with our own transitional process. It is almost impossible that this process should be without trauma and problems. But many comrades are concerned that the changes are taking place too fast; that our members are confused about our new approach; that the issues are too complex; that we don't have sufficient resources and that we are running a big risk of leaving our members behind. This will increasingly lead to practices that will eventually destroy our tradition of shopfloor democracy and militancy.

The questions that many comrades ask are **"what is restructuring? Why are we talking about restructuring? What has this strategy got to do with our struggle for socialism and how does it relate to our past struggles and achievements?"** These are not easy questions and some of them have yet to be answered concretely.

It is intended that this paper form the basis of our restructuring discussions. It will be a discussion document at our National Policy Workshop on 10 and 11 June.

It is not the purpose of this paper to put forward any proposal or to argue for any particular approach, but to help clarify our minds so that we can develop an approach to restructuring that is consistent with our tradition of building working class power and democracy.

The paper is divided into three parts:

The first part looks at some history. The second part looks at the different elements of our approach and suggests a framework to help the discussion. The third and last part is a summary of the various activities and is designed to help us draw up a programme.



# PART I – What is the new strategy and how has it developed?

## The early years - Conflict and Socialism

The NUMSA bargaining strategy has undergone very radical change in the last few years. Before our new strategy, the national bargaining process was a fairly straightforward process. We drew up a list of common demands for the different sectors which was largely based on our congress resolutions. The most important of these was the demand for a living wage, job security, training, provident fund and centralised bargaining. We would then campaign for these demands in a very high profile way that was characterised by mass mobilisation.

Between 1987 - 1989 the main aim was to bring together the different sectors and to have uniform proposals and a common culture in the negotiations; whilst in the negotiations the main aim was to extract as much wages and benefits as possible out of the employers.

The general political climate was dominated by out and out conflict and repression. (COSATU House bombings, State of Emergency etc) Our major slogans were for "Socialism Now". We adopted the Freedom Charter as a minimum programme out of which a socialist worker programme had to be developed.

## Massive job loss - Problems in manufacturing

However from about 1989 we began to experience massive retrenchments. COSATU started to commission research into the economy which indicated some very fundamental structural problems in the economy. NUMSA set up a number of RDGs and started to make further studies of the economy and a number of possible longer term policy issues on training, housing, medical benefits. Politically things started to change. In February 1990, the era of transition was marked by the unbanning of the liberation movement, the release of key leaders and the beginning of the negotiations process.

At the same time, we witnessed the rapid collapse of the eastern bloc countries. These factors combined to produce a major rethink of previous positions that we took for granted. As part of the tripartite alliance we no longer just strategised in terms of resistance but as the prospect of democracy became a possibility we started also thinking about reconstruction. In other words, how a "new" South Africa was going to work politically and economically.

On the economic policy front we started talking of the need to restructure the industry for job creation and redistribution. Our slogans and talk of nationalisation also became less and less. There appeared to be growing consensus around a mixed economy. In our collective bargaining strategy we began placing more emphasis on the need for job security and job creation.

## Restructuring - the New Approach

Between 1991 and 1992, the NUMSA national collective bargaining strategy emphasised the need for job security, job creation, training and growth of the industries. A number of agreements around the need for restructuring and job security/creation and training were reached in the Engineering, Auto and Tyre industries. The defeat of the engineering strike in 1992 suggested that a new way had to be found. The 1993 bargaining strategy was not insignificantly influenced by the presence of a certain Australian comrade who helped put together the basic framework of the strategy along the lines of the experiences of social democratic unions there.



## Summary

*In short our collective bargaining strategy has undergone rapid change in the last few years. It has been influenced by developments in the political struggle for democracy, major economic battles (eg VAT), the collapse of the eastern bloc, and a greater awareness of fundamental problems in the South African economy. It has changed from mass mobilisation around a simple set of clear demands that does not refer to the state of the economy, to a very complex strategy to restructure industry by increased training, changes in work organisation, industry policy, labour market policy and macro economic policy.*

## PART TWO – A Framework for Restructuring

At the last meeting it was suggested that we debate our restructuring approach in terms of the following:

### Vision

What is our vision, in other words what do we ultimately want. We are committed to socialism so this is our long term vision. But we need to break this down into the key elements eg:

- ➡ the exercise of working class power in the state and society (democracy, worker power)
- ➡ the socialisation of the means of production (worker control in the factories, production for need etc)

### Strategy

This is our general plan to achieve our vision. It is a general guide to our actions. Our strategy acts as a bridge between our vision and our present day realities.

### Policy

Our policies will guide how we implement our strategy

### Programmes

These are the detailed plans of our interventions. This guides our day to day work. It also helps us to assess our capacities and resources and to prioritise issues.

1. Our first task is to define our vision, then our strategy, then the specific sets of policies. Our strategy flows from our vision and the key problems in our way. Our policies flow from our vision, it is how we implement our strategy.
2. Our second task is to define our programme. This is how we actually are going to intervene. To do this we must take into account what are our resources and capacities.



## 1. Vision

- ☐ Political democracy
- ☐ socialisation of the means of production
- ☐ economic growth/creating wealth and full employment
- ☐ democratic economic planning/worker control
- ☐ solidarity

## 2. Strategy

Our strategy has a number of separate but interconnected components. Through collective bargaining and mass campaigns we will intervene through:

### **NUMSA**

- ☐ Wages/grading/skill

We have changed our approach to national wage negotiations. Over and above the need to ensure that wages improve in real terms (above the inflation rate) we are seriously trying to reduce wage grades and to link the wage system to skills and training. Training must be available to all workers.

- ☐ Industry policy

To negotiate industry/sectoral plans for growth and job creation.

### **COSATU**

Through COSATU we are negotiating in the NEF, the NMC and the NTB to negotiate and influence macro economic policy (taxation, investment policy) labour market policy (legislation, safety net, training) and industrial policy (incentives, tariffs, state purchasing policy etc).

### **Reconstruction Accord**

This is still being debated but the motivation here is to form a much closer alliance with the ANC on the basis of an election pact. This will hopefully commit a future ANC government to an accord that will enhance our ability to influence macro economic, labour market and industrial policies.

### **International**

To develop international networks of solidarity and information especially in the Southern African region.

## 3. Policy

In South Africa the process of restructuring industry takes place in the context of the need to radically transform society and its institutions to meet the political, social, economic and cultural needs and aspirations of the majority of the people. We are faced with a crisis situation at a political, social, economic and cultural level.

The majority of our population are still disenfranchised, our educational system is still fragmented along racial lines and in complete disarray, we have close on 40% unemployment, the majority of our people don't have access to decent housing/shelter, health facilities. Our economy has a number of major structural problems that stem directly from it being made to serve the interests of apartheid-capitalism.



The key features remain a highly protected, highly concentrated, largely resource dependent economy, with a relatively small and declining manufacturing industry that was driven by inward industrialisation policies in the strategic interests of the ruling class and big business (mega projects) and small captive white market. It suffers from low investment, technological dependence, serious skills problems, a bloated supervisory hierarchy based on racist lines, and massively declining employment levels and outdated production methods.

NUMSA will therefore campaign for a way to restructure industry to achieve economic growth that will meet the basic needs of our society, create full employment, improve benefits and give higher wages. The restructuring of industry and the achievement of greater levels of efficiency cannot take place at the expense of job security, worker rights, higher wages and worker solidarity. We need to define policies to guide our interventions at a number of levels.

We have gone some way in defining our policy for industry level, where we said we will fight for a wage policy that links wages, grading and skills. This will set the basis for developing an industry framework for training and work organisation changes at plant level. Another important part of our intervention is to develop industry policies that will enhance the growth of industries/sectors. Key aspects of this will be to develop specific sectoral plans eg. steel or electronics. These policies will primarily be aimed at addressing the key structural problems in these sectors.



# PART THREE – Drawing up a Programme

Level	Forum	Issues	Problems
Macro	NEF  NTB  NMC	Macro economic  National, Education and Training Framework  Labour legislation, social benefits, UIF etc.	1. Issues are complex 2. Not backed up by campaigns 3. Poor affiliate support 4. Poor technical/administrative support
National Industry	NICISEMI, NICMI, Auto NBF, Tyre IC	Wages, grading, training, job security, benefits, etc.	1. Structures are new (working groups) and complex 2. Lack of co-ordination between CB/Educ/Org/Admin
National Sector	IETB  Motor Task Force, SCE, NELF	National Industry Training framework  Industry Policy	3. Members not clear about proposals 4. Very little mass involvement 5. Poor information base 6. Lack of clear strategy 7. Lack of policies
Regional	Regional Development forums	Regional economic development	No strategy no co-ordination
Company	Columbus, Highveld, Iscor  Ferro-alloy producers  Henred Reunert/GEO  Auto companies Alusaf Escom Dorbyl Denel Murray and Roberts	There are a number of different entry points for restructuring at this level:  Retrenchment, training, job redesign, wages, etc.	The national strategy revolves around the three year programme, ie, the nexus. 1. There is no clear strategy as to how to translate this into an approach for plant level negotiations 2. At plant level we are weak in terms of skills. 3. Many of our organisers lack sufficient skill/training 4. Under resourced at national and plant level



# Summary of the NPW 10-11 June - Based on Working Groups' Discussions

## Why does Capital Restructure and how does it take place?

Restructuring is not new. Capital restructures (changes the way in which it exploits / make profits) when it faces a crisis in profitability etc. This is mainly as a result of competition between companies. Increasingly companies in SA are responding to global competition and the lack of a growing domestic market. Companies restructure in order to save costs, increase efficiencies, productivity and profitability and to become more competitive.

In the past capitalists have restructured by simply introducing new machinery, cutting the labour force or imposing stricter control, like in a prison. Especially in South Africa where they have not been completely exposed to global competition. However a number of the restructuring initiatives that are taking place more recently claim to want to:

- ☐ include workers in decision making,
- ☐ reduce management hierarchy
- ☐ empower workers with more skills through experiments like JIT, TQE, Green Areas, Quality Circles, Work Teams, Speed-ups, Kaizen, Lean Manufacturing etc.

Many of these restructuring initiatives / concepts are trying to respond to the lack of "international competitiveness" where competitiveness means being able to deliver high quality, low cost products on time.

However these initiatives are simply more sophisticated and subtler ways to co-opt and control workers. They aim to get greater flexibility by sub-contracting and by multi-tasking, in other words on the job training to do more jobs instead of proper all round training and education of workers. In most cases it leads to job loss and to divisions amongst workers and hence weaker union organisation.

## Vision / Strategy / Policy / Programme (see Discussion Document)

It is agreed that we need to establish a clearer link between our vision, strategy, policy and programme.

**VISION** We need to include in our vision the following:-

- Integrated Human resource policy and infrastructure,
- One union one industry,
- Working class solidarity and Internationalism,
- An improved quality of life (housing, education, proper health care),
- Full employment (Job Security, Job Creation),
- Wealth creation (not accept competition as the basis for our restructuring).

As a general rule we need to define our vision in simple terms that are easily understood and seen as realistic and achievable your members.



**STRATEGY** The strategy (as outlined in the document) was seen as the basis of our intervention, however it is still a bit loose and needs to be defined more clearly.

**POLICY** Our major aim is to get involved in restructuring initiatives to achieve greater job security, increased employment, worker empowerment and to advance worker solidarity. At the same time we are also faced with the tasks of reconstruction, we must therefore ensure that the priority of restructuring will lead to meeting the needs of our population especially the unemployed and working majority.

## Problems

(see Discussion Document)

It was broadly agreed that we cannot ignore the restructuring initiatives that are taking place and that our strategy attempts to define our intervention. However we need to intervene in a way that is consistent with our eventual goal of having a socialist society. This means that we need to be extra careful that our members are driving the process through campaigns and mass mobilisation and more intensive education on these issues. It was agreed that our broad vision and strategy (as outlined in the Discussion Document) formed the basis of our intervention but that there is still a lot of confusion and uncertainty about our strategy, even at a leadership level. It was felt that we need to tighten our strategy and especially to show the link between our strategy and our vision.

We need to urgently address the demobilisation and confusion in our lack of co-ordination between the different departments of the union. We also need to focus on the problems in COSATU and make sure that we don't bite off more than we can chew.

## Objectives / guidelines for our restructuring initiatives

It was agreed that we should develop a number of guidelines for our intervention at the following levels:

### Company level

(Preconditions for negotiations)

- The union must be informed of restructuring initiatives at company level,
- Employment security, no job loss as a result of our involvement in restructuring.
- Disclosure of information.
- Worker rights and facilities (especially the right to strike and to training).
- Link between wages, grading, skills and training.
- To form flatter management structures and work teams with elected team leaders.
- We need to finalise policy on productivity negotiations. The bottom line must be for workers to enjoy the the financial benefit of any productivity improvements. Such benefits to be distributed collectively.

### Regional

We need to develop a coherent and co-ordinated policy. Our focus should be on job creation and training. We should avoid regionalism and encouraging competition between regions whereby poorer regions will just get poorer.



## Industry

To develop framework agreements that will support our plant level intervention and ensure that we maintain solidarity. Presently our main objective is to link wages, grading and skill. To develop a national training infrastructure and to fight for improved job security provisions and benefits.

## Sector

To develop sectoral development plans that will lead to job creation and growth while at the same time developing our infrastructure and providing basic needs. In developing guidelines we need to consider Tripartite Industry Councils / Authorities that will be responsible for the negotiations of such plans. These authorities should have the backing of law for their agreements and should also be responsible for developing and maintaining an industry data base that will include a supply and technology register. Industry plans must be set up with the aim of maximising local sourcing and supply to maximise the job creation potential. It must also conform and be integrated into a national human resource plan.

## Macro

Through the NEF, NTB, NMC, we need to create conditions for job creation, human resource development, and legislation that are sympathetic to workers. As COSATU we are very weak at this level. Workers are not informed, affiliates don't co-ordinate and worse, there is an overemphasis on negotiations in Working Groups that are not transparent. We need to create greater mass awareness and mobilisation on these issues through mass campaigns as in the case of the LRA and VAT campaigns.

## Organisational Processes / Further Guidelines

The main organisational problems are lack of co-ordination, information flow, education of shop stewards and organisers and the lack of a mass campaign. It was suggested that a special review committee be set up to look into the problem of co-ordination. This committee will examine the role and function of the different departments and secretaries and the best way to restructure the union to ensure maximum co-ordination. In addition the representation of regions in sectoral committees, should be ensured as well as ensuring that all negotiating committees meet as in the example of the auto sector. The NPW may also be considered to conduct such a review. There is also a need to develop guidelines on:-

- ☐ What is our vision, strategy and policy and what is the strategy of the bosses.
- ☐ How should our members act and what should they do in terms of our new wage strategy. (Reportbacks, mandates, step by step guidelines on how to campaign etc).
- ☐ Our training and education plans and how this fits into company negotiations.
- ☐ Guidelines on multi-skilling vs multi-tasking.
- ☐ Guidelines on work organisation issues / productivity and profit sharing schemes.
- ☐ Urgent guidelines on the motor sector, developments in the negotiations and guidelines for a campaign.







## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present a new approach to the design of a control system for a nonlinear system. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship.

## 2. System Description

The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship. The system is a nonlinear system with a nonlinear input-output relationship.

## 3. Method

The method is a new approach to the design of a control system for a nonlinear system. The method is a new approach to the design of a control system for a nonlinear system. The method is a new approach to the design of a control system for a nonlinear system. The method is a new approach to the design of a control system for a nonlinear system.

## 4. Experimental Results and Discussion

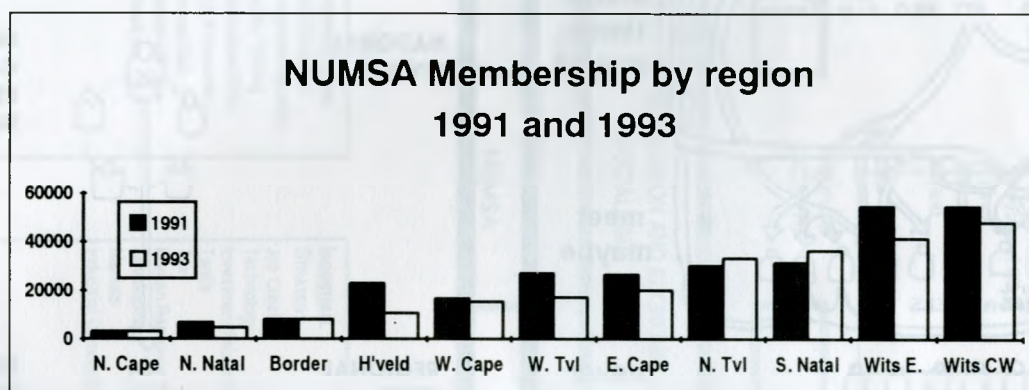
The experimental results show that the proposed method is effective in controlling the nonlinear system. The experimental results show that the proposed method is effective in controlling the nonlinear system. The experimental results show that the proposed method is effective in controlling the nonlinear system. The experimental results show that the proposed method is effective in controlling the nonlinear system.

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- 10. The proposed method is effective in controlling the nonlinear system.



**Table 1** Basic Facts and Figures about NUMSA

	Local Offices	Staff	Total members	Engineering	Motor	Auto (incl. battery)	Tyre
Head Office		48					
Border	4	19	8047	3528	2194	2250	75
E. Cape	3	26	19967	4596	5382	7802	2187
Highveld	4	18	10730	10041	689		
N. Cape	3	12	3156	1195	1859		102
N. Natal	3	15	4580	3825	720		35
N. Tvl	9	39	33328	15727	4862	12328	411
S. Natal	8	38	36492	18745	9040	6330	2377
W. Tvl	4	24	17108	15609	1485	14	
W. Cape	4	23	15223	5087	9757	75	304
Wits C/W	6	39	47824	39682	7345	526	271
Wits East	6	40	41286	37064	3449	759	14
<b>Totals</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>237741</b>	<b>155099</b>	<b>46782</b>	<b>30084</b>	<b>5776</b>

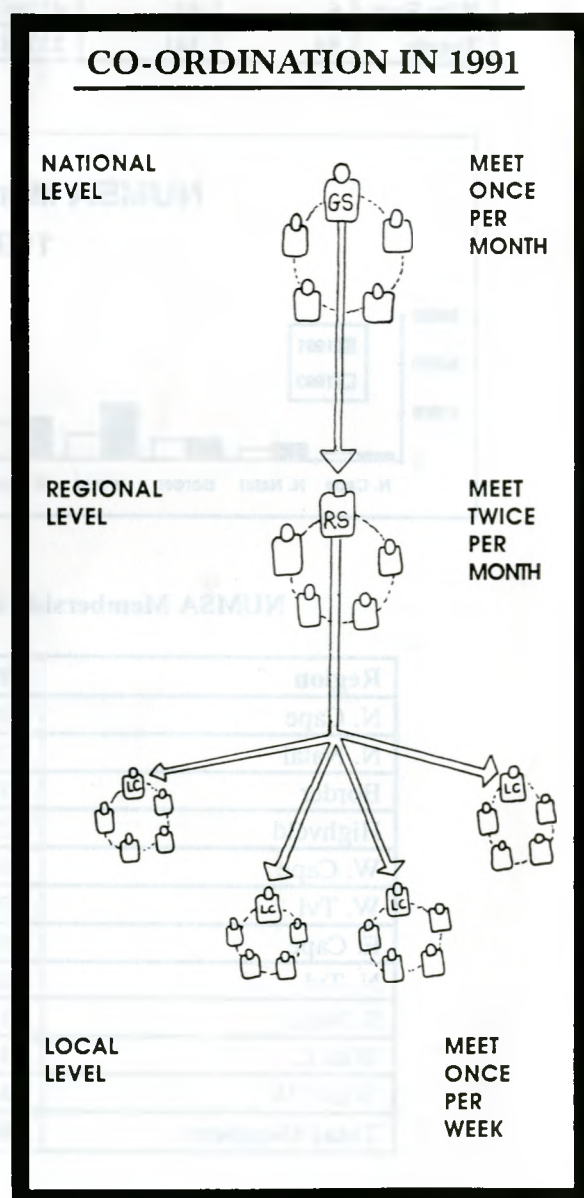
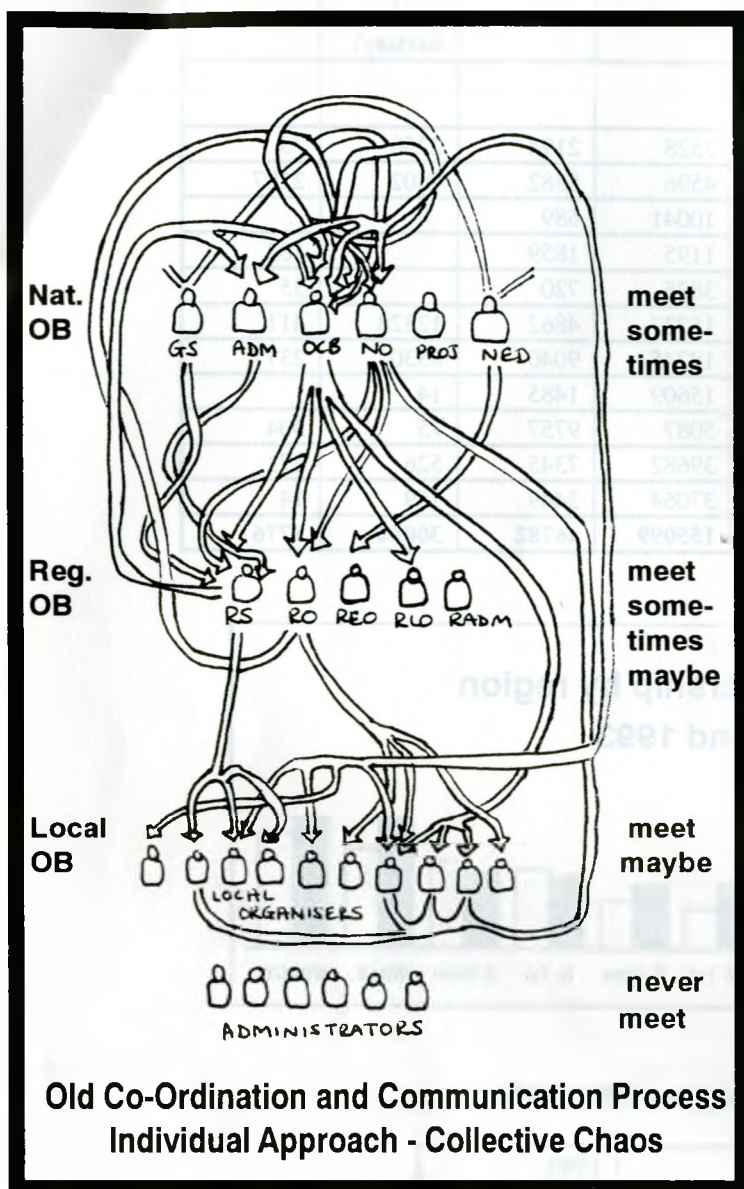


**NUMSA Membership by Region - 1991, 1993**

Region	1991	1993
N. Cape	2989	3156
N. Natal	6791	4580
Border	7895	8047
Highveld	22785	10730
W. Cape	16615	15223
W. Tvl	27041	17108
E. Cape	26583	19967
N. Tvl	30068	33328
S. Natal	31406	36492
Wits E.	54413	41286
Wits CW	54412	47824
<b>Total Members</b>	<b>280998</b>	<b>237741</b>

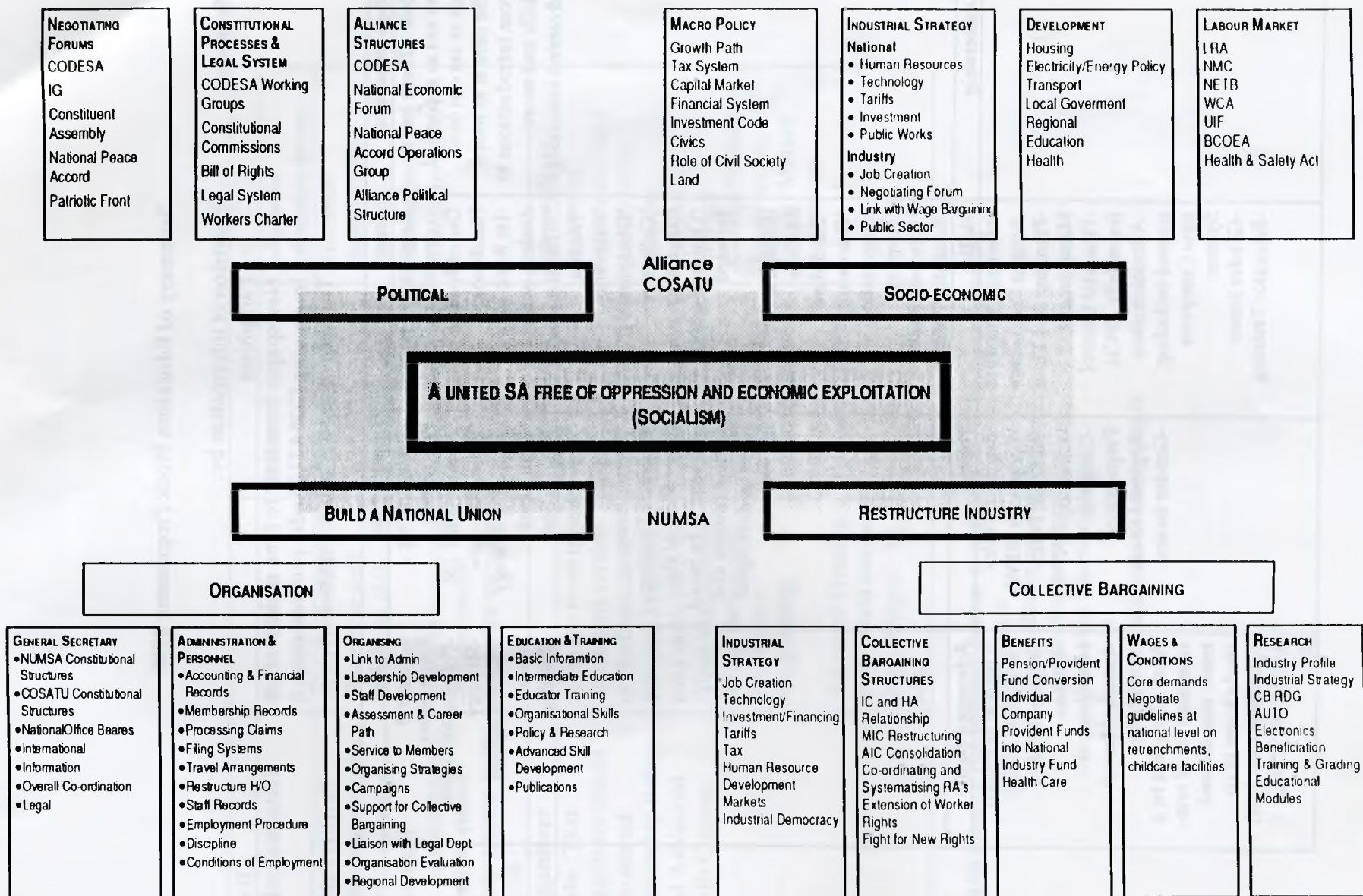


**Table 2** Old and New Co-Ordination and Communication Process





**Table 3** Work Areas of the Three Year Programme





**Table 4** NUMSA Education and Training Activities

**Summary of Education Work Programme 1993**

**Members**

Provision of information by:

- Pamphlets
- Newspaper from time to time on key issues
- Improving COSATU Radio programmes
- Training shop stewards to report-back

Shop Stewards	Basic	Intermediate	Policy
Note : These issues are not as separated out as set out here. The idea is to move from introductions to skills and more advanced knowledge	-Registration process to provide basic info. Use of Numsa Handbook. -1st Basic Module dealing with: *What is a Union *Numsa *Grievance *Discipline *Collective Bargaining *Duties of a Shop Steward  -Second Basic Module *Discipline *Grievance *Negotiation *Disputes *Advance Issues -Educator training	-Restructuring Programme *National NEF etc *Industrial - new bargaining strategy *Plant Level -Negotiation *Retrenchment *Disputes -Gender Issues -Educator Training Note : Most of this will have to be based on new courses and material developed in 1993	-Congress Preparation -Political Situation -Strategy -Reconstruction Accord -Gender
Leadership	Skills	Policy	Advanced Skills
	-Meeting Procedure -Numsa Programme -Planning and Time Management -Financial Control (especially RFCs) -Administration control-including new Computer System -Gender issues -Educator Training	-Regional Policy Workshops (RPW) -National Policy Workshops (NPW) -Congress Preparation -Regional Issues -Gender issues	-Political Economy -Industrial Policy -Regional Policy -Systems Management -Labour Market Institutions Note : This will be a combination of seminars, courses and study tours in co-operation with IMF, MERG, ET, CALS etc.



<b>Staff</b>			
<b>Administrators</b>	<b>Basic Admin Systems</b>	<b>Skills</b>	<b>Advanced Administrations</b>
<b>Note :</b> (1) In all these courses info on the union is provided. (2) Administrators can also attend other courses in the union	-Admin System -Reception and telephone skills -Filing -Time Management -Advice Issues -Educator training	-Computers -Word Processing -Filing Systems	-Financial Management -Systems Management -Computer Systems
<b>Organisers</b>	<b>Basic</b>	<b>Update Course</b>	<b>Intermediate</b>
<b>Note :</b> That organisers would also attend Leadership Policy and Advanced Skills Courses	-This is a more developed version of the Basic Shop Steward Modules plus skills such as: -Time Management -Wage Bargaining -Numeracy -Negotiating  -Educator Training <b>Note :</b> Next course from 26 April - 15 May	-The Basic Course was run for new organisers. We'll be introducing a modified basic course to update organisers who have not been on a course for some time -Educator Training	-Industrial Agreements and Advice Skills -Dispute -Organising Strategy -Gender Strategies -Restructuring -Labour Market Institutions

**Publications :** The following areas of publication are being worked on:

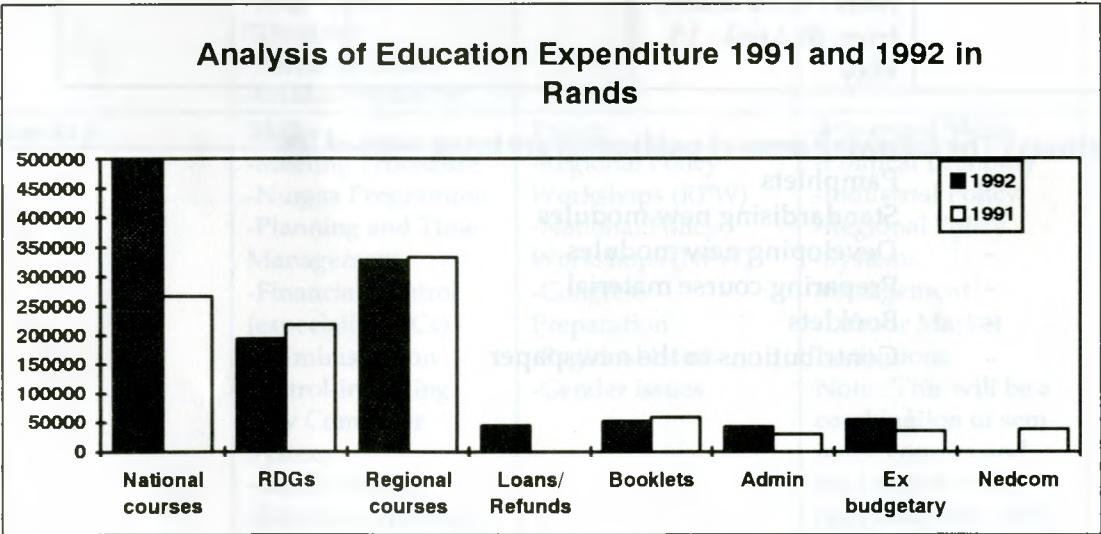
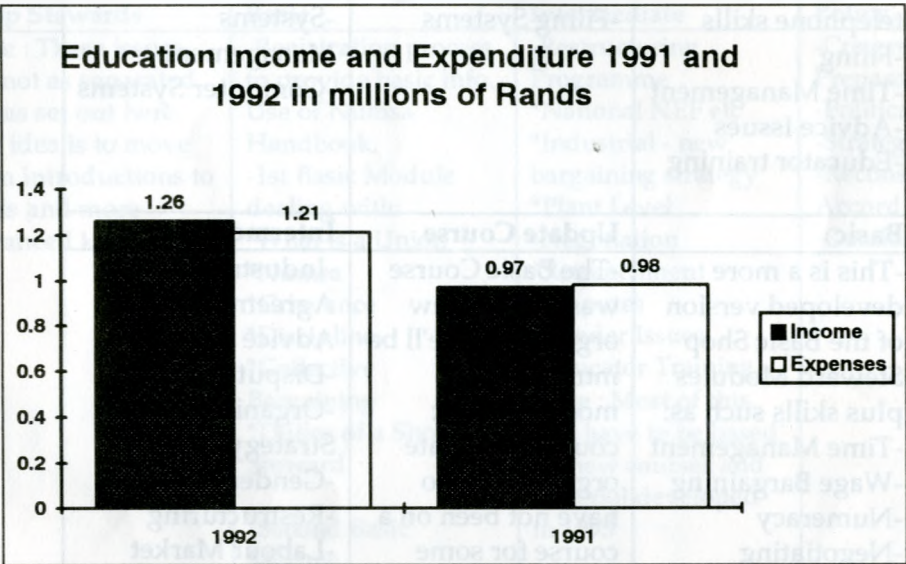
- Pamphlets
- Standardising new modules
- Developing new modules
- Preparing course material
- Booklets
- Contributions to the newspaper



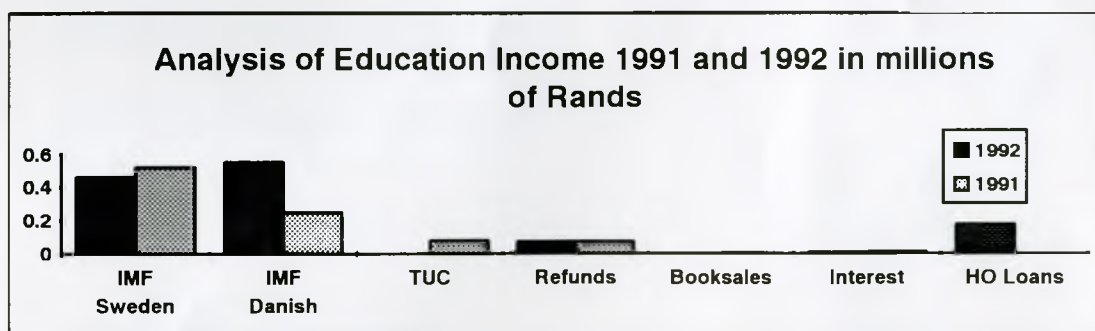
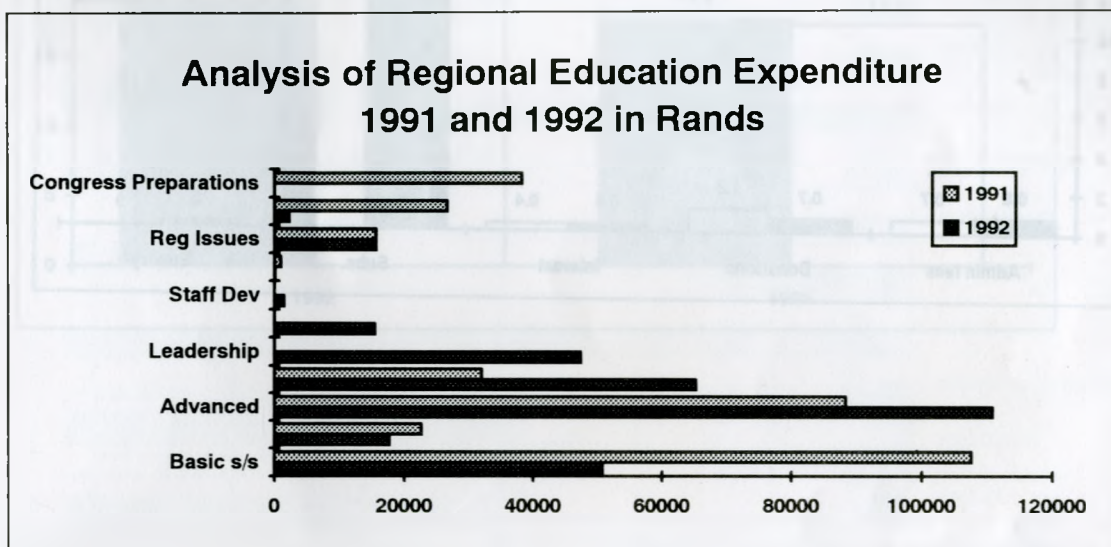
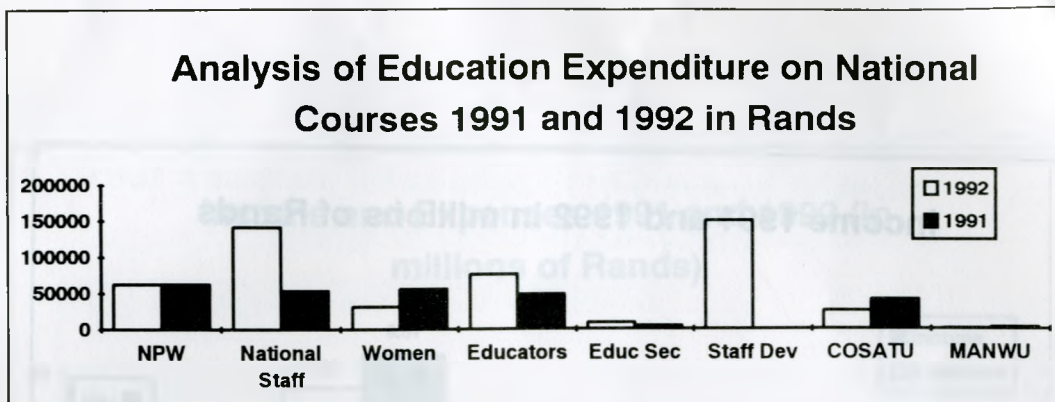
**Table 5** Breakdown of Education Expenditure and Income

Summary of Education Activities – 1991 and 1992

1991			1992	
Seminar	No. of seminars	Attendance	No. of seminars	Attendance
National	25	1292	19	784
Regional	199	5767	60	8315

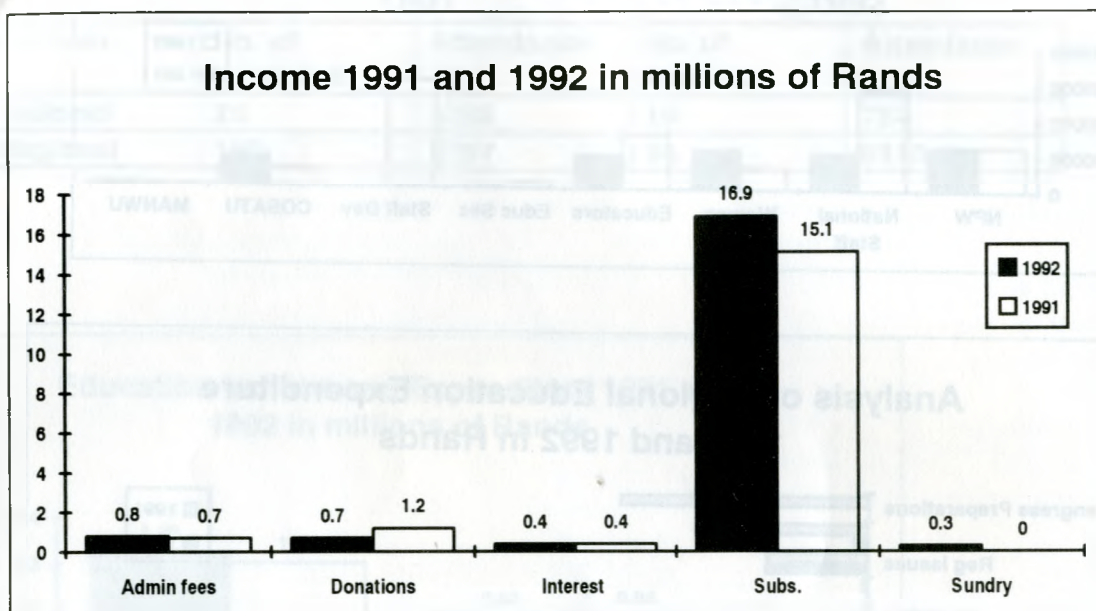






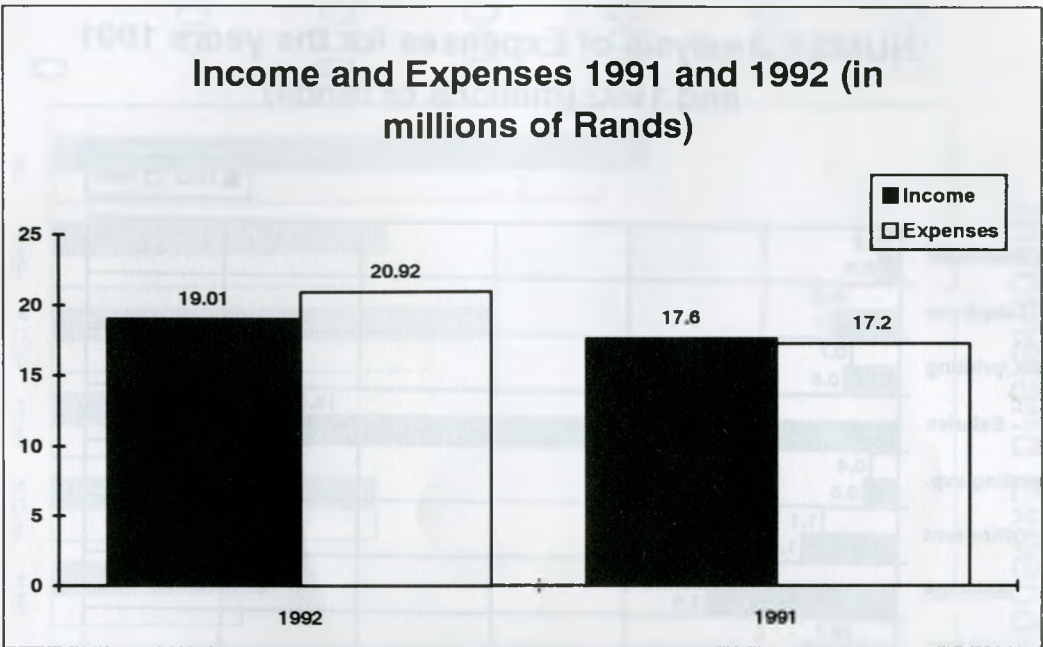


**Table 6** NUMSA Analysis of Income



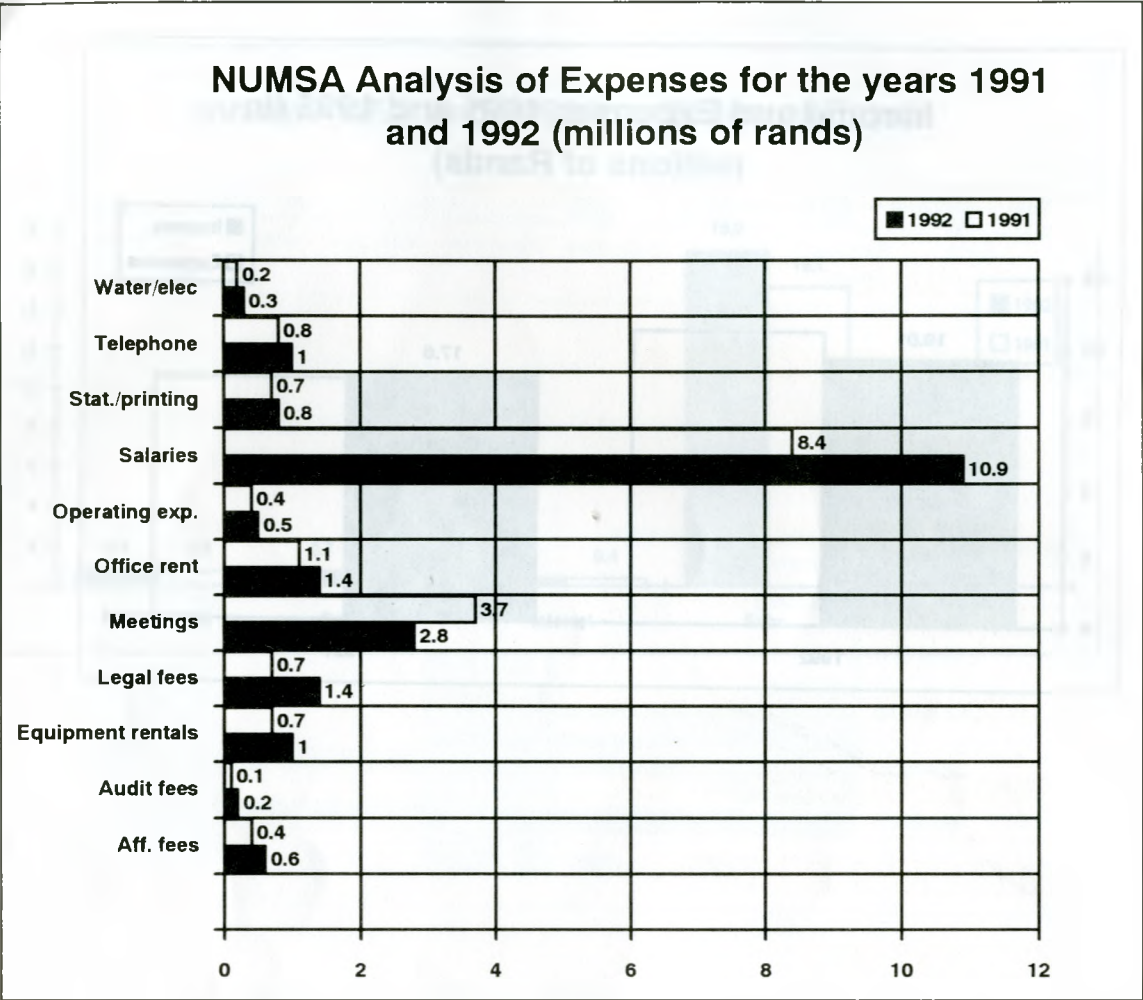


**Table 7**      Analysis of Income and Expenditure



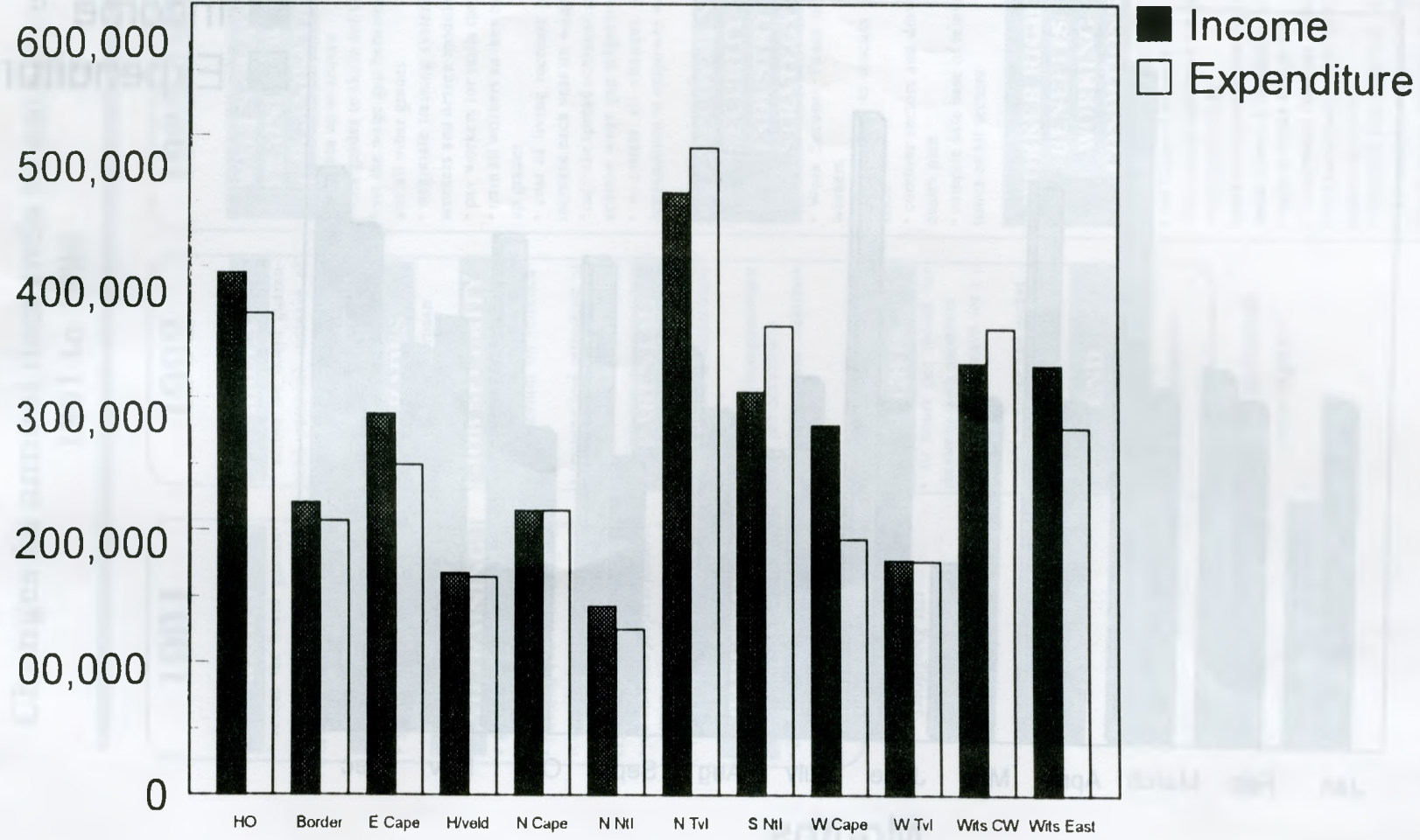


**Table 8**      Analysis of Expenditure



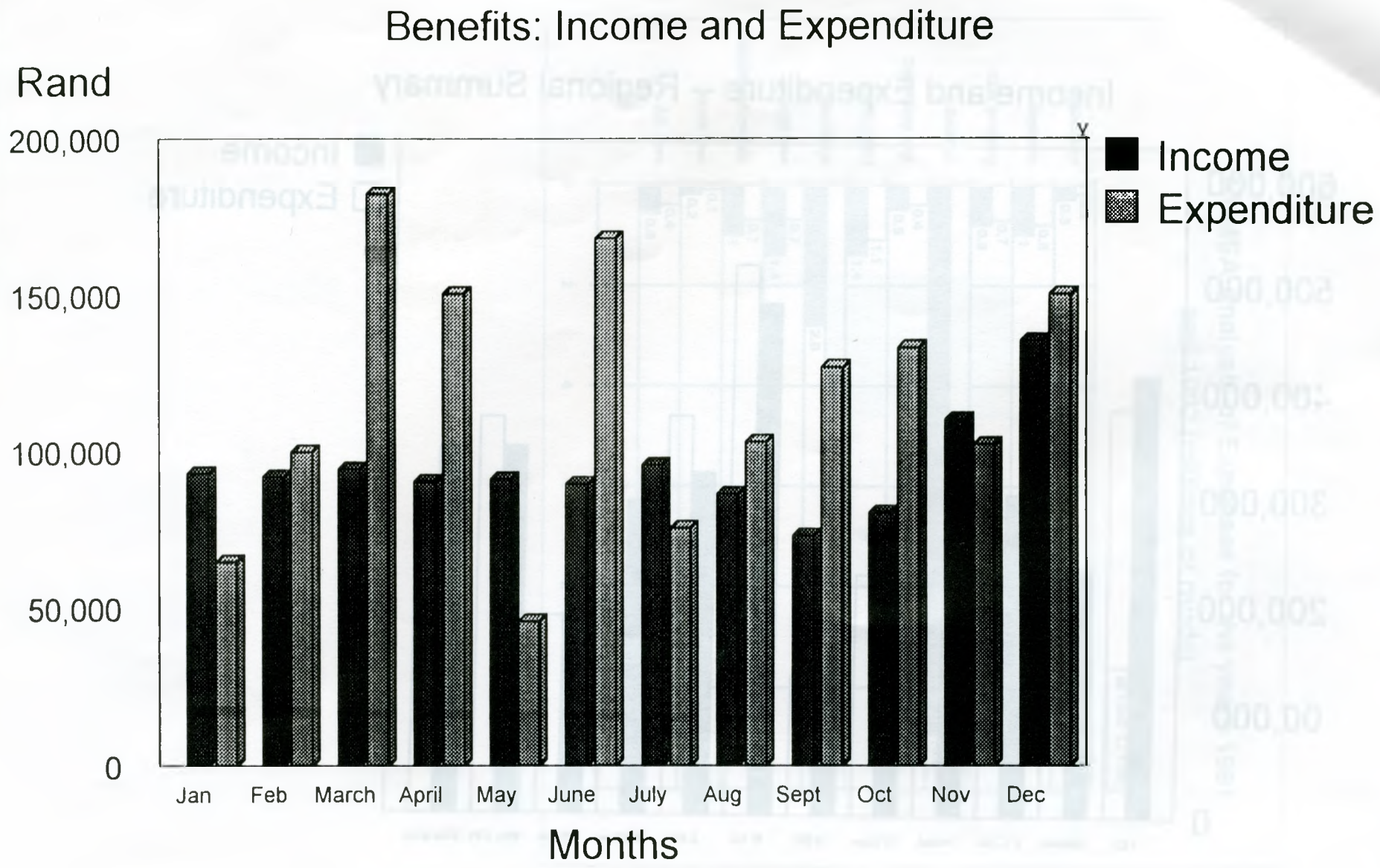


**Table 9** Income and Expenditure -- Regional Summary





**Table 10** Benefits: Income and Expenditure





**Table 11 Basic Demands 1991 - 1993**

## Changes in annual demands to employers 1991 to 1996

1991	1992	1993-1996
<b>WAGES</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>across the board guaranteed personal increase of 25% or R2 whichever is the greater</li> </ul>	<b>WAGES</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>across the board guaranteed personal increase of 25% or R2 whichever is the greater</li> </ul>	<b>WAGES GRADES/ TRAINING/ WORK ORGANISATION</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 grades up to artisan</li> <li>link grades to skills not tasks</li> <li>set the wage gap between artisan and all other grades</li> <li>negotiate training system for all workers and design modules</li> <li>pay workers for skills they have</li> <li>train all workers so they can move up grades</li> <li>cost of living increase plus 5% increase each year on wage bill</li> <li>increase spread across all grades to achieve wage gap target by 1996</li> <li>negotiate all changes to work organisation to empower workers</li> </ul>
<b>GRADES</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 grades up to artisan</li> </ul>	<b>GRADES</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 grades up to artisan</li> </ul>	
<b>JOB SECURITY AND TRAINING</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>every metal worker to be trained</li> <li>training and retraining of retrenched workers</li> <li>workers to be paid for all skills</li> <li>job creation projects jointly controlled</li> <li>right to information</li> </ul>	<b>JOB SECURITY AND TRAINING</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>moratorium on retrenchments</li> <li>training and retraining of retrenched workers</li> </ul>	
<b>PARENTAL RIGHTS</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>20 days paid childcare leave per annum</li> </ul>	<b>PARENTAL RIGHTS</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15 days paid childcare leave per year</li> <li>3 days paid compassionate leave per occurrence</li> <li>6 months paid maternity leave</li> </ul>	<b>EMPLOYMENT SECURITY/ INDUSTRY STRATEGY</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Work Security Funds to retrain workers</li> <li>Committees to discuss job creation</li> <li>combine sectors and draw up industry plan</li> <li>compile data base of relevant statistics of all sectors</li> </ul>
<p><i>"5 demands to avoid shopping list"</i></p>	<b>WORKERS' RIGHTS</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10 hours per month for meetings with members</li> <li>20 days paid leave for s s training</li> <li>right to strike and picket</li> <li>right to information</li> </ul>	<b>WORKER RIGHTS/ BENEFITS/ WORKING CONDITIONS</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>right to information</li> <li>use Code of Practice</li> <li>facilities &amp; paid leave for negotiations report backs</li> <li>paid leave for workers to get report backs from s s on negotiations</li> <li>right to strike and picket</li> <li>1 retirement fund per sector</li> <li>1 sickness benefit and medical aid scheme per sector</li> <li>6 months paid maternity leave</li> <li>working hours reduced without loss of pay to 40 hours per week</li> <li>agency shop in auto, tyre and engineering</li> </ul>
	<b>END DISCRIMINATION</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>negotiate Code of Practice to end Discrimination</li> </ul> <p><i>"core demands once again"</i></p>	



**Table 12**      Levels of Restructuring

Level	Forum	Issues
Macro	NEF	Macro economic
	NTB	National, Education and Training Framework
	NMC	Labour legislation, social benefits, UIF etc.
National Industry	NICISEMI, NICMI, Auto NBF, Tyre IC	Wages, grading, training, job security, benefits, etc.
	IETB	National Industry Training framework
National Sector	Motor Task Force, SCE, NELF	Industry Policy
Regional	Regional Development forums	Regional economic development
Company	Columbus, Highveld, Iscor  Ferro-alloy producers  Henred Reunert/ GEO  Auto companies Alusaf Escom Dorbyl Denel Murray and Roberts	There are a number of different entry points for restructuring at this level:  Retrenchment, training, job redesign, wages, etc.