

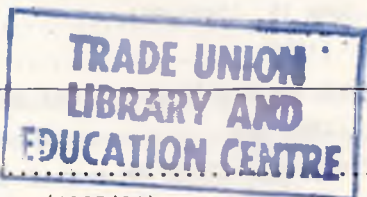
COSATU RESOLUTIONS - Inaugural Congress, December 1985; First Central Executive Committee, February 1986;
Second National Congress, July 1987; Central Executive Committee, August 1987.

SALHA 22 a: COSATU



COSATU RESOLUTIONS 1987

COSATU RESOLUTIONS - INAUGURAL CONGRESS, DECEMBER 1985;
 FIRST CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 1986;
 SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS, JULY 1987; CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 AUGUST 1987.



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November 1987

1. POLITICAL POLICY

This Congress noting that:

1. South Africa is going through its severest economic and political crisis with millions unemployed and masses of our people living in poverty and degradation.
2. The apartheid regime is incapable of meeting even the minimum demands of our people and has instead resorted to the Emergency and other violent measures to stifle democratic opposition.
3. The struggle against national oppression is inseparable from the struggle against capitalist exploitation.
4. The unity of the working class based on the principles of non-racialism, democracy and workers control is of paramount importance in our struggle.
5. While we are involved in a struggle for national liberation, true liberation can only be achieved through an economic and social transformation of our society to serve the interests of the working class.
6. Workers in our country are not only striving for better conditions in the mines, factories, shops and farms but also for a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class.
7. The Congress of the People which was held in Kliptown on the 26th June 1955 was representative of all the patriotic forces in our country when the Congress adopted a programme of minimum demands which became known as the Freedom Charter.
8. The Freedom Charter is today a rallying point and enjoys mass support among our people.
9. The mass resistance to apartheid and capitalism has led to the consolidation of national, non-racial mass based progressive

organisations amongst youth, students, women and the other democratic sectors who have acted in alliance with workers as organised in COSATU.

10. It has become imperative to clearly define what we mean by democratic and progressive organisations and what should be our relationship to them.

And believing that:

1. The present form of government is based on racial oppression and brutal exploitation of the democratic majority.
2. The oppressed and exploited are striving for a non-racial, democratic and non-exploitative South Africa.
3. There is no conflict between the struggle for national liberation and socialism. The struggle against national oppression and the struggle against capitalist exploitation are complimentary to each other and part of an uninterrupted struggle for total liberation.
4. The Freedom Charter encompasses the minimum demands of the democratic majority which lay the basis for the building of a non-exploitative society.
5. COSATU as part of the working class has a historic leadership role to play in leading and deepening the struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation.
6. Progressive organisations with which COSATU should have an alliance should be based on the following definition:
 - 6.1 whether the organisation has a proven record and history of mass mobilisation and action in our struggles;
 - 6.2 whether its principles and policies are compatible with those of

organised workers in COSATU and the working class in general;

6.3 whether it has a mass based constituency with democratic structures that it is answerable to; and

6.4 whether it is a democratic and a non-racial organisation.

Therefore resolves that:

1. COSATU adopts the Freedom Charter as a guiding document which reflects the views and aspirations of the majority of the oppressed and exploited in our struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation.
2. COSATU develops and strengthens amongst all workers a coherent working class understanding of the demands of the Freedom Charter and encourages the fullest discussion on socialism and democracy within our structures and amongst all progressive and democratic forces.
3. To unite all workers in broad based national industrial unions under the constitution and political policy of COSATU.
4. COSATU must not hesitate to take political action to defend and advance the interests of its members and the working class in general.
5. COSATU must cooperate with democratic and progressive organisations, as defined, in disciplined alliances that ensure that all workers participate effectively and play a leading role in the struggle against exploitation and oppression.
6. COSATU must develop permanent structures at local, regional and national levels with other sectors of the democratic movement which will strengthen our relationship and interaction with these organisations and promote the leading role of the working class in a united front alliance.

7. COSATU must remain independent and not affiliate to any political organisation within the democratic struggle in South Africa at the present time.

1987

2.1 INTERNATIONAL POLICY

That this Congress noting that:

1. The international trade union movement is split by ideological divisions that derive from the situation of the "Cold War".
2. South African workers still have to achieve unity that would see the emergence of a single powerful national trade union centre.
3. The majority of people in South Africa still suffer under a brutal and violent system of national oppression and racial exploitation.
4. In the present situation in South Africa, affiliation by the Congress, to any international co-ordinating centre, will not allow South African workers to participate fully and actively in all activities of these organisations.
5. Any affiliation is bound to draw us into the web of international politics and introduce the dangers of division and collapse that arise out of the practices of these organisations.

Therefore resolves that:

The Congress will not affiliate to either the ICFTU, WCL, WFTU.

But undertakes:

1. To strengthen fraternal links with progressive worker organisations

in all countries which are committed to our struggle for freedom in South Africa and to the building of true international working class solidarity.

2. To develop a systematic programme of travel, study, research and activity that would broaden the education and perspective of our working class leadership and membership.
3. To build effective worker to worker solidarity in the struggle against multi-national corporations by exchange of visits at all levels of union membership and leadership.
4. To establish greater direct contact with workers in developing countries especially in Africa where such workers suffer the same hardships as workers in South Africa under foreign and national corporate domination.
5. To play a greater and more active role in the international trade union centres with a view to mobilising such organisations to act against racial oppression and class exploitation wherever it exists and particularly in South Africa.
6. To participate in such international industrial trade union centres, provided that these are not used as a vehicle perpetuating splinter unions and giving credibility to anti-worker and racist unions and provided that such unions operating in an industrial sector commit themselves to a specific programme to build one union per industry.

1985/1986

2.2 INTERNATIONAL POLICY

COSATU while endorsing the existing policy further notes that:

1. The united action of the working class and its allies has struck fear

into the heart of the capitalist and imperialist class.

2. The militant working class struggles against imperialism in the developing world and the simultaneous growth of socialist consciousness threatens capitalist greed for profits worldwide.
3. The anti-imperialist struggle by the working class in Africa has resolved the divisions caused by imperialism and has resulted in OATUU emerging as a powerful working class organisation that has brought the struggles of workers in Africa to the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism.
4. Imperialism will attempt to subvert our struggle using a variety of manoeuvres from financial corruption to physically eliminating our leadership.
5. The anti-imperialist struggles fought by the working class against United States government-sponsored terrorism in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Phillipines, Angola and many other parts of the World.

And believing that:

1. Our struggle against apartheid and exploitation is also a struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.
2. The South African government serves as an agent of imperialism in Southern Africa by its continued campaign of destabilisation against the Frontline States.
3. The increasing support of the workers in both developed and developing countries is a crucial part of the struggle for a democratic worker controlled society.
4. That OATUU is a legitimate voice of organised working class in Africa whose views on imperialism and whose commitment to non-alignment are the same as ours.

Therefore resolves:

1. To strengthen our fraternal links with working class organisations fighting militant anti-imperialist struggles in the developing world.
2. To forge links with representative organisations of workers involved in militant anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Phillipines, Angola and Mozambique.
3. That COSATU discuss the recommendation of Congress to seek affiliation to OATUU at all levels of the Federation and that the Executive establish a working relationship with OATUU and thereby strengthen the struggle by the working class in Africa against imperialism and neo-colonialism.
4. To cut all links with national centres who continue to subvert and undermine our policies and principles and strengthen our links with industrial affiliates and workers in these countries.
5. To develop a systematic programme of travel, study, research and perspective of our working class leadership and membership.
6. To build effective worker to worker solidarity and action in the struggle against the capitalist greed of multinationals.
7. To make all efforts to ensure that information about the struggles of the working class is disseminated to all our democratic allies throughout the world.

3. MULTINATIONALS

THAT this Congress noting

1. The existence of massive multi-national companies (MNC's), both foreign and national which reap super profits in South Africa because of the starvation wages they pay us.
2. Our lives are today controlled by a few individuals who through their vested interests wield great power in our society which is used often to the detriment of the working class.
3. The MNC's are an integral part of a brutal and violent system of national oppression and capitalist exploitation.
4. These MNC's undermine consistently the struggle of workers for just living conditions and decent wages by transferring their production from areas and countries where workers are powerfully organised to areas where workers are still not organised.
5. These MNC's by being able at will to increase the price of goods by controlling the market supply and demand and provoking crises which lead to massive retrenchments and the subsequent erosion of workers' wages and lead to the undermining of workers' standards of living.
6. That plant closures and redundancies are planned well in advance to circumvent union opposition.
7. The continued violation of trade union rights in companies owned, held and licensed to multinational corporations.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Workers and all other progressive sections of our country should unite to challenge the growing power of the MNC's.

2. The congress research and monitor the activities of MNC's within South Africa.
3. The congress begins a national campaign to inform, expose, clarify for everyone the manipulations of these MNC's in all aspects of our lives.

1985/1986

4. SOUTHERN AFRICAN UNION COOPERATION

This federation noting:

1. That foreign and South African multinational corporations (MNC's) have for years exploited workes in Southern Africa by reaping huge profits and exporting them to Europe and America.
2. That workers in Southern Africa are employed by the same MNC's and subjected to similar conditions of control, exploitation and oppression.
3. That many of them are union bashers and have undermined the legitimate right of workers to organise trade unions.
4. That these MNC's, as the major agencies of imperialism, have cooperated with reactionary regimes in pursuit of super-profits.
5. That MNC's can only be resisted if there is unity and worker-to-worker contact in various countries of Southern Africa.
6. That the problems faced by the workers of Southern Africa are integrally linked and that their futures are tied together.

Therefore resolves:

1. That unions affiliated to COSATU should actively pursue links with progressive unions in Southern Africa so as to strengthen worker unity.
2. That COSATU should form constructive relationships with fraternal federations in Southern Africa.
3. That every effort be made to unite workers of Southern Africa and improve solidarity work.

1985/1986

5. NAMIBIA:

This Congress noting:

1. The continued colonisation of Namibia by the racist apartheid regime.
2. The suppression of the Namibian people's organisation - SWAPO
3. The use of repressive legislation and the South African Defence force to perpetuate the subjugation of the Namibian people through military force.
4. The imposition of a puppet interim regime on the people of Namibia.
5. The historic resurgence in worker resistance leading to the formation of the Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union (NAFAWU), the Mine Workers Union of Namibia (MUN) and the Metal Workers' Union of Namibia (MWUN) and the revival of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW).

Condemns and rejects

1. The divisive attempts by external forces and the puppet interim government to promote the collaborationist NNTU to counter the organising efforts of NUNW.
2. The notorious linkage of the decolonisation process of Namibia to the issue of Cuban troops which were invited to help bolster the defence capabilities of the legitimate government and People's Republic of Angola.

And resolves to:

1. Fully support the campaign to implement UN resolution 435 - as a step towards the establishment of true Namibian independence.
2. Fully support NUNW and its affiliates to gain full recognition in the factories, shops and mines where they are organised as far as possible.
3. Promote all forms of material support, educational training and resources to consolidate NUNW and its affiliates.
4. To encourage our affiliates to build concrete links and offer concrete support to the affiliates of NUNW in each industrial sector.
5. To declare our preparedness to take solidarity action if the NUNW or any of its affiliates come under attack from either the employers, the interim puppet administration or its South African masters.

1987

6. ATTACKS ON NEIGHBOURING STATES

This federation noting:

1. That South Africa is the last bastion of white rule in Africa.
2. That the South African State is a major destabilising force in the sub-continent.
3. That the South African State has continued to pursue unprovoked aggression on the neighbouring States.
4. That the people attacked in these countries are the families, children and friends of our members.
5. That these aggressive acts on the workers and their families in neighbouring countries are of concern to all workers internationally.

Therefore resolves:

1. That the federation develops relations with fraternal federations in Southern Africa so as to resist these attacks of aggression.
2. That a unity of understanding, purpose and action of Southern African workers is necessary and a prerequisite of broader freedoms in the sub-continent. Only such relations and actions can resist the Apartheid regime's policies and the pernicious practices of multinational corporations.
3. That the federation vigorously highlight the atrocities of the South African Regime and take appropriate action.

7. SANCTIONS

This Congress noting that:

1. South Africa is the last bastion of racism and the last outpost of white minority rule.
2. The apartheid regime has maintained its rule through violence, repression and the mass detentions of the oppressed people.
3. The South African Government continues to remain intransigent in its racist, anti-democratic and anti-worker policies and practices and thus refuses to dismantle Apartheid and to release political prisoners and move towards a democratic society.
4. Sanctions and Disinvestment have become the major form of international pressure against the South African racist regime.
5. That the regime and their imperialist backers will attempt to divert the brunt of sanctions and disinvestment onto the workers.
6. The capitalists have been supportive of the apartheid regime's policies and remain the State's most trusted partner in maintaining oppression and exploitation.
7. That selective sanctions packages as currently applied will not be effective against capital or the State; that they cause serious regional unemployment and that they often serve the interests of the imperialist states rather than the South African working class; that without the participation of the working class and its allies in the struggle sanctions themselves will not bring about fundamental change.
8. The organised working class in South Africa have not had control of sanctions campaigns.

Therefore resolves to support the call for:

1. Comprehensive and mandatory sanctions which are the only sanctions which are likely to bring effective pressure which will assist in bringing about a non-violent, truly democratic and non-racial South Africa.

And in addition to the above:

2. That COSATU's contribution to the direction of this campaign is to support the call for:
 - 2.1 the stopping of loans and credit to the South African State, South African business, municipalities and bantustans;
 - 2.2 diplomatic isolation;
 - 2.3 the stopping of South African tourists, businessmen and State officials travelling abroad;
 - 2.4 the stopping of South Africans emigrating abroad;
 - 2.6 the withdrawal of South African Airways landing and airspace rights;
 - 2.7 a stop to South African capital being invested abroad;
 - 2.8 the effective and comprehensive implementation of the United Nations arms embargo;
 - 2.9 a stop to the South African state and business recruiting skilled workers overseas;
 - 2.10 a stop to sporting groups and individuals visiting and playing in South Africa and South African sporting groups going abroad.
3. To politically conscientise our members in COSATU regarding the content of this resolution, the possible effects of sanctions, disinvestment and the other measures called for.
4. To call for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the South African backed UNITA and MNR bandits and in particular in respect of military equipment.

5. To call for material support to be given to the frontline states in a manner that will not increase their dependence on the international community.

1987

8. DISINVESTMENT

This Congress noting that:

1. The system of oppression and exploitation is effectively being supported by the policy of apartheid.
2. The South African government is not committed to abolishing oppression, exploitation and apartheid from which the vast majority of South Africans suffer.
3. All companies have benefited from the system of apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation.
4. Disinvestment as is currently being carried out by multinational companies amounts to nothing more than corporate camouflage which often allows these companies to increase their support for the South African regime.

And believing:

1. That only a replacement of the present government by a democratic government supported by the majority of the people of South Africa can eradicate the system of oppression, exploitation and apartheid and replace it with a system of justice and equality based on a universal franchise.
2. That effective economic pressure is essential to bring about such a

transition in a peaceful manner, with the least pain and suffering by the people who are already having to endure extreme suffering.

Therefore resolves:

1. To ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of the people of South Africa for the benefit of all and further commit ourselves to the principle of international working class solidarity action as the most powerful form of solidarity action with our struggle. OUR VICTORY WILL BE THEIR VICTORY.
2. To support effective pressure on the South African political and economic system so as to bring about peaceful change in South African society.
3. To encourage and participate in unity with other workers so as to strengthen the position and role of workers as pressures for change are increased.
4. To participate in campaigns to strengthen the association between South African workers' organisations and their international counterparts.
5. To ensure that where disinvestment takes place companies must give COSATU notice of their intention to pull out of South Africa so that bona fide negotiations can take place.

1987

9. BANTUSTANS

CONGRESS Noting:

That the bantustan system was imposed on the African people, against their will, with a view to thwarting the just struggle for One Person One Vote in a unitary South Africa.

That various bantustan administrations have practised extreme forms of oppression against the oppressed people - including trade unions.

Noting in particular:

The banning of SAAWU in the Ciskei, the banning of all unions in the Boputhatswana bantustan and the killing of trade unionists and other democrats by tribally based organisations.

Hereby resolves that:

1. The bantustan system be totally rejected and that the Federation struggle - together with other democratic forces - for the creation of a democratic and unitary South Africa.
2. We shall not hesitate to exercise our right to organise in plants based within the bantustans and that we are fully prepared to defend ourselves against repression by whatever effective means at our disposal.
3. That we are completely and absolutely opposed to the super-exploitation occurring in these areas and declare our commitment to reject the idea and practice of workers receiving less wages and worse conditions of work.
4. That we express our solidarity with those communities around Durban and elsewhere who are struggling against being incorporated into the bantustans.

1985/1986

10. FEDERALISM

This Congress noting that:

1. South Africa's bitter history of industrialisation and exploitation has forged one nation.
2. The attempts by the apartheid regime to create and reconstruct separate states and nations which will be combined into some federal system are fraudulent and undemocratic.
3. That the intention of the proposed federal system is to maintain power and control in the hands of the present minority and perpetuate an oppressive and exploitative system.
4. That the demand of all progressive and democratic forces in South Africa is for a unitary state based on One Person One vote.

Resolves to:

1. Reject as a total fraud the new proposed federal solution.
2. Re-affirm our belief in a unitary state based on One Person One Vote.
3. Work towards the destruction of all barriers and divisions so that we are united irrespective of language, race or creed.

And further believes that:

Only with the total unification of all people into South Africa will we be able to re-build our rich land and make a real contribution to breaking the chains of poverty and economic exploitation that bind Africa.

11. REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS AND NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCILS

This Congress noting that

1. The Regional Services Councils (RSC's) and the National Statutory Councils (NSC's) which the State intends to introduce provide for smaller Primary Local Authorities (PLA's) to operate on a strict racial basis fitting within the pattern of Group Areas Laws.
2. The whole RSC and NSC system forms part of the government's racist and anti-democratic system of "general affairs" and "own affairs" incorporating dummy structures such as Community Councils and Management Committees.
3. The RSC and NSC system is designed to draw in workers and the oppressed communities generally into doing the dirty work in the collection of rates, taxes and levies for the provision of services.

Noting further

That in line with the tricameral system the RSC's will have the effect of causing division amongst workers.

Hereby rejects

The proposed RSC's and NSC's in whatever form or guise as being totally unacceptable to workers.

Congress demands

The introduction of a democratic system of local government as part of a democratic system of government to provide for the needs of all; and that

the present civic organisations will form the basis of this local government.

1987

12. MIGRANT LABOUR

Noting that:

1. Migrant labour and the hostel system have been important pillars of apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation.
2. Migrant labour and hostels were introduced by the capitalists and racist government through a brutal process of forcing black communities off the land for capitalist expansion.
3. Migrant labour has resulted in the breakup of family life and destruction of lives and caused untold misery and hardship.
4. The capitalists and racist government have used the system to promote conflict and violence amongst our people.
5. The induna and isibonda system have also played a role in dividing and controlling workers outside the workplace.
6. By maintaining the migrant labour system the capitalists and racist government have avoided providing proper housing for workers and their families.

Therefore resolves:

1. To declare the migrant labour system an evil system which constitutes a crime against humanity and is a gross violation of human rights in that the system has destroyed family relationships and workers' lives.

2. To fight for the destruction of the migrant labour and hostels system.
3. To dismantle the induna and isibonda system and establish democratic control of the hostels as the first stage in destroying this system.
4. That COSATU demand that all employer organisations participating in this evil system make a clear statement of intent to dismantle the migrant labour system and the hostels within a specified time.
5. That COSATU encourage its affiliates to begin improving the living conditions of its members in the hostels whilst the programme of building housing is underway.

This should include:

- (a) improvements to food, workers' privacy, detribalising of hostels and rooms
 - (b) the running of all the hostels must be handed over to workers, who should democratically elect their own representatives.
 - (c) the removal of all management appointees such as indunas and isibondas.
 - (d) the development of a worker controlled recreation programme and improvement of facilities.
6. That COSATU initiate a call to the working class and people of our country that taking control of their lives on all levels and in all spheres is the only guarantee to eradicate all vestiges of apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation.

13. RENTS

This Congress notes:

1. The rejection of the community council system and all that it represents.
2. The resultant call for rent boycotts.
3. The difficult economic climate that workers find themselves in.
4. The legitimate call for a rent boycott under the circumstances.
5. The government's intention to compel employers to collect rent on behalf of councillors.

We therefore resolve:

1. To resist attempts by management to interfere in issues over which they do not have control or interest.
2. To call on management to resist government's interference in industrial relations for political gains.

1987

14. DEREGULATION

This federation noting that:

1. The economy of South Africa is dominated by a few very big corporations.
2. These corporations are becoming more and more dominant.

3. Small business can never have a significant effect on the South African economy and can never get rid of unemployment in South Africa.
4. The campaign to deregulate small business and decentralised businesses now being pushed by the government and some of the big corporations is a political attack on the living standards of all the workers, which will take away all the protection of minimum wages and working conditions from many workers. This will drag down the living standards of all the workers in South Africa.
5. This is being done to weaken workers' organisations so that workers can be forced to be more productive, but workers will still not share fairly in the wealth they produce.

And so resolves:

1. To organise all workers as the best way of defending themselves against these attacks from the state.
2. To expose to everyone the true nature of what the State and some employers are doing.
3. To oppose the deregulation campaign with all our force.

1985/1986

15. TRADE UNION UNITY

This Congress noting

1. That the founding slogan of COSATU was "One Country One Federation".
2. That the formation of COSATU took four years of democratic discussion and debate by the majority of independent unions in South Africa.

3. That despite these efforts there are workers outside COSATU, both organised, unorganised and disorganised.
4. That only bosses and the state are benefiting from this division.
5. That the struggle led by the industrial working class cannot be reconciled with a divided trade union movement.

Therefore Resolves

1. COSATU recommit itself to the founding principle and task of building ONE COUNTRY ONE FEDERATION.
2. COSATU encourages discussion of the problem of workers outside of COSATU at all levels within the federation.
3. Our doors remain open to any democratic union which accepts our constitution and policies which wishes to join our ranks in line with the policy of ONE UNION FOR ONE INDUSTRY.
4. Our officials and membership should seek out workers and/or unions who share these policies and principles and encourage them to join COSATU.

1987

16.1 NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Noting:

1. That all affiliates have previously committed themselves to the establishment of one national union in each sector of industry.
2. That the structures of the federation are less effective with so many

affiliates.

3. That we will be unable to protect worker interests and advance their rights unless we build large, broadly-based industrial unions capable of dealing with the highly centralised structures of capital.

Therefore resolves:

1. To confirm its commitment to the establishment of one national affiliate in each industry and to national co-operation between such affiliates as a matter of great urgency.
2. That should such developments not have materialised by the end of March 1986, a Special National Congress be convened in June or July 1986 to assess such failure.
3. That in order to facilitate the establishment of national industrial unions, affiliates are urged to establish a single union in each of the following sectors:
 - (a) Food and Drink
 - (b) Textile, Clothing and Leather;
 - (c) Paper, Wood and Printing;
 - (d) Mining, Electrical Energy;
 - (e) Metal, Motor Assembly and Components;
 - (f) Chemical and Petroleum;
 - (g) Commercial and Catering;
 - (h) Transport, SA Transport Services, Cleaning and Security;
 - (i) Local Government and Public Administration including Education, Health, Posts and Telecommunications;
 - (j) Domestic Workers.
4. That all structures of the federation be used to encourage mergers of affiliates operating in the same industry.
5. That the Central Executive Committee establish priorities in relation to resources available with a view to the establishment of national

affiliates in the following sectors:

- (a) Construction;
- (b) Agriculture.

6. That the Central Executive Committee be directed to facilitate the implementation of this resolution and to this end take such action as may be necessary. Further that the Central Executive Committee may also evaluate the viability of the sectors outlined above, with particular reference to problems which may exist in all sectors.

1985/1986

16.2 NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

This Congress noting that:

1. Despite the commitment of affiliates at the time, the COSATU Inaugural Congress resolution on National Industrial Unions has taken much longer to implement than was ever envisaged and that this resolution is not yet fully implemented.
2. That as a result COSATU and its structures have been less effective.
3. That workers are committed to this policy as the best means of building unity.

Therefore resolves:

1. To confirm our commitment to the COSATU resolution on National Industrial Unions.
2. That at the local, regional and national levels of the Federation delegates will be elected from the recognised industrial unions or groups of unions in sectors which are finalising their integration.

3. That those sectors which have not yet finalised their mergers must do so within four (4) months of this congress.
4. That COSATU recognise as one of the industrial sectors a Public Administration sector incorporating the Education, Health, Post and Telecommunications and allied sub-sectors.

1987

17. REGIONS

That this congress resolves:

1. That the regional areas of the federation be:
 1. Northern Transvaal
 - 2. Witwatersrand/Vaal
 3. Highveld
 4. Western Transvaal
 5. Northern Natal
 6. Southern Natal
 7. Orange Free State
 8. Northern Cape
 9. Western Cape
 10. Eastern Cape
2. That the Central Executive Committee be instructed, that immediately when feasible as provided for in clause 9.1 of the constitution of the federation, that regional structures be established in such regional areas.

1985/1986

18. COSATU LOCALS

This Congress noting:

1. The continuing attacks on COSATU and workers in COSATU affiliates;
2. That these attacks have led to injury and death;
3. That there is a massive disinformation campaign aimed at confusing the general public and COSATU membership about the views and policies of COSATU;
4. That there are still unorganised factories, even in industrial areas where COSATU is generally strong.

Therefore resolves

1. That the following be seen as major tasks of COSATU locals;
 - 1.1 to organise self defence against attacks in their respective areas;
 - 1.2 to help organise the unorganised factories;
 - 1.3 to discuss and find more well-considered strategies or methods for defending workers against victimisation by any employer in the area;
 - 1.4 to systematise and monitor the spread of information to all workers in their area;
2. That regions employ all means available to strengthen participation of all factories in COSATU Locals.

19. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

THIS congress

Believing:

That the Congress and its affiliates should follow a clear programme of working towards financial self-sufficiency in all respects but may require financial assistance in certain respects.

That at present the building of the Congress and its affiliates requires financial assistance.

Believing further:

1. That such financial assistance must not be used to create dependency and divisions within our worker movement.
2. That the uncoordinated and unchecked access by affiliates and the Congress to financial assistance will create a decline in organisation and potential division.
3. That a lack of coordination on the part of donor organisations will result in the wastage of Congress energy and resources in dealing with numerous applications.

Resolves:

1. To ensure that the provisions of the Constitution regarding payment of affiliation fees are strictly adhered to.
2. To co-ordinate applications for assistance for the Congress and its affiliates in line with the International Policy adopted at this congress.
3. That affiliates should inform the CEC of applications made to any

organisation for financial assistance.

4. That as the first step towards complete financial self-sufficiency the federation should strive to meet all running expenses with affiliation fees.
5. That funding be directed as far as possible to particular projects such as education and a newspaper.

1985/1986

20. EDUCATION

This Congress noting that:

1. The present education system in South Africa is designed to maintain our people in permanent ideological servitude.
2. The present education system in South Africa is designed to perpetuate and reinforce the values, ideas and practices of the ruling class.
3. The present education system fosters inequality, divisions and anti-democratic values amongst the oppressed and exploited masses.
4. That the present education structures in COSATU need to be restructured.

Believing that:

1. Education is vital for the liberation of the working class.
2. Education must serve the interests of the vast majority of the people in our country.

Therefore resolves:

1. To establish a national, regional and local education programme for the federation to:
 - a) ensure that this education programme politicizes, mobilises and conscientizes the working class so that they play the leading role in the liberation of our society and its transformation into an economic, social and political system that will serve the needs of those who are now oppressed and exploited.
 - b) develop an understanding and capacity to wage our struggle by democratic means that will allow maximum participation, decision making power for workers both now and in the future society we wish to build.
 - c) to develop the human potential to the fullest and to create and transform skills and abilities so that they are accessible to the oppressed and exploited.
 - d) develop the understanding amongst the working class that their struggle forms part of the world struggle against oppression and exploitation.
 - e) more actively promote the aims of the resolution on women workers passed at the Inaugural Congress of COSATU.
2. To hold an education conference once every two years. At this conference the following office bearers will be elected:

Chairperson

Vice-chairperson

Treasurer

The powers of such conference and office bearers and its composition to be determined by the CEC.

3. To elect the education secretary at the Education Conference.
4. That the chairperson of NEDCOM shall be an ex-officio member of the NEC.

1987

21. RIGHT TO STRIKE

This federation noting:

1. That the strike is a legitimate right and necessary weapon of the working class in their struggle against bad working conditions and low wages.
2. That the strike is internationally accepted as an essential element of collective bargaining.
3. That freedom of association, assembly and picketing for strike action are also fundamental rights, internationally, in industrial struggle.
4. That the infringement or curbing of these rights is detrimental to the social and economic interests of workers.
5. That the right to strike is severely curtailed in South Africa.
6. That a strike involves a democratic form of struggle.
7. That picketing is an integral part of a strike and of morally persuading fellow workers not to break a strike.
8. That essential service workers are not allowed to take industrial action in pursuing their demands.

Therefore resolves:

1. To continue a relentless campaign which will allow workers full freedom of association, assembly and picketing for strike action. This requires that all forms of security legislation that deny these rights be removed.
2. To ensure that where workers have followed mutually agreed dispute procedures with employers, there will be full job security during such strikes. This requires that eviction from accommodation and other such measures be outlawed.
3. To campaign and respond vigorously against police and state intervention in strikes or industrial disputes.
4. To fight for the right of trade unions to establish strike funds.
5. To ensure that strikers are free to establish and control strike committees.
6. To fight for the removal of the designation of essential services and that all workers be allowed to share equal rights.

1985/1986

22. WOMEN

This Federation noting:

1. That women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race.
2. That women are employed in a limited range of occupations, doing boring and repetitive work with low and often unequal pay.

3. That due to overtime and night work women workers are subjected to many dangers while commuting.
4. That women often suffer sexual harassment in recruitment and employment.
5. That most women workers in South Africa lose their jobs when they become pregnant.
6. That pregnant women often have to work under conditions harmful to themselves and their unborn child.

Resolves to fight:

1. Against all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society and in the federation.
2. For the equal right of women and men to paid work as an important part of the broader aim to achieve full and freely chosen employment.
3. For equal pay for all work of equal value - the value of work must be determined by organised women and men workers themselves.
4. For the restructuring of employment so as to allow women and men the opportunity of qualifying for jobs of equal value.
5. For childcare and family facilities to meet workers' needs and make it easier for workers to combine work and family responsibilities.
6. For full maternity rights, including paid maternity and paternity leave and job security.
7. For the protection of women and men from all types of work proved to be harmful to them, including work which interferes with their ability to have children.

8. Against sexual harassment in whatever form it occurs.
9. For adequate and safe transport for workers doing overtime and night work.

Now commits itself:

1. To actively campaign in support of these resolutions.
2. To negotiate agreements with companies wherever possible as part of this campaign.
3. Actively promote within its education programme, a greater understanding of the specific discriminations suffered by women workers and ways in which these can be overcome.
4. To establish a worker-controlled sub-committee within its education programme to monitor progress made in implementing this resolution and to make representations to the education committee.
5. To budget for the workings of such a sub-committee.
6. To actively promote the necessary confidence and experience amongst women workers so that they can participate fully at all levels of the federation.

1985/1986

23. HEALTH AND SAFETY

This Congress noting that:

1. Thousands of workers are killed every year in industrial accidents in this country.

2. Hundreds more suffer disablement from occupational health hazards.
3. Workers are forced to work in unhealthy and unsafe places.
4. Workers' safety and health are sacrificed for profits.
5. Workers are required to fit into jobs.
6. Injured and sick workers are thrown on the streets soon after becoming disabled.
7. The compensation system is totally inadequate and is a source of frustration for many workers.
8. The government inspectorate is not capable of controlling and monitoring health and safety hazards in the workplace on a regular basis.

And noting further that:

The health services and health care are gradually becoming an expensive commodity which the bosses seek to sell to workers at a high price.

And believing that:

1. Every worker has a right to a safe and healthy work environment.
2. Every worker has a right to refuse dangerous work without fear of victimisation.
3. Every worker has a right to know the environment he works in and its dangers.
4. Bosses cannot be entrusted with the safety and health of workers.
5. Workers have the knowledge, capability and experience to control

their working environment.

Therefore resolves:

1. COSATU hold a National Health and Safety Conference where workers from affiliates can share experiences and plan united action on health and safety.
2. Structures that will deal with health and safety issues be set up at local, regional and national levels.
3. COSATU affiliates should make all efforts to make health and safety agreements with their bosses.
4. Workers should elect their own Safety Stewards/representatives at every factory and mine to control and monitor the working environment on a regular basis.
5. Safety Stewards/representatives should have the right to inspect the workplace without the presence of management representatives.
6. Government officials should not hold inspections or enquiries without involving the safety stewards and union safety representatives.
7. All information relating to the work environment and possible hazards should be made available to workers.
8. No worker should lose his/her job on account of any injury.
9. Disabled workers be paid compensation that will be enough to provide for themselves and their families, and to this end compensation be paid on the person's ability to find another job.

10. COSATU rejects the privatisation of health care as an attack on the working class and demands a free national health care system both inside and out of the workplace.

:987

24. WORKING CLASS CULTURE

We recognise that:

1. Culture is a terrain that we as workers can no longer leave in the hands of our enemies to control.
2. There lies a vast amount of cultural creativity among our members in COSATU in the form of songs, plays, poetry, sculpture etc.
3. The enemy or the ruling class has used culture effectively against the working class and we need to defend ourselves and our interests from domination by other classes.
4. Culture, used effectively by COSATU, can help to cement our relationship with our democratic allies in the liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation.
5. Culture in COSATU must be a vehicle to sustain and popularise working class politics so that it becomes the politics of the majority.
6. Cultural activities and structures can only be useful to us as the working class if they are accessible to us and compatible with existing democratic structures in COSATU.

To attain this we resolve:

1. To endorse and support the work of the COSATU National Cultural Unit

in promoting, co-ordinating and giving prominence to working class culture within and outside our federation.

2. That affiliates, locals and regions should help the Cultural Unit in setting up cultural units or groups in every COSATU local.
3. That affiliates and the federation's structures should give the fullest co-operation to COSATU National Cultural Unit and encourage worker participation in cultural events and debates within affiliates and COSATU.
4. To back the Cultural Unit in campaigns aimed at challenging and exposing exploitative cultural events and practices of State and local government and big business.
5. To support all forms of international pressure - including the cultural boycott - aimed at isolating the present regime and ending apartheid - except where such visits advance the liberation struggle and are at the invitation or agreement of mass organisations here.
6. To support and encourage COSATU Cultural Unit in building lasting relationships with other progressive culture groups outside our ranks.

1987

25. LIVING WAGE DEMANDS

This Congress noting that:

1. COSATU has embarked on a living wage campaign and that the apartheid State is attempting to crush our campaign by banning our rallies, confiscating union material and attempting to criminalise our campaign by alleging that it is "a Communist plot";

2. Employers similarly are attempting to crush our campaign by their intransigence, legal lockouts, legal interdicts, inviting security force action in labour disputes and shifting production to "union free" bantustans;
3. Despite these obstacles workers are committed to waging militant struggles to win their demands.

This Congress therefore resolves:

1. That COSATU build a campaign around a set of national demands. That such a campaign should be developed from the membership in the factories and locals.
2. That the national demands for such a campaign be:
 - * guaranteed annual income
 - * living wage
 - * 40 hour week without loss of pay
 - * no tax deductions
 - * job security
 - * March 21, May 1, June 16, as paid public holidays
 - * retrenchment pay of one month's salary for every year of employment
 - * 6 month's paid maternity leave and job guaranteed
 - * equal and increased technical and vocational training for females and youth.
 - * an end to the hostel system and decent housing near places of work
 - * the right to decent education and training
 - * the right to strike and picket
3. That all affiliated unions should actively implement these demands and report annually on progress made in all industrial sectors.
4. That COSATU commits itself to fight all attempts at deregulation and

exemptions which allow employers outside the main centres to pay slave rates and to give no benefits at all to workers.

1987

26. UNEMPLOYMENT

This Congress noting that:

1. Under capitalist conditions of exploitation unemployment is a permanent reality facing every worker at all times.
2. In South Africa millions are unemployed - a number that is increasing daily through retrenchments, dismissals and school leavers unable to find employment.
3. The introduction of new technology, replacing workers for maximum profits, is making the whole unemployment situation even worse.
4. Unemployed workers are used by the bosses to keep wages low and to provide a source of scab labour in the event of strikes.
5. Unemployed workers are used by the bosses and agents of the apartheid regime as scabs and vigilantes to undermine democratic struggles taking place in the workplaces and communities.
6. The National Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee is making progressive efforts to organise unemployed workers with a view to forming a union.

Believing that:

1. All men and women have a right to work and to get a decent living wage.

2. The interests of all workers, whether employed or unemployed, are the same and the unity of the employed and unemployed workers is essential in the struggle against scabbing and economic exploitation.

We therefore resolve:

1. That COSATU Head Office together with the National Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee commission detailed research and a study of unemployment and cooperatives.
2. That COSATU Head Office must provide material assistance in a systematic manner to the NUWCC and take active steps to launch a National Unemployed Workers Union, which will become an affiliate of COSATU.
3. That all COSATU locals assist with the organisation of the unemployed into a union at local level.
4. That where groups of unemployed are organising themselves, they be given observer status with full speaking rights in all COSATU structures. This representation to be decided on at a local level by shop stewards councils in consultation with the unemployed union structure and at regional and national level by the CEC in consultation with national structures of the unemployed union.
5. That COSATU recommit itself to an active campaign for a 40 hour week and a ban on overtime so that extra jobs can be created.
6. To fight for a social security system controlled by workers which will provide for a free, living unemployment benefit for all unemployed workers.
7. To demand that the state initiate a national programme of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed and to improve services and facilities in working class communities and that this programme be

controlled by workers themselves.

8. That unions will refer all retrenched workers to the unemployed workers union.
9. That COSATU immediately commence the programme of building resource or service centres which will become the organisation centres of unemployed workers.
10. Recommits COSATU to giving our full support to efforts of the unemployed union to build co-ops. That such cooperative projects should be jointly controlled by shop steward councils and the unemployed union at local level and that structures be developed at a regional and national level by the CEC, in consultation with the unemployed union, that will plan and coordinate the growth of a cooperative movement that will enhance the struggle of the working class for a non-exploitative society.

1987

27. TRIBALISM AND TRIBAL UNIONS

This Congress noting that:

1. COSATU and other democratic organisations are under violent attack throughout the country.
2. The bosses, community councillors and the apartheid regime have adopted a deliberate policy of encouraging tribally based unions and organisations with the view of opposing COSATU and other democratic organisations.
3. Such tribally based unions and organisations harass, kill and intimidate COSATU members and members of other democratic organisations.

4. The formation of the Inkatha-backed UWUSA was a tragic and divisive step that has been a setback for the struggle of the working class against national oppression and economic exploitation.

And believing that:

1. Tribally based unions and organisations are a potential threat to the growing struggle against exploitation and oppression of the majority of the people in our country.

Congress therefore resolves to:

1. Expose the actions of these tribally based unions and organisations and to conscientise workers to be aware of the evils of tribalism and division.
2. Form defence structures at all levels to protect COSATU members and full-time officials against violent attacks.
3. Publicly condemn the role the bosses, community councillors and the apartheid regime are playing in promoting these organisations who conduct a campaign of systematic violence against our members.

1987

28. DOMESTIC WORKERS

This Congress noting that:

1. Women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race.
2. That domestic workers are the most exploited section of the working

class living and working under tyrannical and slave conditions.

3. That domestic work enforces a breakup of the family life for millions of black families because employers want to be waited on hand and mouth at all times.
4. Women domestic worker suffer unbearable sexual and physical abuse at the hands of their employers.
5. The wages earned by domestic workers are pathetic and barely able to support even the own costs of such workers.
6. That the working hours are long and undefined and open domestic workers to abuse at the whim of their employers.
7. That the apartheid government endorses the vile exploitation of domestic workers by refusing to bring them under the scope of the Labour Relations Act and entitle domestic workers to basic conditions of employment.

Therefore Resolves:

1. To pledge full support and solidarity to SADWU in their efforts and struggle to organise domestic workers and gain legal recognition of their status under the Labour Relations Act.
2. To support in every way possible the campaign for the following minimum conditions;
 - 2.1. minimum wage of R200,00 per month;
 - 2.2. access to Unemployment Insurance Fund;
 - 2.3. normal working hours - 8 hours per day - 5 days per week;
 - 2.4. maternity leave;
 - 2.5. annual leave with full payment;
 - 2.6. sick leave;
 - 2.7. overtime pay at R2,50 per hour;

- 2.8. pension fund;
- 2.9. decent accommodation;

- 3. To instruct the COSATU Head-Office and Education department to offer full support and devise educational programmes that will assist the organisation of domestic workers and lead to the consolidation of SADWU.
- 4. To encourage all locals and other COSATU structures to involve women workers in general and domestic workers in particular to take an active involvement in the affairs and direction of COSATU.

1987

29. MAY 1 AND JUNE 16

This Congress:

Noting:

- 1. That May 1 is celebrated internationally as the workers day and 1986 is the 100th anniversary of May Day.
- 2. That June 16 symbolises the sacrifices of our people in the struggle for liberation.
- 3. That workers have no interest in racist political public holidays such as Republic Day, Kruger Day, Founders Day and the Day of the Covenant.

Resolves that:

- 1. We should fight for June 16 and May 1 to be paid holidays.
- 2. We should be prepared to sacrifice racist political holidays if

necessary.

3. The federation should initiate and organise celebrations on May 1 every year.
4. The federation should participate actively in the commemoration of June 16 together with other progressive organisations.

1985/1986

30. REPRESSION

This Congress noting:

1. The government's systematic and ruthless repression of COSATU and the whole democratic movement.
2. The use of the State of Emergency to legalise the excessive and brutal security force action against the democratic majority.
3. The emergence, nationally, of vigilante death squads carrying out a campaign of violence and murder aimed at destroying democratic organisation.
4. That COSATU has been one of the chief targets of this attack in that:
 - our legitimate activities are constantly disrupted by bannings of worker meetings and the constant confiscation of union material.
 - scores of workers have been killed by repressive vigilantes and security force action against our workers.
 - many COSATU members are still in detention.

Moses Mayekiso stands accused by the apartheid regime of * treason

for assisting in the building of democratic street committees in Alexandra.

- COSATU Headquarters and Union offices around the country have been bombed, burnt down and damaged in attacks by right-wing thugs.
 - the government is conducting a massive smear campaign against COSATU with the hope of creating a climate under which they will justify further attacks on COSATU.
 - the government is preparing further repressive labour legislation aimed at curtailing even further our legitimate activities.
5. In the civil conflict in South Africa the apartheid government has executed in the past, and intends to execute, many patriots.
 6. While the ANC has signed and observed the conditions of the Geneva Convention the South African regime refuse to do so.

And believing that:

1. COSATU is a bastion of democracy achieved by building a non-racial democratic organisation which is an ideal that must be defended at all costs.
2. That the attack on COSATU is part of a systematic campaign by the apartheid government to destroy the democratic movement.
3. That these attacks and State repression will increase as the government's crisis of legitimacy and control deepens.
4. That the enemies of democracy are committed at all costs to preserve and maintain the present system of national oppression and capitalist exploitation.
5. Employers have tacitly supported these campaigns of terror and smear

campaigns that the State and rightwing elements have mounted against COSATU in particular, and the labour movement in general.

6. We as workers, including our children, do not want to defend the apartheid system which is a crime against humanity.

Therefore resolves:

1. To demand the immediate release of all detainees, especially all members of COSATU affiliates and officials who are detained, and to back up such demands with appropriate action by COSATU members.
2. To ensure that all COSATU affiliates defend their detained members by having their jobs secured for them and ensuring that the employers continue to pay detained workers their full wages.
3. To strengthen the "HANDS OFF COSATU" campaign, the "LIVING WAGE" campaign and all campaigns decided upon by COSATU and to mobilise rank and file members to defend our organisation.
4. To campaign vigorously for our democratic right to meet, organise and speak without harassment, victimisation or intimidation.
5. To urgently place maximum resources in consolidating COSATU local, regional and national structures as this is our strongest defence against repression and further attacks.
6. To challenge, using our organisational strength, the bloody alliance between capital and the State to divide and subvert our struggle for freedom.
7. To consolidate and extend worker defence to protect the lives and property of thousands of our leaders who today face brutal attack from vigilantes and other anti-democratic forces.
8. To campaign that the South African regime signs and observes the

provisions of the Geneva Convention in relation to prisoners of war in regard to captured members of Umkhonto weSizwe.

9. That COSATU actively support the campaign to save the 32 patriots presently on death row, and to this end campaign for the abolition of capital punishment meted out against political activists.
10. That no members and officials of COSATU and any of its affiliates undergo any form of military conscription as envisaged by the apartheid regime.

1987

31. UNITED ACTION AGAINST REPRESSION OF UNIONS/UNIONISTS

This Inaugural Conference

Believing:

1. That an attack on any individual trade unionist or union is an attack on the federation as a whole.
2. That resistance to attacks on trade union rights requires that we stand together as one, to resist all attacks on any individual unionists or unions.

Noting our commitment to the universal working class slogan:

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL".

Resolves:

1. That in the event of any repressive action being taken against any

trade unionist or union within our ranks, the Central Executive Committee must immediately call for action from all affiliate unions in support of this individual or this union.

1985/1986

32. STATE OF EMERGENCY

This Inaugural Conference

Believing:

1. That the declaration of a State of Emergency has been used to wage a war of repression against all sections of the oppressed communities and to try to crush democratic organisations.
2. That the cause of all violence in South African is the existence of the apartheid system, and that there can be no peace while it exists.

Calls:

1. For the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency.
2. For the withdrawal of the SADF and all apartheid security forces from the townships.
3. For the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations, as a prelude to the creation of a democratic South Africa where all shall live in peace and prosperity.

1985/1986

