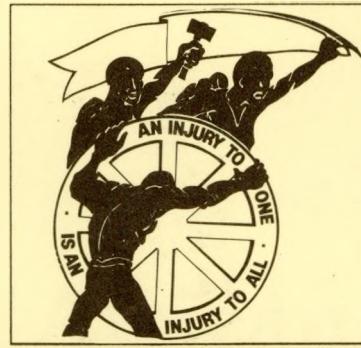


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CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS



EDUCATION 1987

CONFERENCE

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Congress of South African Trade Unions Education Conference

October 22 to 24 1987



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Introduction

The education struggle has always had an important place in our liberation struggle. For as long as can be remembered, the oppressed and exploited have been fighting against bantu education and for control over our own education.

As our struggles intensified, so our education demands became clearer. In the late 1980s the demand is for people's education which serves the needs of the oppressed. In the early 1980s the demand was for equal education. The growth of working class organisation in the factories and townships, coupled with the Frelimo and MPLA victories, encouraged deeper discussion of the role of education in the struggle for socialism.

After the historic National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference, there came a clear and united call for people's education and for democratising all educational institutions so that students, teachers and parents could build joint control over education.

In 1985 COSATU was launched with the words: "A giant has risen." COSATU has since grown very quickly, challenging the bosses and taking organised workers to the frontline of the struggle. The first National Congress in July 1987 showed that COSATU mergers and campaigns had made the federation much stronger. However, the conference noted that education structures in COSATU and within many affiliates remained weak.

It was decided that an Education Conference be called to give direction and a new push to worker education in the federation. The conference looked at the main areas covered in our resolutions : COSATU Courses, Peoples Education, Media, Women and Culture.

This booklet gives a record of the discussions and strong resolutions taken at the conference, where every union and every region of COSATU was represented. When we read this booklet, we must ask ourselves: Have we implemented the resolutions taken? How much progress has been made? We have a short time left until the next Education Conference (in October 1989) where we will assess what progress has been made.

This booklet is for discussion and debate. It must be a tool that we use to build education in the unions. It must be a weapon for turning our resolutions into reality; our theory into practice; our commitment into struggle.

Delegations to the Conference

Affiliates:

ACTWUSA	9
CCAWUSA	13
CAWU	7
CWIU	13
FAWU	13
NEHAWU	11
NUM	11
NUMSA	13
PPWAWU	9
SADWU	11
SAMWU	5
SARHWU	13
T & GWU	12
NUWCC	9

COSATU:

Regions	18
National Office Bearers	6
Education	2
Media	2
Culture	4
Information	1
Printing	4

Fraternal Organisations:

NUNW	
FEDTRAW	5
NOW	4
NWCO	4
UBWO	4

Speech delivered by COSATU General Secretary, Comrade Jay Naidoo

1. Introduction: Review

COSATU has grown in size and in importance since the launch of big industrial unions. Representing a million members now, we are set to grow even faster, consolidating our position as one of the biggest democratic organisations in the country.

However, there are certain aspects of our organisation which do not match the phenomenal growth. It is not that we have not recognised the importance of organising around working class education, culture and women. Our first Congress took powerful resolutions that gave direction on these issues.

However, in the last 22 months of our existence we have seen other basic organisational tasks taking priority. We have worked painstakingly at consolidating the federation in every region, city and dorp. We are still working to consolidate ourselves in every sector. This process has been essential, and rightfully so, because it is on the basis of strong organisational cohesion that real progress can be made in the crucial areas of women, culture and education. However, many real weaknesses still exist. At a regional level we have a major problem of lack of participation by affiliates in stuctures and campaigns. Much of our leadership fail to take initiative and build discipline and commitment in the Regions. The task of consolidation has not been completed, and we must continue to correct these organisational weaknesses.

We must give the utmost attention to the task of building a socialist future. With its militancy and clarity of purpose, the working class has moved decisively in the frontline of the liberation struggle. However, to carry out the complete and fundamental transformation of society, we need to deepen our working class understanding of all aspects of society. We betray the militant struggle on the ground if we fail to provide the avenue for discussion, reflecting and sharing experiences both on the nature of the struggle and the kind of society we are building.

COSATU has clear policies and principles --these lay the basis for even clearer direction in our struggle for the complete transformation of our society.

2. The Education Crisis

The present education crisis in our country is the clearest demonstration of the rejection of the capitalist education system. Millions of youth fed on bantu education have shown their rejection of an education system that seeks to keep people in ideological bondage and enslave the working class to the cheap labour system. This is why COSATU has backed the demands of students for their rights to democratic student representative councils, and an alternative education system that develops the potential of our people and serves the interests of the working class. This is why we meet here today to debate and formulate an education programme that meets the needs of our people. This is what we as the working class understand by the demand of the Freedom Charter, "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened".

3. Our Response

In our approach to education, we remain committed to the principle of worker control. Education in COSATU is thus fundamentally different from bourgeois education. We reject the idea of educators lecturing workers. We are committed rather to bringing worker leaders together to share ideas and experiences, thus extracting maximum value from the collective experience and understanding of the working class. The task of the educators is not to make high-powered political interventions. Their role is to facilitate and co-ordinate. From the outset, COSATU has stressed that all the federation structures should encourage the fullest debate among members.

Even through difficult times we remained committed to creating forums for debate and discussion. This has helped to limit polarisation and has drawn workers and worker leaders together, creating an atmosphere in which potentially opposing groups could listen and learn from the other side. In this way we must overcome our differences and forge an unbreakable unity around militant working class principles. We must see the education, culture and women's initiatives as a means of strengthening and deepening working class consciousness.

We must continue in this spirit. We must continue to be guided by the code of democratic conduct raised in our Discussion Paper, November 1986. In it we called for discipline to accept the decision of the majority and commitment to implement these decisions. Unless we are guided by these important principles our debates are reduced to the sterile irrelevance of discussions among self-centred individuals and cliques.

4. Attacks on COSATU

COSATU has been under massive attack because we pose a major threat to the present system of racial exploitation. Our Living Wage Campaign was attacked by the bosses and their government who labelled it a "communist plot". Tens of thousands of people were detained and scores murdered. Vigilante attacks on our members are increasing. I have just returned from Pietermaritzburg where incidents such as a 10-year-old witnessing the cold-blooded murder of his mother and sister and the subsequent dismemberment of his sister's body are commonplace.

5. Our Response

This raised the key issue of defence which must be understood in political terms. One pillar rests on building a powerful organisation that is grounded on democratic practices. The other is a process of education and rigorous, critical debate. This gives us the capacity to win the majority of people to our view and programme, even those elements who presently oppose us. Unless we understand this we will be drawn into the terrain of spiralling violence which only extends the life of the present apartheid system.

6. The Future

COSATU has resolved to develop and strengthen a coherent working class understanding of the demands of the Freedom Charter and to encourage the fullest discussion on socialism and democracy within our structures and among all progressive and democratic forces.

The mass resistance to apartheid and capitalism has led to the consolidation of national, non-racial mass based progressive organisation among the youth, students, women and other democratic sectors that have acted in alliance with COSATU. To achieve the demands of the Freedom Charter, COSATU has committed itself to building and strengthening disciplined alliances with these democratic sectors. To do this and maintain our organisational independence, we have proposed permanent structures be set up at the 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.

The COSATU resolution points out that the united front alliance rests on powerful national, non-racial and democratic organisation emerging among organised workers, youth and students, women, civics and groups in the rural areas.

Representatives to these structures must come from these national sectors with mandates and be fully accountable to their constituencies. There must be full respect for the democratic decision making structures of each sectoral organisation. At the same time rigorous and critical evaluation of the strategies, organisation and campaigns of the democratic movement must take place.

Thus we see our education programme spills over the narrow confines of capitalist education and must become the weapon in our hands to shape the mass struggles of our class of the present and mould the future of our class. It is only with the complete understanding and the active participation of our membership that we can make a major contribution to the struggle to free ourselves from the chains of poverty, racism and exploitation.

**Forward to People's Education !
Forward to a Democratic Future!
Forward with the Working Class!
Aluta Continua!**

Report by the outgoing Education Secretary, Comrade Alec Irwin

1. Introduction

This is not designed to be a comprehensive report on the COSATU education programme from the beginning of 1986 to the present. Its purpose is to provide fairly comprehensive coverage of the COSATU education programme as a background document to the first National Education Conference of COSATU. From the position of Education Secretary I will also draw attention to what I see as certain strengths and weaknesses in the programme as it has functioned so far. Hopefully, this will assist in improving future programmes.

2. Formation of COSATU Education Structures

2.1. Committees

The COSATU Education Secretary was appointed in February 1986. The National Education Committee (NEC) structure and the structures of the Regional Educational Committee (REC) were decided upon at the CEC meeting in April 1986. The structures decided upon are as follows:

- National Education Committee: one representative from each affiliate.
- Regional Education Committee: one representative from each affiliate in the Region plus one worker representative from each Local.
- Local Education Committee: worker representative from each affiliate in the Local.

The Regional Secretaries were to be responsible for education co-ordination in the regions.

2.2 Worker participation in the NEC

There was debate in April 1986 about representation at NEDCOM. A problem faced was that NEDCOM would be nearly as large as the CEC if the 33 affiliates were allowed two delegates per affiliate. This was a real problem in terms of cost. It was therefore felt that there should be one representative from each affiliate. However, would this one person be a worker or an official? There was a long debate and in the end it was decided to leave the decision to each affiliate and to review the decision at a later stage depending on who had attended the meetings. An analysis was done on the attendance at NEDCOM for the five meetings between May 17, 1986 and February 12, 1987. Out of 30 affiliates the following could be said:

- Three affiliates never attended
- Eight affiliates attended one meeting only
- Seventeen affiliates were represented by officials only
- Of these last 17 affiliates three were represented by officials who were Education Officers.

It was fairly clear that attendance at NEDCOM was a problem. This was made worse because of a lack of continuity in representatives. Also, if affiliates must send only one representative then there is a clear tendency to send officials. The CEC did not review the situation although it was reported in mid-1987.

2.3 Basic Aims of the Programme

Three broad aims of the programme were set out for the first year. These were to:

- Decentralise education by building up regional and local structures.
- Complement affiliate education by covering COSATU policy issues and broader economic and political matters. Organisers and shop stewards education was to be left to the affiliates, with COSATU assisting affiliates in this if they requested it. Such assistance could be at regional or national level.
- Build up resources that could be used at regional, local and affiliate level.

In 1987 it was felt that these basic aims should be retained. However, there was concern that regional structures were only just developing. In the first half of 1987 it was therefore decided to develop the basic COSATU courses and the political economy seminars. These would be co-ordinated at a national level but carried out in Regions or combined groups of Regions.

It was decided that this programme would be reviewed for the second half of 1987 and either repeated or new courses added.

2.4 The Education Department

- This was based in Durban with the Printing Unit. The Education Department consisted of the Education Secretary and the Education Administrator. It worked closely with, and used the resources of the Printing Unit which consisted of two printers, one typist/administrator and a translator.
- The Education Department receives allocation from Head Office as do Regions. The education budget was a separate account within the overall COSATU budget. Signatories to the Education Account were appointed by NEDCOM but did pose problems as one of those appointed no longer participated in NEDCOM. As a temporary measure the National COSATU Treasurer was appointed as a signatory joining the Education Secretary and the Southern Natal Regional Secretary.

3. Evaluation of COSATU Education Structure

3.1 National

The NEDCOM did not work as well as it should have. This was largely because of poor discontinuous attendance. Representatives often came with no mandate or without considering matters. Also, there was not a clear overall framework within which education was operating. Worker participation by experienced workers was non-existent and the link between Education and other COSATU committees such as

the EXCO and CEC was through the Education Secretary. Education was seldom given much attention at the CEC because of the pressure of other items. It is hoped that the starting of an Education Conference and the election of Office Bearers will correct some of these problems.

3.2 Regional

Generally the Regional Education structure and programmes have been weak. In 1986 this was largely due to the fact that Regions only started to function fairly late in the year. In 1987 the reasons seem more related to the other organisational pressures and an inability to establish effective Regional Education Committees. It is not yet clear whether the smaller number of affiliates in the regions will assist in forming more effective Education Committees. The progress made with various courses illustrates the problems. The Discussion Paper produced by the COSATU Executive was to be used by the Regions as a basis for education. However, follow-up was sporadic and short-lived. The COSATU basic course was scheduled to be run by June 1987. Eventually all courses were held, with the exception of Natal. However, this occurred late and in some cases attendance was poor. Planning seminars were held for the political economy seminars in two out of a proposed four cases, but no courses were held.

Other regional education did not take place in some Regions, but the problem seemed to be in sustaining and carrying out a systematic education programme.

3.3 Locals

We have no clear overall picture of what was happening in Locals. In certain Locals education activity did not take place. Education at this level would seem to have been relatively active, however, we did not get adequate reports of it and it does not seem to have been well co-ordinated.

3.4 Education Secretary

These circumstances posed a difficult choice for the Education Secretary and the education office. Should the Secretary travel actively and try and ensure education takes place? While this might give rise to more activity initially it poses certain problems. It would not build the structures and given the size of COSATU, not all areas could be regularly visited, so more activity to report would mean more lasting activity and more decentralised structures.

The Education Secretary was therefore in a position of responding to requests from various areas. Requests for assistance depended on factors such as whether education was taking place, on whether planners of courses had a working relationship with the Secretary and whether the perceived political views of the Secretary accorded with those planning the courses.

The weakness of the National structure provided insufficient guidance to the Education Secretary. The dilemma that I believe should be considered is that a very active Education Secretary may allow us to report more activity. However, in the longer run it would not build active and decentralised structures and it would probably reduce the number of educators developed regionally and locally. I would argue that we should retain our emphasis on building structures.

Summary

Our education structures are not as strong as they should be. This reflects weaknesses in our organisational structures. Fewer affiliates at all levels will help us, however. COSATU education depends very heavily on affiliate participation. We have to strengthen education in affiliates if they are to successfully participate in and direct COSATU education.

The resources available for education from COSATU and other sources is now quite considerable and is undoubtedly being under-utilised. Also, education is taking place and the level of activity is growing. However, it is not being well co-ordinated so that we can share our experiences and learn from each other.

There are growing problems in having the education office separated from the Head Office. There are administrative problems, as will be examined below, making the co-ordination of education and organisation increasingly difficult.

4. The Education Programme

This section will outline the various aspects of the COSATU education programme. This will not provide a detailed report. It will outline the activity and its aim and give a brief account of what was achieved.

4.1 Women

The Inaugural Congress passed a resolution on women. A crucial part of this resolution was that a sub-committee be formed in each region to deal with women's issues and education around the resolution.

No substantial progress has been made in implementing this resolution. The only reported activity was in Northern Natal where the region was involved in assisting in the formation of a women's organisation. Affiliates were asked to submit reports but none were forthcoming. There have been some attempts to organise women within COSATU. However, these efforts have not been co-ordinated within the scope of the women's resolution.

4.2 COSATU Courses

4.2.1 Basic course

In 1987 a basic course was started. This combined National co-ordination with Regional courses. It was felt that to conduct National courses would reach too few people. However, a degree of National co-ordination was seen as important. The way of achieving this was a useful one and could work well with stronger Regional structures. Regions were combined so that courses were run for more than one Region. Each Region was asked to nominate educators who would be responsible for co-ordinating the basic course. These seminars worked out the course and its content. This basic framework was then used in the Regional courses. Except for Natal all other Regional courses took place although attendance was poor in Wits.

4.2.2 Political Economy

In April 1986 the CEC decided that an active discussion on the South African

economy should be embarked upon. The Education Department began to gather information on the economy. This was eventually used in the *Political Economy-South Africa in Crisis* book produced by the Education Department. In 1987 it was decided to run seminars on political economy. The approach adopted was similar to that in the basic courses. However, the Education Secretary and the National Union of Mineworkers Education Secretary were to hold seminars in the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Free State. These were held in the Cape and Transvaal and Free State but not in Natal. However, the events of May and June prevented the follow-up seminars being held.

4.2.3 Policy seminars

Seminars were planned around the Discussion Paper and the Metal and Allied Workers Union resolution which were produced in the second half of 1986. A CEC policy seminar was held in November 1986. This material was compiled and circulated to Regions and affiliates. Policy seminars were held in the Western Cape, Highveld, Northern Natal and Northern Transvaal. However, these seminars did not occur in all Regions and were not sustained. A policy seminar for the CEC was also organised in October 1987. The results of this seminar will also be circulated for further discussion. There is no doubt that such policy seminars are useful and should take place regularly. What is also an important development is that certain locals have also conducted such policy-oriented seminars. This has often taken the form of all-night seminars.

4.2.4 Regional Seminars

As covered above, co-ordinated activities have taken place in the Regions. However, generally speaking there is a need to strengthen the Regional Education structures. In addition to those seminars that resulted from NEDCOM initiatives certain regions, notably Highveld, have initiated other education activities. Such initiatives are very important and should take place in all Regions. However, we must strengthen the reporting of such activities so that regions can share their experiences.

4.2.5 Labour Law Courses

It was decided in 1987 that we should co-operate with the Centre of Applied Legal Studies (Natal) and with Clive Thompson (Cape Town) in organising labour law courses. A course was offered by CAL in March. In Natal the Centre of Socio Legal Studies is offering a number of courses which are being used by the unions in Natal.

4.2.6 Activities of the Education Secretary

The Education Secretary was requested to assist in the educational activities of affiliates. Such contact was very important in getting a better understanding of what was happening in affiliates. This is a useful way of sharing experience between affiliates. However, sharing experiences in affiliates could be more usefully co-ordinated.

A seminar was held in November 1986 where affiliates outlined their education programmes. This was a very useful exercise.

4.2.7 Evaluation

The COSATU education courses only really received attention late in 1986. The programme planned for 1987 was basically a sound one. The approach of trying to involve educators from within COSATU affiliates in the different regions was important and worked well in the preparation of the basic course. I would argue that such an approach should be continued as it will develop our education resources more widely.

The problems we faced were more organisational and related to the inability to effectively co-ordinate the affiliates and the resources that existed in affiliates. I would argue such co-ordination is essential if a COSATU education programme is to be built up. This also depends on strengthening the affiliate structures in many cases. We should not expect education miracles from Education Secretaries. The challenge is to build a decentralised education structure and programme of courses.

5. Education Resources and Publication

5.1 Resources

Most of the attention of the education office administrator in particular focussed on developing resource material. In doing this the following factors were taken into account:

- Most education would not be based on written material but on seminar-type learning.
- Written material would mainly be used by educators (usually organisers) in preparing seminars and courses.
- In view of size and spread of COSATU different problems would emerge in different areas. Resource material was therefore designed to be used as flexibly as possible.

The main resources produced during the period were the :

- Policy file which gave background information on the Congress Resolutions.
- Resources file which included a range of material to assist in seminars.
- Notes on political organisation.

In addition, the education office prepared various briefings and kept records of Government Gazettes. Other international and local publications were also collected as resources that could be used.

5.2 Resource Centres

Basic resources were collected for each Regional office. These were COSATU material, *De Kok*, *McGregor*, *Weekly Mail*, *New Nation* and *Financial Mail*. The facility could be expanded and NEDCOM had decided to extend it to all functioning local offices. However, funding for this did not come through.

5.3 Publications

In addition to the above the following publications were produced:

June 16 and the Working Class

The Crisis: Speeches by COSATU Office Bearers

Education: Speeches by COSATU Office Bearers

The Way Forward: Speeches at Union Congresses

Political Economy: South Africa in Crisis

COSATU News will be reported on more fully and discussed in the Media Commission.

6. Study Tours

A detailed evaluation of the study tour programme is included in the conference documents so little needs to be said here.

It is recommended that the programme be continued in 1988. If this programme is to be well run it needs to be well co-ordinated. This job has increasingly fallen to the education administrator and this should continue in my view. I also feel, following the seminar organised by Education for the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) in Windhoek, that we should encourage active study tour programmes between Namibia and South Africa.

7. 1988 Programme

Certain items have been carried over from 1987 to 1988 and should be considered by the COSATU Course Commission. These are:

- TUC study tour proposal
- CLC study tour proposal
- International Union courses linked to study tours
- Labour law courses
- A possible seminar on new technology

8. Concluding Comments

The 2nd Congress resolution on education will hopefully correct some of the present weaknesses in our education programme. We should probably not be too critical of our efforts since COSATU and the other massive problems it has faced has not made things easy. We might have expected too much too soon.

One weakness that has not been covered is that of a poor link between education and the media and information work. This has also been the case in the link between education and policy matters arising in Head Office. In my view these links require the Education Secretary to be based at Head Office. I make this a strong recommendation. In view of the resources and experience accumulated in Durban with the Education Administrator and the Printing Unit I believe they could continue to perform clearly defined tasks within the education programme. Some important foundations have been laid and this conference must build rapidly on these foundations.

Cosatu Education Courses

There is a need for courses to educate the workers organised by the affiliates of COSATU in order to ensure that we have an informed membership. The following are the proposed courses .

1. Political Policy of COSATU

This course should be on the political policy resolutions of COSATU adopted at the Second National Congress. The content of the course should focus on:

- Freedom Charter
- United Front and disciplined alliances
- Socialism and Democracy
- Sanctions
- Disinvestment
- Class Theory

2. International Working Class Movement

As members of COSATU we should be clear not only about COSATU and the democratic movement in South Africa alone, we should know more about the working class in the rest of the world.

- The emergence of the international trade union movement
- Case study on working class struggles in various countries.

3. Topical Issues

- In order to counter the enemy's propaganda which is giving distorted information, COSATU should provide and gather information and circulate this information to affiliates.
- Assist in policy making.
- Facilitate discussions on topical issues.

4. COSATU structures

- Policies
- Principles
- Structures
- Campaigns
- Organisational democracy (should be offered by affiliates with COSATU assisting).

5. Basic Shop Steward Courses

- Affiliates to develop and structure their own basic shop steward courses.
- Submit those manuals to COSATU for circulation.
- COSATU to assist if requested.

6. Legal Courses

There should be courses on:

- Labour Law - amendment to the Labour Relations Act and its implications
- Security Legislation - such as the State of Emergency
- Affiliates to be directly involved in planning and running of the course. They should not depend on legal advisers but on the strength and unity of the workers.

7. Skills Course

- We need courses in computers, teletex, word processing and in new machines. Such courses should be co-ordinated nationally and that training should be done at a Regional level.
- We must have our own educators.
- Leadership-training: how to make speeches and how to conduct meetings, teaching methods etc.

8. Specialist Course

- There is a need for a course on new technology. The International Labour Organisation, the Trade Union Congress (Britain) and the Canadian Labour Congress (to pay for experts) offered to assist. Finance from the Workers' Department of the ILO.
- Health and Safety with affiliate specialists - COSATU to co-ordinate.

9. Political Economy

The previous efforts be re-activated and developed.

- The development of capitalism and its overlapping into the Third World - its imperialist nature.
- Economics as being both a political and social science. Initially this course will be aimed at or offered to educators and advanced shop stewards. Furthermore, COSATU *News* should provide or run a column on political economy.

10. Living Wage Campaign

We should make an assessment on this campaign and give life to it through propaganda. Organisational requirements and ways of co-ordinating our campaign must be planned. We need to look at solidarity actions to support comrades who are embarking on action. Furthermore, we should involve the community and make sure they understand what is meant by campaigns. By involving the unemployed, domestic and farmworkers and highlighting their plight, the campaign can be revitalised.

11. Women

It is essential that a course on women be run by the federation. All our courses should give a balanced picture by focusing on women.

12. History of the Struggle in South Africa

There is a dire need for a course on the history of our struggle. This course should include the history of our country from before the arrival of the settlers. It should also focus on other issues such as the wars or frontier wars, the formation of the Union of South Africa and the events from 1960 up to the present.

13. Translation

All course material should be translated.

People's Education

Education as defined by the Commission: education is a lifelong process by society to master and control spiritual and material reality. It is interdependent with other aspects of society and is based on how society is structured.

A. People's Education

1. It should be education which is controlled by people. It should not be hierarchical or dictatorial.
2. It should enhance society as a whole.
3. It should serve the interests of the masses.
4. It should enhance patriotism and the self-esteem of the working class.
5. It should be relevant to the actual needs of society and geared towards the development of skills.
6. It should use resources optimally for all people and not be run on racial lines .
7. It should discourage individualism and promote a collective outlook.
8. It should promote welfare of the people as a whole.
9. It should create a working class consciousness.
10. It should be used to fight illiteracy among the working class.
11. It should create values that will be relevant in protecting the gains of the working class.
12. It should destroy division between mental and manual labour.
13. It should provide people with skills that are useful to production.
14. It should destroy sexism in school.

B. Role of Education in the present society

1. Education is used as a weapon to further the ideology of capitalism.
2. It is used as a weapon to reproduce the present values and to defend them.
3. It discourages the development of people as a whole and ensures that the working class has no power
4. It is used as a weapon of control.
5. It is used to promote sexism and racialism.
6. It is used to perpetuate capitalism using racialism as a reinforcement which divides the working class so that it will not be effective in the fight against capitalism.
7. It distorts religion to further the aims of capitalism.

C. How do we build people's education and help solve the present education crisis?

1. COSATU should embark on a study of the existing education system in this country

- 1.1 Apartheid/capitalist education which discriminates against workers, black people

and women and also promotes wrong ideas of individualism and competition.

1.2 Private schools promote ideas and practices of the middle class and capitalism such as elitism, individualism and careerism.

1.3 Alternative education. Here COSATU must explore what this actually means by studying alternatives such as Learn and Teach.

These programmes must find answers to the current education crisis. However, we must give guidelines for a progressive alternative education model.

- Education must be linked to production but this must be in a creative liberating way (under capitalism, education is also linked to production, but in such a way as to entrench exploitation.) This is an important part of the struggle for socialism.
- Education must seek to project workers, women and people of all colours in a progressive manner.
- Education must assist in the process of liberation through exposing the structures that exploit and oppress people in all aspects of their lives - in schools, work and in the home.
- Education must serve the needs of the workers and their allies (the masses) - education is not neutral.
- The education curriculum/content should be planned by both the educator and the people to be educated.
- Encourage adult education classes to combat illiteracy and to promote working class control of society and production.
- COSATU education structures must develop a basis for organisations to permanently intervene in the education crisis .

2. National Education Crisis Committee

Actively develop and build NECC to become a mass-based, democratic, educational organisation. To become mass-based it must consider assisting or strengthening democratic Parent, Teacher and Student Associations. It was felt that local and regional PTSA's should be established on a democratic basis. This would involve representation from our sector: parents (through civics), teachers (through progressive teachers unions), students (through SRC's) and workers (COSATU education structures to elect delegates at each level). The exact workings of such structures is an issue for further debate in COSATU. The goal would be to encourage one single constituency and national organisation for each sector.

- Democratic teachers' union
- Democratic SRC's (one student body) and encourage their co-operation through joint PTSA's
- To consider the information of one movement or close relationship between different areas of culture, sport and education. Here the NECC must talk to the Congress of South African Writers, the South African Council on Sports and other movements.

3. The Education Charter

3.1 COSATU must involve itself in the Education Charter Campaign to add the worker's voice and muscle to the programme. We believe that the education crisis does not only affect students, nor is it confined to schools. This is shown by the

growth of adult education classes run by the state and courses in general run by capital.

3.2 We believe that it is correct for programmes to be drawn up for specific constituencies such as workers, women and students.

3.3 The Education Charter Campaign document prepared by the National Co-ordinating Committee should be circulated throughout COSATU's education structures for discussion and debate and a national COSATU response should be formulated. Special seminars should be conducted wherever possible. Other decision-making structures in the federation should also be party to the final COSATU response.

3.4 COSATU must be fully represented on the National Co-ordinating Committee.

4. Literacy Campaigns

4.1 COSATU and other progressive organisations should begin to consider ways of addressing the huge illiteracy problem facing the working class of South Africa which has resulted in a lack of confidence amongst workers. Such a campaign will help to build workers' control and confidence.

4.2 COSATU, assisted by youth and students, should provide resources and night classes.

5. Holidays for People

It is necessary to run education around peoples holidays with our allies in the united front. May 1, June 16, March 21, August 8 (Womens Day) and September 8 (International Literacy Day).

6. Campaigns

Proper consultation between different constituencies must be held before campaigns can be embarked on. This should be co-ordinated through the United Front.

7. Slogans

People's Education for People's Power

Media

1. What is media

Everything used to disseminate information - newspapers, pamphlets, stickers, radio and television.

What is the commercial bourgeois media?

- It reflects the aims and interests of the capitalist class rather than those of the working class—media for profit and misinformation.
- It is owned and controlled by the ruling class or government and distorts the truth of our struggle. Bourgeois media promotes the black middle class to act as a buffer against working class struggle and depoliticises our struggle by stressing unimportant things like entertainment and sport.

What is alternative media?

- It reflects the problems and struggles of the oppressed and exploited masses at Local, Regional and National levels.
- It is not owned by bosses for profit.
- It confronts political issues and promotes the democratic society we are fighting for and is thereby educational for readers.
- It is sensitive to organisational needs.
- It is controlled by and accountable to oppressed people through their organisation.
- It reports issues important to the working class and helps to build our organisation through propagating our policies.

2. Training

- Training in media skills is important at Local and Regional level as these skills are in too few hands in COSATU.
- Production of media needs to be decentralised.
- NEDCOM (National Education Committee), REDCOM (Regional) and LEDCOM (Local) comrades should also be responsible for media and operate as the core around which media units are built at every level in COSATU. These units should be trained in media skills to take responsibility for information and media. This will ensure that our media is based on workers and cannot be easily destroyed and that we are well informed about what is going on in our organisation and in our country.
- Media units will be accountable to their structures. For example, a local must clear stories written by the Local Media Unit.
- Worker photographers should be trained.
- Training should focus on unemployed workers since professional photographers can't get to strike situations and some workers already have cameras.
- There should be a full-time COSATU person responsible for training in media skills in Regions and Locals.

3. Distribution

3.1 COSATU's current distribution problems include:

- Seizure of media by police at printers or distribution company.
- Information from unions is needed for proper distribution.
- Union and regional offices do not distribute quickly enough.
- We need to follow up any problems if media does not arrive.
- Distribution to subscribers outside COSATU and internationally is a big administrative task and requires a full-time person.

3.2 What is needed

- Information from unions - addresses, numbers and languages required, otherwise there will be no *COSATU News* as CEC mandated.
- Printing/production should be decentralised according to different languages/regions, for example, Zulu printed in Natal, Xhosa printed in E. Cape or W. Cape, Afrikaans printed in W. Cape.
- There needs to be better information/communication between affiliates and COSATU.
- Problems with commercial printers so we need to look at developing a printing unit in the Transvaal.

4. Repression

- One way to counter seizure of material is for important information to be telexed to regions where it can be photocopied and distributed.
- Regarding new media regulations, COSATU should comply with the law but try other ways to communicate information.
- If *COSATU News* is banned workers should take action against this and we should then look at other ways, like booklets, to get information out.
- Important information regarding publications should be done face-to-face and not over telephones or telexes.
- Publications should be distributed immediately.

5. Languages/translation

- Information and publications should be in Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Sotho and English.
- Training and education material should also be translated.
- Translators should be employed full-time for each language and these comrades should assist with all aspects of media work in their Regions as well as with translation for affiliates.

6. Internal Information

Information gathering needs to be decentralised through training of media units/employment of Regional Education Secretaries to improve flow of information. Exchange of minutes should take place between all structures of COSATU.

- Regional information bulletins should be produced in Regions and circulated in COSATU. National perspectives should be covered in *COSATU News*.



- Information gathered through affiliate structures should be sent to COSATU. Full-time comrades should be employed.
- COSATU should produce more analytical material on specific issues, for example, disinvestments/shares.

Women

Problems facing women

Workplace

- Unequal pay for same work
- Harder work and less pay
- Negative attitude towards women shop stewards, for example, they are undermined by men comrades when giving report-backs and receive less respect than those decisions made by the men comrades.
- Lack of key promotions of women at work. They are not given leadership roles easily.
- Women do not get full credit for the work they have done.
- Sexual harassment - ranging from verbal abuse to sex for the job.
- Pregnancy, rights and childcare facilities.
- Inferiority complex from lack of confidence; lack of political education and lack of upgrading of work skills.
- Women are the first to be rentrenched. They are regarded as secondary breadwinners, yet many women are the sole breadwinners.

Organisation

- Women suffer triple oppression- from the "madam", from their men comrades and racial discrimination. Their men comrades prevent them from attending meetings and from being active in the organisation.
- Sexual harassment (verbal, attitudinal and physical). Women depend on men for transport after meetings or to meetings and men comrades can exploit this.

Recommendation

To rectify this, the time for holding meetings should be carefully looked into to encourage full participation by women who have child-care and domestic responsibilities. There should be some policy towards encouraging comrades to jointly share the childcare and domestic responsibilities.

Domestic

- Double shifts are a problem, child-care and domestic responsibilities need to be shared.
- Women are treated as minors (for example, passports, hire purchase and legal contracts) by the law and due to traditional attitudes. There is a need to educate male and female comrades to increase social awareness.

Church

This is a very strong institution for women but whether it is helping women to overcome their problems needs to be discussed.

2. Developments

What has been done by the affiliates and COSATU in terms of structures and achievements since the Womens Resolutions was passed at the first Congress.

Structures

- Affiliates : generally little has been done in forming women's structures.
- COSATU: Nothern Natal region – the women in this Region have formed a regional committee (Empangeni);in the Western Cape attempts have been made but follow-ups still have to be done; in the Southern Natal Region attempts have also been made. Locals - PE Local has had some consultation but no follow-ups; Johannesburg Local formed the Women 's Forum. This structure has looked at resolutions that were adopted at the First National Congress and at evictions.

3. Achievements

Generally unions have achieved a great deal regarding maternity and partenity agreements with some affiliates achieving 33,3 percent of a worker's wage on confinement plus transport for antenatal attendance and paid study leave.

4. Recommendations

The Commission proposed:

- A conference or workshop should be convened to discuss the issue of women.
- Affiliates should discuss proposals to deal with the education problems regarding women at local level and come to the conference with proposals and/or mandated positions.
- The conference should generate a long-term programme of action.
- Noting that there is very little awareness about the problems facing women and the women resolution, NEDCOM should distribute publications, pamphlets, stickers, posters and any kind of propaganda to try and build awareness.



Culture

1. The Basic Purpose of a Cultural Unit

- Culture is a terrain that we as workers can no longer leave in the hands of our enemies to control.
- There lies a vast amount of cultural creativity among COSATU members in the form of songs, plays, poetry and other art forms.
- 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.
- Culture, used effectively by COSATU, can help to cement our relationship with our democratic allies in the liberation struggle against oppression and exploitation. We can build links with youth especially.
- Culture in COSATU must be a vehicle to sustain and popularise the working class politics of the majority.
- Cultural activities and structures can only be useful to us as the working class if it is accessible to our general membership and compatible with existing democratic structures in COSATU.
- We can strengthen, promote and defend our organisation using songs, plays, posters and other art forms.
- We can use culture to build unity between workers and COSATU affiliates because it will be a common activity.

2. What Do We Mean By Culture?

Culture relates to the behaviour of a particular group of people. It can be described as a social set of beliefs, traditions, history and other behaviour representing a particular

people's identity.

We understand culture to also mean and include art, music, dances, slogans, chants, poetry, story writing, posters, way of behaviour, way of dressing and way of relating with the unseen world (religion).

By 'ruling class' we mean all those cultural acts and institutions designed, controlled and harnessed in a way that conceals the true nature of exploitation and oppression, an undeniable aspect of our society in South Africa.

COSATU must contribute to working class culture and give direction as the organised section of the working class.

3. Culture and Tradition

Capitalism has used tradition (for example, traditional dancing) to enhance their position of exploitation and oppression over workers. Working class culture (led by COSATU) must take the good element from tradition and must be on the alert not to fall prey to ethnic or tribal culture as promoted by the capitalists.

We see working class culture to be those cultural acts which enjoy, and rely on the control and support of the majority. Under us, as COSATU cultural activists, we see culture to mean an attempt to resurface, consolidate and popularise our worker experiences of exploitation and oppression in the hands of the capitalists and oppressors in a way that would sustain our worker's struggle and contribute effectively to the broad national democratic struggle.

Working class culture, coming from us as organised workers, has to do with workers controlling their own cultural power and creativity and using these gains and experiences for the benefit of our unions, federation and national democratic struggle.

Working class culture has to do with projecting future glimpses of a new South Africa without exploitation and oppression. Our struggle for the liberation of South Africa is the struggle to free ourselves from the yokes of cultural imperialism, economic and social exploitation. COSATU and the working class struggle as such has become an unchallengeable cultural act.

COSATU must intervene to rescue those cultural activists who have been hoodwinked into that false outlook on culture.

3. Basic Principles of the Culture Proposal

- COSATU officials in the Culture Department should be committed to the cultural activities of the working class.
- Affiliates culture representatives should also, if possible, be culturally orientated.
- Worker democracy (mandates, consultations and report-backs) and participation

must be a guide in all COSATU cultural developments and activities.

- Resources (skills and funds) should be intensively directed towards local culture structures for example, shop stewards, Locals and local culture units. The local culture units emerging from shop stewards councils must be important organs of development and creativity. The federations worker leaders, in the area of culture, should emerge from these units.
- All COSATU's culture units and activists must attempt to stay well informed about cultural developments in our country so as to give guidance whenever necessary and to defend the interests of COSATU, the working class and the national democratic struggle. For example, the Cultural Boycott.

5. Local Culture Unit Functions

- Update the Shop Stewards' Local about cultural developments within and outside COSATU and the Local.
- Workers, under the guidance of the Shop Stewards Local, to at all times report and seek mandates whenever it is necessary. To seek ways of promoting and encouraging local talent, by way of local concerts, workshops and speakers within and outside our structures.
- To organise cultural events on behalf of COSATU, unions and the Shop Stewards Local. For example, May Day, COSATU Congress and Culture Days.
- Liaise with other cultural groups who are COSATU's allies.
- Collect and compile cultural information and material coming from workers with the view of popularising it.
- To encourage debate within the federation.

6. Proposed Cultural Activity in Affiliates

Cultural work has to be consolidated at the factory, Local, Regional and National levels of our unions.

7. Factories, Shops, Farms and Mines

- There should be a shop steward sensitive to the cultural and sports potential of the workers and who works to co-ordinate their cultural expression collectively.
- The shop steward must lead a campaign to have a say over what happens during our lunch and rest time and a say over facilities like canteens, halls and sports fields after working hours.
- She / he must plan and encourage cultural and sport events in the factory, shop, farm and mine; plays, slide tape shows, films, oral performances, culture debates, sport events and library facilities.
- Plan, select and recommend to the Shop Stewards Committee (in the mine, shop, factory or farm) the observance of certain celebrations and commemorations on calendar days which mean a lot to that particular mine, shop, factory or farm.
- Work jointly with local COSATU Culture structures (Culture Units) in finding ways of developing and strengthening the talent of worker creators.
- She / he must work with the Shop Stewards Committee in challenging the use of

cultural forms and worker culture activities by management which are to the detriment of workers and their interests.

8. Local Level Affiliates should

- Encourage membership to attend and participate in local culture events like May Day, COSATU Cultural Day and others.
- Branch Secretaries to keep track with local culture development particularly the developments around local culture units by sending a union Culture Representative to all Culture Unit meetings.
- Take an interest in arrangements of culture events that involve all the unions in an area.
- Develop a union cultural wing of choirs, bands, poets, artists and other culture and sports activists.
- Liaise with Local, Regional and National COSATU structures in fighting and challenging any institutions which might be exploiting the working class in that area, such as city councils, local authorities and theatre groups.

9. Regional and National Level

- Co-operation with the Regional and National culture structures of COSATU in finding ways of challenging the cultural machines of exploitation for example, SABC, soccer leagues and theatre groups that exploit the masses.
- Disseminate culture information coming from the Regional and National Culture Units of COSATU and encourage culture debates in union seminars.

10. Sports

COSATU affiliates and culture activists should attempt even now to look at ways of embodying sports as part of our programme through debates, inviting those individuals who have a clear knowledge of how sports could be challenged and channelled towards a realization of working class ideals. We must also attempt to influence progressive sports bodies such as SACOS towards working class control. We must work as organised workers under COSATU towards controlling industrial leagues through shop stewards and Local Cultural Units.

Structures

Local Education Committees

It should be left open to COSATU Locals as to who will form Local Education Committees.

It is recommended that it be :

- Affiliates sending one worker representative or the Local deciding or nominating a certain number of shop stewards to sit on the committee.

Regional Education Committees

These should consist of:

- Two delegates per affiliate, one must be a worker and one a representative from each Local Education Committee, plus the Regional Secretary.

National Education Committee

It should consist of:

- Elected National Education Office Bearers, and two representatives from each affiliate, of which one must be a worker.
- Regional Secretaries.
- Two representatives from the structures in the cultural department, and two from the Media Department

Media

Media should be the responsibility of:

- Local COSATU Shop Steward Council
- The REC should take responsibility for media on the Regional Level
- NEDCOM and the CEC will take responsibility for media on a national level
- Media should be incorporated into cultural structures

Culture

Local

- Culture units should be formed by COSATU Local Shop Steward Councils
- It should Consist of cultural activists and representatives from affiliates
- The Local will elect Office Bearers who should be accountable to the Local Shop Steward Councils.

Regional

- Chairperson from each local unit will form the Regional Culture Committee
- This will be linked up to Redcom by having 2 representatives who sit on Redcom

National

- Regional Chairpersons within the Culture Unit will form the national committee of culture
- They will be represented by 2 representatives at Nedcom, that is a national chairperson and fulltime co-ordinator.

Women

- Locals should establish forums that will include all women workers in the Local
- A planning committee consisting of two women representatives from each affiliate plus one representative from any active local will plan for the coming Women's Conference and liaise with Nedcom on the planning.

Resources

- Administrator, typist for Education Secretary
- Research officer
- Translators to be spread in major COSATU centres
- Legal units.



New Education Office Bearers

Chair: Christopher Seoposengwe

Vice Chair: Esion Mashigo

Treasurer: David Thate Pule

Secretary: Khetsi Lehoko

Resolution



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, division and anti -democratic values among the oppressed and exploited masses.
4. That the present education structure in COSATU needs 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 politicises, mobilises and conscientises 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, and decision-making powers for the 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 an understanding among 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: Chair, Vice-Chair and Treasurer. The powers of such conference and Office Bearers, and its composition, are 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.