



## SADC's Defining Moment

- Towards a new, democratic and developmental path

Gaborone, Botswana

28<sup>th</sup>- 30<sup>th</sup> August, 2013

**Southern African Workers at the forefront of building popular development alternatives based on human rights, industrialisation and job creation for all**

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*“Therefore our defining moment is anchored in the firm belief that without political democracy, there cannot be economic democracy and without economic democracy, there cannot be political democracy and that these are two sides of the same coin, in which each one is a pre-requisite for the other”*

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## **Background to the political economy of the SADC region**

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The Southern African economy was, primarily shaped by and in the interest of colonial (capitalist) accumulation to become the supplier of raw material, cheap labour and markets for the products of the metropolitan (colonial masters) countries.

The main sectors of the economy in the region are mining, agriculture, eco-tourism and increasingly, services. The political economy of the region has not undergone any fundamental changes since the liberation/independence period. Most often, the post-colonial regimes acquired the neo-colonial state and power, but did not change them towards serving a new, democratic and developmental agenda. This led to the further integration of the regional political economy into the unequal and unjust global system as an instrument for the advancement of the narrow interests of the former colonial powers, with the collaboration of the new regimes.

The new regimes inherited and strengthened the very structures colonialism used to oppress and marginalise the African majority, hence the intensification of post-colonial suppression and persecution, accompanied by deepening levels of poverty, hunger, unemployment and inequalities in several of our countries.

The SADC region and the African continent as a whole are naturally endowed with abundant and rich human and mineral resources, which have not yet been effectively and properly harnessed, resulting in the current structure of the regional economy, which is based on the derivation and extraction of mineral commodities for export to the colonial (metropolitan) economies, thereby contributing to the patterns of perpetual neo-colonial underdevelopment and lack of economic expansion and job creation in the region.

Some of these massive and abundant natural resources that are the main reason why the Scramble for Africa by the former colonial powers happened, in the first instance, include; diamond, platinum, cobalt, coltan, uranium, gas, iron ore, coal, agriculture products, water, as well as arable and fertile land.

NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) identifies the rich resource base of the continent when it states that, "the rich complex of mineral, oil and gas deposits, the flora and fauna, and the wide unspoiled natural habitat, constituting the basis for mining, agriculture, tourism and industrial development on the continent". It goes on to say, "the widely covering ecological lung defined by the continent's rainforests, and the minimal presence of emissions and effluents that are harmful to the environment – a global public good that benefits humanity as a whole".

However, underdevelopment, extreme poverty, terrifying hunger levels and poor infrastructure are still the key defining features of the continent, and the sub-continent today. In the words of NEPAD again, "the poverty and backwardness of Africa stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world. The continued marginalisation of Africa from the globalisation process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its people constitute a serious threat to global stability".

Colonial And apartheid plunder and destructiveness, Poor vision and lack of foresightedness, weak and fragmented planning and design systems, poor leadership, corruption and nepotism, weak institutional and administrative capacity, wars and conflicts, as well as the whole legacy of colonialism and the persistence of neo-colonial patterns of accumulation helps us explain the crisis situation we face.

The Southern African Development Community (SADCC), forerunner to SADC, was formed in 1980, at the height of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and victories of liberation struggles against British and Portuguese colonialism in most Southern African countries.

It was formed both to unite the people of the region against apartheid and neo-colonial legacies, as well as ensure coordination and development in the region. It also emerged to fight off the destructiveness of the apartheid regime's initiative then, which had already by 1978 formed the Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS), to support apartheid South Africa's ambitions to dominate the region, with those states that were willing collaborators against the liberation movements.

The international and regional state actors in the form of multilateral institutions, such as SADC, AU and UN are both a reflection of the evolving nation state and the forces shaping it, as well as the threat posed by the extreme concentration of power and resources in the hands of a few massive multinational companies. Interestingly, the army and intelligence have become huge players in the global political economy in alliance with ruling elites and multinational companies.

In our era, the biggest question facing society is not just the democratisation of the state in abstract terms, but the content of that democratisation and its meaning to the majority of the working class and the poor in our region. Therefore, we seek to ask the question, what is the relationship between democracy and development or improvement in the quality of life of the people? How democratic is democracy without democratising the economy and ownership of our natural resources, which are currently key sites of plunder by a combination of corrupt elites and multinational companies acting in the selfish interests of their own ruling classes.

The official neo-liberal refrain is that the role of the state is not to create jobs and that the state should not intervene in the economy because this would crowd out private sector investment, distort incentives and lead to inefficient allocation of resources. Instead, the refrain went, the role of the state is to create a conducive political, legal and economic climate for private sector investment, and therefore economic growth.

The state has been turned into a mere “regulatory institution” through the “right-sizing” of the public service, to “down-size” the public sector through privatization and deregulation.

The state is a strategic centre of power and is not class, gender and racially neutral. Each class, even within gender and racial categories, constantly seeks state power because invested in such power is monopoly over the means of violence, power to levy a tribute in the form of taxation, print money and to engage in borrowing on behalf of the country. State power also guarantees that the class that wields it has access to national productive resources and to determine their use. It is within this context that the role of the state should be understood.

Therefore a key question that will have to be answered as a point of departure in discussions about the developmental state is: in whose class interest is the developmental state constructed? Building state capacity, restructuring its organs and redefining its role in the economy in particular can either serve to deepen and escalate the exploitation, oppression and domination of the working class or it can reduce and ultimately eliminate such phenomena.

Therefore, the trade union movement in the region led by SATUCC must be firmly seized with the terrible conditions facing workers, communities and the poor people of our region and the whole continent, through practical programmes, campaigns and the development of strategic policy alternatives.

The trade union movement must demonstrate a sense of renewed urgency and not the current *laissez faire* attitude to the dire situation. This means a new and bold programme for the active organisation, mobilisation and development of working class struggles and trade union capacity in the region towards concrete policy alternatives for a new, people-centred, democratic and industrialised SADC.

This SATUCC Congress, the 9<sup>th</sup> Delegates Congress and the parliament of SADC workers provide a rare and excellent opportunity for that space and moment of reflection in an attempt to regain popular relevance and legitimacy from those in whose name we are articulating these demands, which should help us advance a transformative and developmental agenda for the people and workers of our region and Africa as a whole.

In this regard, the following key points of action are hereby being proposed;

**Focus point one;**

### **Building a Democratic Developmental State in Southern Africa**

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The current state in Southern Africa emerged in the context of colonisation and was therefore principally meant to serve a tiny white minority. The liberation and independence of our countries did not result in the transformation of the state, hence the characterisation of a neo-colonial state in most of our countries.

On ascending to power, the post-colonial regimes inherited a state designed to serve the interests of a minority and tended to prop up and strengthened its skewed edges, neo-colonial orientation and undemocratic character, resulting in the current state which is lacking the fundamentals of transparency, accountability and popular participation in decision-making processes. This is the

principal basis that define the exclusionary structure and outlook of the SADC state and the regional organ itself, which is largely shaped by and mirrors the very nation state.

Linked to the concentration of power in the hands of a few, the ruling class who wield all power, is the monopoly control over the wealth, to the exclusion of the majority of our people, hence the grinding poverty conditions, terrifying unemployment levels and structurally embedded inequalities. Therefore undemocratic regimes reproduce and deepen extreme poverty levels through the exclusion of the majority of the people in both political and economic participation, ownership, control and benefit.

Therefore our defining moment is anchored in the firm belief that without political democracy, there cannot be economic democracy and without economic democracy, there cannot be political democracy and that these are two sides of the same coin, in which each one is a pre-requisite for the other.

This is why there cannot be people-centred development without democracy and there cannot be meaningful and lasting democracy without sustainable development that improves the living and working conditions of the people.

Central to the democratisation of the state and its institutions is the unionisation of public sector workers, including the security cluster, which should enhance a culture of full citizenry and affirm the rights of all people to equal and fair participation in defence of their rights and those of society as a whole. The recent trends towards the criminalisation of public sector workers pose a serious threat to the struggle for the expansion of rights, participation and a people-centred public service. It must be resisted with all the might at our disposal.

Communities deserve accessible, good and quality services, which cannot be guaranteed by privatisation, hence the importance of the struggle against profit domination of the public sector, turning people into customers.

There are following principles should define the democratic developmental character of the state in our various countries:

- It must be based on a progressive and popular democratic culture of mass participation and involvement in policy and decision-making processes.
- It must be transparent and accountable to the people and based on a democratic constitution and the rule of law
- It must provide basic goods and services to all the people, with particular regard for the historically disadvantaged and poor communities
- It must work to end the divisions and inequalities brought about by colonialism, apartheid and capitalism
- It must not allow the neoliberal mantra that the state must keep away from responsibility for development and service delivery to people through privatisation and out-sourcing.

Therefore, it must take direct responsibility for development and eliminate the profit motive and narrow class interests of the privileged few in the delivery of basic goods and services

It must decisively intervene in the economy to redistribute resources in order to address; divisions resulting from our colonial and apartheid past, Unemployment, inequality and poverty, as well as the rural-urban development divide

In this regard, it must strive to achieve full access for all the people to: decent jobs, quality education, quality healthcare, comprehensive social security, decent housing, access to water, energy and sanitation.

The state must not shy away from creating new enterprises that are geared towards the production of basic goods such as transport. For example, national innovation systems that should underpin a new growth path should exploit and consolidate all existing technologies that have been developed domestically, with a view to reduce the reliance of our countries on foreign technologies. For example, linking automotive manufacturing and advances in most of our countries' military technologies may open new opportunities for the manufacturing of our own vehicles cheaply—thereby lowering the costs of public transport. The state can also create its own construction, cement, automotive, capital equipment and financial enterprises.

In order to sustain these characteristics, by making departments, state-owned enterprises and agencies more efficient and effective, we propose that the state builds 4 key inter-related capacities; transformative, administrative, extractive and redistributive capacities.

That a state is developmental cannot be legislated, it depends on what the state does and how it does it. In our case, a state will be developmental if it develops its capacities to address the terrible legacy of neo-colonialism, apartheid and capitalism. It must respond to the developmental needs of our people.

#### **Focus Point two:**

#### **On Building and enhancing the manufacturing and industrial capacity of SADC economies for regional development and job creation.**

The crisis of underdevelopment and economies based on the export of raw material and import of finished goods result in the net loss of our resources and revenue for most of our countries in SADC and the continent as a whole. In this regard, Industrialisation is about reversing these trends towards the beneficiation of our natural resources into finished goods, therefore creating jobs and developing the economies of our region. It shall also help integrate the region which was divided by colonial and apartheid conquest.

In this regard, we seek to propose measures that aim at the ultimate development of a comprehensive Industrial development Path for the SADC region to achieve the following goals:

- The development of our economies to expand opportunities and integration that serves the developmental aspirations of the people
- The creation of decent jobs as the key priority, in order to widen and deepen the domestic income base and productive economic activities in society
- Promotion of the democratic ownership of our natural resources and their use for the benefit of our people and society as a whole within our countries and in the whole region
- Meeting our countries' basic needs by lowering the costs of production of basic goods and services and increasing domestic capacity to produce these
- Stabilizing the balance of payments by narrowing the adverse price, quality and technological gap between domestically produced products and those manufactured on world markets
- Expand production for the domestic market and the Southern African region

In this regard, the central principles that should inform our industrial development path should be: linking industrial development and skills development, improving labour standards, anticipating shifts in sector performance in order to minimise structural unemployment, reducing the carbon-intensity of production and promoting environmentally sustainable technologies.

In order to achieve the above goals, the industrial development path must: foster backward and forward linkages among sectors, make critical inputs such as water, energy, infrastructure, chemicals, and land available to targeted sectors, support downstream industries as a means of improving value-addition, link targeted sectors to a well-defined national innovation system in order to develop economically and socially useful technologies and products and finally, to align and put strict controls and accounting mechanisms on government procurement processes to promote local industry to increase multiplier effects.

Sectors that must be targeted for state support must be identified based on the following criteria: they must be labour intensive, contribute towards balance of payments stability, must produce strategic inputs for other sectors and must produce basic goods for the country (such as infrastructure, water, energy, food, clothing, plastics, paper and wood products, housing and medicines). In this growth path, we have identified the following 8 indicators for practical policy guidance in selecting sectors to be targeted:

- **Labour Intensity:** This must be above the existing average of the economy. This is an important technical requirement for a labour-absorbing growth path.
- **Skill Intensity:** The growth path must, in its initial stages, be low skill intensive in order to combat the scourge of structural unemployment. Through “learning-by-doing” and integration of education and training to economic and social activity, the growth path should be underpinned by an appropriately balanced skills base.
- **Value-Addition:** This is important for the production of social surplus, which is the basis of long-run economic growth. Value-addition also ensures, given the stance of state policy and the balance of forces, scope is opened for higher incomes across all social classes.
- **Redistribution:** Industrial development, which is at the heart of this new growth path, must be pro-poor and not peddle income inequality and the working poor.
- **Export Orientation:** Sectors that exhibit high export-orientation stand to benefit the economy through foreign exchange earnings and thus ease balance of payments problems.
- **Import Orientation and Penetration:** Sectors that are import-intensive in relation to their inputs need to be analysed in order to identify sectors that should be supported locally to build capacity to supply such inputs. Sectors that suffer for high import-penetration, and yet have a major role to play in meeting the goals of the growth path must be supported through strategic trade policy, technological capacity building, infrastructure and access to critical inputs.
- **Water Intensity:** In order to be environmentally and socially sustainable, this growth path must lead to a decline in water intensity of production over time. This will significantly add to sustainable development, and release water to be used for social needs and food production in agriculture.
- **Energy Intensity:** The energy intensity and carbon-based energy sources of the growth path must decline over time in order to contribute towards a clean environment and mitigate the effects of climate change. Research and development efforts and resources should be set aside to explore the various ways in which carbon and non-renewable energy intensity of production can be reduced.

The leading role of the manufacturing sector in this new growth path cannot be overstated. Economies that have grown the fastest have been those with dynamic manufacturing sectors. It is estimated that, on average, a 1 percentage point gain in the growth rate of manufacturing value added leads to a 0.45 percentage point gain in the growth rate of the gross domestic product. In the case of South Africa, a 1 percentage point gain in the growth rate of manufacturing value added leads to a 0.49 percentage point gain in overall economic growth. The leading role of the manufacturing sector has also been recognized in the broader democratic movement.

A few sectors have been found to drive growth in successful economies globally. It has been identified that, throughout the SADC region, there are serious weaknesses in the manufacture of

metals, machinery and transport equipment, yet it is these sectors that are major drivers of economic growth in leading economies. The key issue in the new growth path is to identify, and then develop linkages between, sectors as the basis to build a coherent industrial base.

Some sectors may be capital-intensive, yet they may be strategic for economic development in the sense that they supply basic inputs. Others may not be labour intensive, but they may play an important role in limiting the amount of imports, if they are supported, while others may be more directly linked to meeting basic needs—such as water, energy, housing, infrastructure, paper, plastics and wood products.

Consider the example of the textiles sector. This sector is highly labour intensive, but it does not exhibit high value-addition, faces high import competition and if supported, has potential to earn the country some foreign exchange because of its export orientation. Interventions in this sector thus must focus on ways to raise value-addition through, for example, technological upgrading and skills development, protection through trade policy instruments and local procurement.

The current industrial structure in some SADC countries has the mining sector being more export-oriented, the manufacturing sector being more oriented towards the mining and energy sectors. As a result, the export performance of the economy relies heavily on minerals, which are subject to large global price shocks. Furthermore, with the incursion of financial markets in the valuation of commodities, global prices of raw minerals and metals have been subject to large swings because of the instability of speculators' expectations.

In this regard, SATUCC proposes interventions directed at building an internally coherent industrial structure. We seek to orientate those components of mining that are crucial for metals production inward, thereby beneficiating our minerals. Having fabricated metals from raw minerals, these metals must be fed into the machinery and equipment sector—which is the heartbeat of our industrial base. All other sectors derive their capital equipment from this sector. Within this sector, we identify those firms that produce capital equipment for agriculture, for food processing, for wood and paper products, for clothing and textiles, for cement production, for transport equipment, for TV, Radio, etc., for metals fabrication, for petro-chemicals.

It is our firm view that such an industrial structure will go a long way in addressing the balance of payments constraint, and will constitute a break with the current accumulation and development trajectory.

What the structure seek to achieve is that: critical aspects of the mining sector that are important for industrial development should be made available for downstream beneficiation; Growth in metals and metals fabrication should be supported for the domestic market machinery and equipment production, construction and for the production of final goods and; Growth in machinery and equipment must be supported, especially to support agriculture, transport, electronics, food processing, construction etc.

A balance between agriculture and manufacturing must be struck, especially by: making inputs to agriculture, especially petro-chemicals and machinery and equipment affordable and available, supporting vibrant agro-processing firms and strengthening the clothing and textiles sector

The bottom-line is that if we fail to build the machinery and equipment sector, a huge hole will exist in our industrialization strategy. It is thus our proposal that the demand and supply constraints faced by this sector be prioritized.

Another sector which is critical for employment and is a weakness in the Southern African economy is the wholesale and retail sector. The sector is labour-intensive, has low import penetration, has high export orientation and comes second to the financial sector in terms of economic growth. The

sector provides a link between productive output and final demand. It makes or breaks downstream industries, especially those in food processing and light manufacturing consumer goods. The sector has, in the past 16 years, seen:

- Massive concentration and centralization of ownership, which stifles the growth and development of small and medium sized producers and co-operatives
- An increase in foreign ownership, which changes the structure of governance and corporate culture

This growth path calls for interventions in this sector to break the power of conglomerates and to ensure that it carries local content to consumers.

Amongst the most key robust Industrial development interventions are: regulation of exports of:

- raw minerals, including agricultural raw produce and unprocessed wood
- metals
- petro-chemicals
- Ban the export of scrap metal, and encourage local recycling
- Promote targeted industrial financing at generous terms
- Promote state investment capacity of the targeted sectors
- Link state support with local procurement and job creation
- The wholesale and retail sector must carry at least 75% local content
- Develop codes and targets for SMME and co-operative support and procurement that apply throughout the economy, not just the public sector

We must ensure that we effectively develop and sharpen our national Innovation systems around the core sectors of the growth path. To achieve this system we must: ensure that we:

- Strengthen linkages between Universities, Technical Colleges, Research Institutes, SOE's etc. with a focus on meeting the needs of the targeted sectors
- Link advances in military technology, particularly in Denel, with meeting basic needs and supporting industrial development
- Promote enterprise-level research that builds the industrial base

Further promote green industries through:

- Imposing a ban on scrap metal export, support domestic metals recycling
- Increasing re-cycling capacity of non-metals: plastics, paper, rubber and glass

These proposals should be implemented within an over-arching framework that shifts the economy towards sustainable energy sources. We further propose that industrial development policy should have a focus on the creation of Green Jobs: formalise and regulate re-cycling; identify sectors where re-cycling can be easily done; public Awareness:

The industries that are the foundation in this development path have a high propensity for environmental destruction. In this light, there is a need to strengthen institutions, policies and R&D to deal with issues such as: groundwater pollution, pollution of water streams and environmentally sustainable industrial waste disposal systems

Competition policy is an important instrument that can be used to support industrial development. We further propose criminalization, beyond fines, should be taken against CEO's whose companies are found to be guilty of anti-competitive behaviour.

The current situation entails uncoordinated developmental objectives, projects and goals within the member states thereby creating unevenness in the region, with member states competing amongst themselves in a race to the bottom for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and development aid from various external forces.

The existence of as many as five regional trading and economic blocs, which are most often competing than complementing or collaborating with each other, in the African continent exacerbates the problem of economic fragmentation, poor integration and underdevelopment, as well as unemployment and brain drain in the continent.

SATUCC should engage the Southern African Development Community (SADC), for the formulation, adoption and operationalization of a regional economic, industrialization and developmental programme that should include research and development, harmonization of skills and qualifications in the job market, as a start to benefit the entire continent.

The SADC government should develop and adopt comprehensive regional guidelines on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and regulations on the conduct of Multinational Corporations.

Whilst emphasis should be given to labour-intensive sectors in order to create jobs as fast as possible, we propose that industrial policy should target and build linkages between various following sectors of the economy.

We particularly wish to emphasise those sectors that form the basis for all industrial activity. We place a high premium on state intervention and participation in these sectors because of their significance in the delivery of basic goods and services, industrial development and easing balance of payments problems. Reliance on the private sector to create linkages among these sectors will doom industrial development, because critical sectors—especially transport equipment, metals fabrication and machinery and equipment are the centre-piece of industrial sophistication.

The following are some of our key proposals for immediate intervention:

- Regulation of exports of strategic inputs
- Ban the export of scrap metal, and encourage local recycling
- Promote targeted industrial financing at generous terms
- Promote state investment in the targeted sectors
- Link state support with local procurement and job creation
- The wholesale and retail sector must carry at least 75% local content
- Develop codes and targets for SMME and co-operative support and procurement that apply throughout the economy.
- Re-focus and sharpen the National Innovation System around the core sectors of the growth path.
- Change Southern Africa's corporate culture
- Reduce energy and water intensity of industry
- Formalise and expand the creation of Green Jobs

**Focus Point three:**

**Towards a Fair, just and developmental Trade Policy in Southern Africa**

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Trade policy is an essential part of an overall development policy. Its goals must be to: promote job creation and retention, build backward and forward linkages in the economy and promote domestic value-addition.

We propose that trade policy must improve efficiency of domestic producers, discourage the exploitation of workers in other parts of the world, promote industrial diversification and must be based on consultation with stakeholders in tripartite dialogue structures. We propose that, in support of the identified sectors, the state must: implement strategic tariff policy, impose import duties and quotas, levy export taxes and quotas, combat customs fraud and corruption and use non-tariff barriers.

Trade policy should achieve the following goals: trade policy should support job creation and retention, build backward and forward linkages in the economy and promotes domestic value-addition

In the pursuit of these goals, trade policy should be guided by the following principles; discourage the exploitation of workers in other parts of the world, increase the efficiency of local producers and promote product diversification for consumers and it must be based on consultation in proper dialogue structures.

Trade policy is an essential instrument that is used to support industrialization and in some instances, is a significant source of government revenue. As such, trade policy is a controversial subject, especially with the WTO closing the space for developing countries to deploy strategic trade policy to support industrialisation. We therefore support the broad thrust of the new paradigm embraced by some governments, which view trade policy as “instruments of industrial policy which have implications for employment, investment, technology and productivity and that tariff policy should be decided primarily on a sector-by-sector basis dictated by the imperatives of sector strategies.

Trade policy instruments to support specific sectors, as identified in this growth path framework, should be accompanied by sticks. For example, in return for policy support, firms should be required to adhere by certain prescriptions, e.g. skills development and training of workers, democratization of governance structure, local procurement, decent work, closing the skewed wage gap and ensure participation in collective bargaining processes

Trade policy must be implemented in a strategic and developmental manner. By this we mean that trade policy should be: targeted at sectors/sub-sectors that build long-term growth and employment potential, empower the economy to domestically produce basic goods and services, phased in a manner that does not generate payments imbalances, implemented in such a way as to minimize price inflation of basic goods and services and skills and Human Resource Development.

We acknowledge we are in the era marked by the rise of financialisation of the economy, which has resulted in domination of finance capital in many developing countries and the rest of the world.

It is a historic fact that in the Post-colonial period many countries, particularly in Africa have experienced a shortfall in funding governmental activities including government budgets. Further, it must be noted that developed countries have used their financial powers to re-colonise developing countries in particular, Africa through conditional aid and loans, as well as neo-liberal policy dosages. Linked to that is the reality that developed countries have a disproportionate say and voting rights in the World Bank and the IMF, resulting in their dominance over the entire global financial and economic architecture.

Aid through loans from developed countries is usually based on various conditions such as that the recipient country will adopt macroeconomic policies that support liberal economic policies, will

import goods and services from the donor and will reduce government budget on workers and the poor, largely resulting in the perpetuation of underdevelopment of the recipient country. Such measures include, the use of their financial powers to give loans in exchange of a payment in kind e.g. raw materials or land and other natural and strategic resources. This has resulted in poor countries giving more and getting less for their raw materials.

Most of the money from donors, particularly the IMF and the World Bank, are given as loans is most often repatriated back to the donors in the form of consultancy or management fees, and loan fees. The World Bank and the IMF are instruments of the countries that wield more powers within it and are majority shareholders. They use it these to entrench their neo-colonial hold of developing countries to the extent that they use loans and macro-economic policy prescriptions to trap developing countries into perpetual debt and dependence.

On the other hand, the IMF promotes export strategies to the detriment of development, the environment and resulting in the weakening of governments, trade unions and other progressive and community movements, which are critical to the need for alternative power to capital.

- **Import substitution industrialisation and local content and subsidisation for the agricultural sector**

Southern Africa is lagging being in terms of agricultural production and manufacturing sector It is also heavily reliant on colonial trade patterns, which assign our countries the role of being suppliers of raw materials, cheap labour and cheap markets for the developed countries. In this regard, it is also noteworthy that most of our countries trade more with former colonies than with their neighbours.

We need to focus on developing local demand and production of goods that in demand and currently being imported. This must correspond with the adoption of industrial policies that will focus on protecting and subsidising certain manufacturing sectors and the agricultural sector. We must fight to ensure that we adopt local content rules that should require 75% local content of all locally produced goods. This should ensure value addition in every stage of the production. This requires that our countries should redirect and reduce their trade with former colonies and should increase their trade with SADC members.

- **Review of Trade agreements and moratorium on new trade agreements**

Current international trade system is based, amongst others, on the 1947 colonial General Agreement on Tariff and Trade. This agreement substantively reflects the US's 1930's free trade objectives and its desire to conquer and control the whole world trade space to serve its interests

and those of its multinational companies. It is based on exploitation of workers and an increase in order to increase profits for multinational companies.

Most SADC countries trade with their former colonisers on the basis of skewed and unfavourable tariff preference agreements. These agreements are used to blackmail and pressurise poor countries in giving in to both EU and US demands that are detrimental to the developmental interests of most of our countries.

SADC should call for redrafting of the GATT in order to ensure that trade rules do not hinder the development of the manufacturing and agricultural sectors in developing countries. Furthermore, to ensure that trade rules are amended to ensure that they are consistent with financial and jobs needs of developing countries.

We must call for the review of all trade agreement with a view of increasing protection of small industries, tariffs in particular. There should be a moratorium on conclusion of trade agreements. Protectionist policies are a prerequisite to the development of local regional manufacturing sector and agricultural sectors.

Tariffs should be used as instrument of not only promoting current and new industrial sectors but also as a source of much needed revenue. This would reduce reliance on donor funding and aid which is based on imperial objectives.

- **The future of Southern African Customs Union (SACU) in the new SADC landscape**

The SACU structure of this arrangement has resulted in the BLNS countries becoming highly dependent on customs duties as the primary source of their budget revenue. SACU revenue accounts for less than 4 per cent of South Africa's budget revenue, but BLNS countries depend on SACU for 25 to 70 per cent of their total revenues.

We need a proper and evidence-backed discussion on the issue of SACU and whether its not duplicating and creating a distorted SADC structure, thus rendering it unnecessary.

We must also explore such possibilities as dedicating a portion of the current SACU revenue and future SADC revenue to the subsidisation of the manufacturing and agricultural infant industry sectors in particular in the development of regional value chains.

There should be export taxes on export of all natural resources including minerals. In addition 75% of all natural resources should be benefited within SADC.

There should be an education levy charged on air tickets to and from SADC. These funds will ensure that SADC establishes educational institutions in order to train students in information technology.

There should be an increase in tariff levels to pre-Uruguay round levels and renegotiation of the Uruguay tariffs commitments.

- **Immediate implementation of a single market with supranational institutions**

SADC comprises of different countries with different levels of development and institutional capacity. In the main institutional capacity and rule of law is weak in SADC.

One of the reasons for slow implementation of SADC protocols is lack of enforcement of the protocols. The speed of regional integration is largely determined by member states. SADC countries have different and more often competing laws and policies on attracting investment.

Businesses have adopted a practice whereby they would relocate to other SADC countries in order to exploit differences in laws and standards, as well as the urgency of creating a single market based on a set of common policies.

There should be supranational institutions with powers on certain issues such as trade and industrial policy, competition, tax, labour and safety laws.

We call for the establishment of harmonised investment laws that will ensure that domestic economies benefit from FDI within and outside SADC. All FDI should be based on a 50/50 joint venture model, 80% of all employees including managerial employees should prioritise local SADC citizens. 60% of profit after tax should accrue to shareholders who are citizens of SADC. 51% of voting shares must be held by SADC citizens. Transfer of technology should be encouraged.

We should also encourage disclosure of tax by multinationals in national newspapers and local languages.

SADC institutions should be funded exclusively by SADC members. There should be a common currency and harmonised monetary policies.

#### **Focus Point Four:**

### **On Basic Education**

Outline of areas for focussed attention;

- Develop and harmonise an integrated early childhood and basic education programme that prepares children and learners in general for a well articulated, solid and advanced development, quality improvement, clear career-pathing and relevant education
- Designate education as a national asset and public property, which should not be defined by narrow commercial interests, but by the national development imperatives of each country and the region as a whole.
- Ensure that skills creation, professional development and in-service training be left to colleges to identify synergies with relevant institutions
- We must fight for the speedy introduction of free and compulsory education for all
- There must be affirmative action policy in all schools that recognises inequalities and the special needs of vulnerable groups in society, particularly disabled, rural and girl children, in order to reverse and address the imbalances of the past and present.
- Promote voluntary participation by communities through taking ownership of the schools that are close to them particularly around question of safety of pupils, teachers and property, hygiene and sanitation conditions, learning environment and efficient and democratic management structures are in place.
- Ensure the introduction of music, sports, arts and culture as part of the integrated school curriculum, in a manner that recognises the historic, cultural, socio-political, and progressive orientation of these creative studies to serve the developmental needs of communities, our various countries and the region as a whole
- Ensure and fight for the introduction of unemployed graduates in after school programs including the involvement of accredited training institution and that companies must, by law, be compelled to ensure and increase in-take of graduates and students into learnership, internship and practical work placements..

### **On Workers' Education:**

Outline of areas for focussed attention;

- The main purpose of worker education is to train workers to understand the structure and power relations of society, the class struggle and how the system is organised and in whose interests.
- Education is not meant to perpetuate and entrench the status quo, but should be designed to change it. This is why workers education is different from the rest as it is about how society can be changed and in whose interests?

- To assert ourselves as (*working*) class, we can and we must contest the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, including what is known as commonsense (which is not class neutral). And in so doing we must contest:
  - the notion of knowledge and education being valued for their potential economic significance and outcomes
  - the terms of global competitiveness and productivity and demand that they not be treated as sacrosanct and unchallengeable
  - the notion of education as being “neutral” and not serving to reproduce the ideas of the dominant minority in society
- We must expose and challenge education’s underlying political assumption and assert our own forms of education, reflecting our views and the needs of our class.
- Our education must take into account the kind of a society we are trying to build and our vision for an alternative which is about building popular and progressive development alternatives.
- Worker education must result in education for critical thinking and the development of class consciousness for class analysis and action.
- Building working class consciousness is a pre-requisite for building a movement that can challenge the power of capitalism and demonstrate that popular alternatives and working class power are not just desirable, but very much possible.
- Worker education must have aggressive, radical and anti-imperialist training to agitate workers towards action against the looting and plunder of their natural resources in our various countries and the continent as a whole.
- We must be part of the revolutionary radical opposition to the capitalist class through radical struggles and solidarity with communities and other poor classes.
- Our education must take into account the needs of the rank and file membership and not just be driven from the top and be accountable to them.
- Worker education is learning through participation and should not continue the disjuncture between theory and practice, which disjuncture has tended to abstract education from concrete reality, practice and conditions of the working class.
- The structure of worker education must have a relationship between federation and affiliate, worker and shop stewards. It must provide leadership to all sectors, groups and communities of society that are involved in one form of struggle or the other.
- Class consciousness and discipline is necessary for success of worker education in instilling revolutionary morality, advanced consciousness and theoretical clarity.
- We must understand the role of worker education beyond being wage-earners, so that we must locate daily struggles of workers with the intention of transforming their daily lives beyond their workplace into the realm of assuming real power in society.

- Worker education must promote principles of worker control, mandate and accountability and ensure equitable distribution of resources by national in order to promote fairness within the whole system. This also means we must strengthen Monitoring and evaluation and ensure that it takes place at all levels
- Reviewal of the post provision model in order to address the challenge broadly about teacher people ratio and develop a campaign on these
- Design an integrated standard model of school that will make learning and teaching conducive
- We must introduce a mass literacy campaign to address challenges of children's family background taking the lessons from Cuba as an example.
- Ensure that learning spaces such as libraries and computer laboratories are accessible at all times
- We need a tool to assess E-learning which is expensive and out of reach for the children of the working class and ensure that, that centre be in all community and town libraries
- Provision of psychologist at all schools will assist in identifying learners who are experiencing learning problems at an early stage

#### **On Higher Education:**

##### **Outline of areas for focussed attention;**

- Our education system must be based on the ideal of a developmental state and the curriculum should be aimed at achieving such, hence we are gravely concerned at the decline of studies in humanities and social sciences in most of our institutions of higher learning.
- Higher education institutions should be accountable to society and parliament which should be empowered through legislation to exercise oversight and hold management and governance structures accountable for their acts and omissions.
- We must ensure access to the higher education system for the working class, especially young adults and workers with disabilities, making use of Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) for this purpose. We must ensure the establishment of dedicated worker education facilities across and within the higher education landscape.
- We should explore the development of alternative funding formulas for higher education institutions to enhance student support and access for students from working class communities.
- We should develop an integrated National Qualifications Framework, that is harmonised at regional level. In this regard, we should campaign for the improvement of the standards of the qualifications coming from vocational training such that they can easily compete at international level

- Vocational training should have various entrance points for learners who cannot make it into mainstream education to acquire a trade qualification that can allow such learners to earn a living. There should also be various exit points for learners who may not be able to complete their education with qualifications relevant to the level they have achieved to the extent that such a person may be able to continue their studies at another institution where may allow for the continuation of studies
- Further Education and Training (FET) colleges need to be structured in such a way that they should respond to the challenges confronting their surroundings e.g. a college in the mining area not responding the needs to the mining houses.
- FET Colleges must play a major role to those students who did not qualify to enrol at universities and also as part of skills development. Such a policy should also bridge the gap between the qualifications obtained at the FET college and at University as such still do not link to each other.
- There is a need for a structured systematic approach towards combating discrimination based on racism and gender in education institutions and the financial exclusion of a vast number of students from working class backgrounds from these institutions, which inhibits the development of South Africa's intellectual talents.
- We need to ensure that union based training is accredited by in order to create a channel for workers to join the mainstream education.
- SATUCC should campaign for the formalization of the centres providing Adult Basic Education and Training and the creation of an atmosphere conducive for attracting as well as retaining the learners, particularly adult learners.
- Education is not to be neutral at any given point and we believe that ours should be leaning towards the values of the working class and to build class consciousness.
- The struggles of workers and that of students are aimed at the same objective and therefore there should be a deliberate program to bring about even more unity between the trade union movement and the students movement
- We must be part of revolutionizing our higher education system out of its historical legacy of inequality and neo-liberal orientation to knowledge production for people's needs and people's power.
- We must work towards reversing the current orientation of higher education in relation to bourgeoisie notions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom and assert our own broader definitions of these concepts.
- That we should entrench political and ideological aspects into our education to create a generation embedded in solidarity through ensuring that our education remains biased to the working class and the poor.

**On Skills Development:**

**Outline of areas for focussed attention;**

- Recognition of Prior Learning and Adult Basic Education and Training are fundamental tools and means in our struggle to wipe out illiteracy, which includes the need for the full use of the media as a learning space for all
- There should be political willingness and decisiveness to invest in education in order to revolutionize skills development
- Trade union education should be recognized as a school on its own right and not be regarded as an extension or junior part of mainstream orthodox education, but an independent, yet critical part of social development and leadership building institution in society
- There should be a relationship between visionary integrated planning and skills development. In this regard, National skills development should be linked to regional skills and economic development programmes
- There is a relationship between unemployment and skills development, as well as employment equity.
- SADC should develop a long term development plan which will identify the type of skills that must be developed. In this regard, there should be a relationship between skilling and micro-economic planning of our various countries and that of the region and continent as a whole. In this regard, we should develop a program for skills retention and career development in all areas
- RPL must be linked to career development and RPL centres should be placed in communities, integrated with Adult education and learning centres.
- Use FET colleges as areas to reach out to rural areas and SETA's to be located in the FET colleges
- Build the capacity of shop stewards to be skills development activists as well capacitate FETs to produce the relevant Skills and transform the universities to serve the developmental needs of societies, than just the narrow profit-seeking interests of the market
- We need to urgently build a campaign on RPL, QLET (quality learning education and training) and for the decisive eradication of illiteracy.

**Focus Point Five:**

**Transformation of multilateral institutions, democratisation of global power relations to end the domination of the world by a few countries**

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We must ensure that we;

- a. Fight for the right of trade unions to full participation and representation in all multilateral processes and institutions to ensure their effective transformation, and for the voice of workers to be hegemonic therein.
- b. Support institutions of the global South, and develop instruments in which to anchor our development initiatives given the devastating effects of the existing Bretton Woods institutions and their auxiliaries. This would also draw from the

ALBA initiatives in Latin America, including the Bank of the South as an example of that. As such we should welcome progressive initiatives towards the development of alternative sources of development finance in the global south bank to liberate our countries from the anti-development stranglehold of the Bretton woods institutions and their neo-liberal patronage.

- c. Defend and fight for the sovereign right of African and Southern countries to pursue independent development paths and to explore alternative economic models free from the pressures from the Washington consensus and its devastating neoliberal agenda.
- d. Recognise, assess and fully understand the implications of the new emerging geopolitical and economic blocs such as BRICS, particularly with respect to trade and development in general and as it affects workers and jobs.
- e. Work to ensure that the ILO responds adequately to the practical conditions faced by workers in different contexts, such as workers suffering from occupation, and varying forms of oppression and exploitation – particularly vulnerable workers. Ultimately this must result in strengthening the effectiveness of the supervisory system of the ILO.
- f. Build and actively participate in a Global Campaign for peace and justice to end the militarisation of international relations, the arms race, proliferation of nuclear weapons and the ever growing military budgets in the midst of hunger, poverty and inequalities
- g. Reject AFRICOM, NATO and all the warmongering military alliances that are endangering world peace and stability. They are bent on advancing and defending the class interests of their patrons, even at the expense of peace in many parts of the world. They are instruments of the multinational companies and ruling elites in pursuit of naked greed and plunder, particularly on the African continent.
- h. Actively support and participate in the various campaigns for democracy, human rights and freedom from occupation, with particular reference to the people of Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara, Palestine, Burma and Colombia. We also support the campaign for the release of the Cuban five heroes in US jails and end to the unjust US embargo against the sovereign rights of the Cuban people to choose their own development path.

**Focus point six:**

**Confronting underdevelopment for industrialisation, job creation and popular development alternatives in Africa**

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- a. Call for the development of a clear, people-centred industrial development strategy, continental growth path and new and a progressive, alternative trajectory of development anchored in the beneficitation of our massive natural endowment and resources. This is necessary in order to change the patterns of economic

accumulation and ownership, to empower communities, workers, and local farmers, and build a solid base for sustainable job creation on the continent.

- b. Fight to ensure that Africa's industrialisation is linked to measures to ensure the protection of the environment. In that regard, we need to develop a comprehensive African response to the deepening capitalist crisis of climate change through the effective measures for mitigation, adaptation, and other means, to counter the devastating effects of this growing phenomenon.
- c. Build a progressive, anti-neo-liberal movement on the continent to promote solidarity and unity in action for all social forces that are committed to the best interests of the continent and its people. In this regard, the full and effective participation of workers and communities in the development of alternative policies is central.
- d. Support genuine efforts towards unity and integration in Africa. These must be anchored in people-to-people co-operation and exchanges and not an elitist, corporate driven process of integration for profit maximisation and accumulation for multinational companies.
- e. Call for and actively participate in the global campaign for the cancellation of debt that frustrates development of poor countries as a result of the unfair lending terms and unjust economic relations between Africa and the underdeveloped work on the one hand, and the advanced capitalist countries on the other.
- f. Call on SADC to develop a comprehensive political strategy and support structures regarding the transformation of the AU, including outlining in detail how as a country we engage in our leadership position of the AU. This transformational strategy should find resonance in other Pan-African institutions, such as the PAP, PAWO, PAYM, PAYU and others. As a trade union movement we should also ensure the development of a comprehensive approach towards worker representation and influence in these structures.

**Focus Point seven:**

**Regional integration and its meaning for working class solidarity**

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- g. Support a people-centred regional integration that prioritises the needs and full co-operation of all people of this region. Business interests should be subordinated to those of the people, especially the working class and the poor. In this regard, the free movement of people is very critical to the integration of the region.
- h. The need for the effective promotion of a common market that allows the countries and peoples of the region to pool together their resources – not competitively, but cooperatively, for the realisation of a common development path. This could also include the issue of a common currency and even common, but developmental economic and trade policies. This arrangement must not disadvantage small economies, but must be balanced to ensure the development of all states in the region. In this regard, we should pay sufficient attention to the requirement for political integration of the region as a whole, without which the realignment of fiscal unions will prove difficult if not impossible.
- i. The progressive harmonisation of labour standards in the region to allow workers in all countries to enjoy full and equal rights, as well as ensure that companies do not play one worker against another, one country against another and one section of the region against another, in a downward race to the bottom. In other words, no

country must be forced to lower its standards in order to attract foreign investment, whilst lowering the living and working standards of the majority.

- j. Strengthen SATUCC to effectively play its role in leading militant worker struggles for the realisation of a SADC free from all forms of exploitation and the looting of our natural resources.
- k. Work towards the strengthening of SADC protocols, and ensuring their implementation and monitoring. This requires that workers and their organisations ensure that the ideals set out in those protocols, such as democracy and free and fair elections, happen.
- l. Ensure that the industrialisation of the region and the beneficiation of our resources is a priority element of regional integration. This aim must be accompanied by a means to achieve it as a matter of urgency.
- m. Support Southern African workers' struggles in the interest of common development, including strengthening our struggles against national chauvinism and xenophobia in our own country, and promoting these throughout the region and beyond. In that regard, we must effectively transform the apartheid political economy – which positions South Africa as a sub-imperialist power by carefully treading the path of common development in the context of sometimes conflicting national interests.
- n. Harness the rich history and traditions of movements and struggles for liberation against colonialism, apartheid and imperialism as a means to sustain the momentum for a consistently progressive culture and popular consciousness.
- o. Intensify our work in supporting struggles for democracy and human rights, and link them with workplace and class struggles.
- p. Use all means possible to facilitate the enhancement of working class and trade union unity.
- q. Revive the SATULA (Southern African Trade Unions Leadership Academy) initiative to build and promote the development of capable trade union leaders, sharing of experiences by workers, effective empowerment of shop stewards, promotion of democracy and worker control, and ultimate consolidation of a progressive working class agenda in the region and on the continent.
- r. Call for the creation of Independent Elections Observers and Monitoring Missions wherever possible during elections in various countries, and working with their counterparts in the countries concerned to ensure free and fair elections. The composition of these institutions should include worker representatives to take account of the orientation of electoral moments towards the needs of workers.

- s. Advance our objective of an activist foreign policy that links workers and other popular struggles with a progressive state agenda, particularly in light of South Africa's silence on human and workers' rights violations on the continent.
- t. Argue for SADC countries to cooperate and bargain effectively on the international stage, without sacrificing the importance of continental unity and its importance.

**Focus Point eight:**

**Building global solidarity to challenge the power of multinational companies and global capital**

- a. Recognise the urgent need to counter the power of multinational capital that has become the key driver of international trade agreements and economic policies in general, which impact negatively on the poor.
- b. Advocate that the struggle for harmonisation of standards should be waged within international company councils, regional trade union bodies, and within global trade unions as a means to counter the spread of multinational and transnational corporations.
- c. Support and expand Global Framework Agreements and international shop steward's councils throughout the value chain and to ultimately cover the regional, continental and international levels. These offer us the opportunity of direct worker-to-worker contact and solidarity and their potential must be harnessed. This corresponds to the need to monitor the full and effective implementation of ILO conventions in all of our countries as minimum standards of compliance.
- d. Investigate the opportunities for conducting an audit of the location of multinational companies, their labour practises and investment patterns, so as to also ensure that they promote or adhere to local procurement, production and beneficiation requirements towards an over-arching industrial strategy.
- e. Commit to study and understand and organising workers along the value chain and across borders to avoid the divide-and-rule tactics of multinational companies.
- f. Insist that clear conditions for effective social responsibility be attached to investment by trade union investment companies. Trade union investments' mandates should be developmental and in the public sector – not for narrow private accumulation interests. The activity of the trade union movement needs to be consistent with development principles; this requires that we consider formulating investment codes of business practice wherever operations exist.
- g. Strengthen our participation in tripartite dialogue institutions, particularly where trade agreements are discussed, and in following up on their impact. In this regard, we must also review existing trade agreements to counter the fact that they represent the interest of TransNational Corporations.

**Focus Point nine:**

**Building working class power to confront neo-liberalism and build a strong and progressive trade union movement in Africa**

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- a. Work with allied forces to build a progressive bloc of social and political forces outside the pole of imperialism and neo-liberalism to build working class power for socialism.
- b. Recognise the clear linkages between the development of the African working class and the development of the continent's productive forces, primarily through industrialisation.
- c. Develop a dedicated programme to build and support the capacity of the African trade union movement to assert itself on the international stage, free of undue and external influences and control.
- d. Engaging in a decisive global economic justice campaign, particularly for just and fair trade and the dismantling of the unequal relations between countries of the global South and those of the global North.
- e. Labelling of products should talk to worker-friendly conditions of work at factory floor level, the upholding of international standards, and respect for human and trade union rights in general. This should be coupled with the strengthening of our research capacity on such matters.
- f. Undertaking a careful study and evaluation of the meaning and impact of the crisis of social democracy, particularly in Europe. This should include the phenomena in which right-wing governments are resurfacing with austerity agenda and institutionalised attacks on the working class.
- g. Build and intensify relations with progressive trade unions in the Arab countries, North Africa and the Arab Peninsula. At the same time, campaign to expose the role of imperialism in high-jacking genuine socio-economic and political demands for progressive reforms, into regime change and counter-revolution.
- h. Initiate links with the new North African trade union movement and to understand the current situation and its implications for the Palestinian struggle.
- i. Develop a decisive programme for the building of a Progressive, highly organised, strong and advanced trade union movement on the African continent, actively involved in campaigns, research, the development of alternative policies to neo-liberalism and deepening democracy in our various countries.

**Focus Point ten:**

**Energy security and just transition to sustainable and clean energy sources in SADC**

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During his speech, at the opening of the 5<sup>th</sup> session of the World Commission on Oceans, our lifetime honorary president, President Nelson Mandela said “Our policy must rest on the solid moral foundation of dedication to the primacy of people and their long-term well being. We have to be on guard against temptations of short term benefits and pressures from powerful forces at the expense of the long-term interests of all. We cannot afford to bargain away the birth right of future generations.”

It is this assertion, that we will premise our energy policy considerations.

The energy sector is a highly contested terrain and a strategic resource upon which the economies of the world rest. This is one sector where there are many vested interests – the first one being profit generation through energy services, control of this sector which would effectively mean the control of the economy, access to adequate energy services for communities, economic and environmental justice, conservation and genuinely sustainable development to name but a few. It is therefore in the interest of governments and the citizenry to ensure that these interests are managed in a manner beneficial, as a priority, to citizens, the working class and the poor in particular.

Our key objectives of in relation to the regulation of Energy are:

- \* Eliminating monopolies in the generation and sales/supply sectors
- \* Rationalising end-use prices and tariffs
- \* Giving customers the right to choose their electricity supplier
- \* Creating an electricity market
- \* Introducing competition into the industry, especially in the generation sector
- \* Addressing the impact of generation, transmission and distribution on the environment
- \* Permitting open, non-discriminatory access to the transmission system
- \* Creating similar opportunities for all distributors of electricity

We see to ensure the provision of the region with wider access to energy services, by various means, whilst ensuring that the environmental impacts of energy conversion and use are minimised as far as possible. The global nations are facing to the challenge of sustainable energy – in other words to adopt energy generation and use measures which are less detrimental to the environment and less of a contributor to climate change.

We are keen to ensure that renewable energy is to be utilized for on-grid power generation and non-electric technologies such as solar water heaters and bio-fuels.

We have identified four key strategic areas: Financial instruments; legal instruments; technological development and awareness raising – capacity building and education

It is our primary belief as SATUCC that SADC must ensure that diverse energy resources are available, in sustainable quantities and at affordable prices, to the Southern African economy in support of economic growth and poverty alleviation, taking into account environmental management requirements, international commitments and obligations and interactions amongst economic sectors; to establish institutions to be responsible for promotion of efficient generation and consumption of energy, energy modeling and planning, increased generation and consumption of renewable energies, energy research, contingency energy supply, holding of strategic energy minerals, adequate investment in, appropriate upkeep of and equitable access to energy infrastructure; to provide measures for the furnishing of certain data and information regarding energy demand, supply and generation; and to provide for matters connected therewith.

SADC's current development paradigm has exposed that the region is facing a huge backlog in planning and building new capacity to meet the social and economic needs of the country.

Most of Southern Africa's primary energy is from coal. Over half of this is used for electricity generation and a quarter for liquid synfuels. The bulk of the production and beneficiation of coal is in the hands of the private sector since deregulation in 1992. The deregulation has reduced the role of government to that of monitoring the industry's performance.

Some of the concerns with regard to coal are related to environment, genuinely sustainable development, and climate change. Furthermore, the South African coal-power fleet is old and operating at lower capacity and therefore generating significantly less electricity. Furthermore, more power is lost during transmission as there are entrenched infrastructural problems in the sector. There is need for the rethinking of coal as a strategic resource in the region, given its critical importance in this regard.

However, when the reality of climate change is factored in, this sector will be reduced. It is our unequivocal view that our country must move towards current and future technology solutions that will transform our region into a low carbon and vibrant economy.

Globally, Renewable Energy is making significant gains in terms of attracting private investments, which has implications for their future accessibility, usage and control for developmental purposes.

The Energy Policy paper of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) states that, "According to the Renewables 2007 Status Report, commissioned by the Renewable Energy Network for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, an estimated \$71 billion was invested in new renewable capacity worldwide in 2007, up from \$55 billion in 2006 and 40 billion in 2004. The largest country shares of renewables annual investments were Germany, China, USA, Spain, Japan and India. In Germany investment in renewables grew by \$14 billion in 2007 mostly for wind and solar PV, and investment in China was \$12 billion, mostly in small hydropower, solar hot water and wind, and the USA came third with over \$10 billion investments in renewable energy. This excludes the subsidies and other forms of government support for renewable energy. A trend is developed by the global powers in the nurturing and development of renewable energy sources".

According to the World Nuclear Energy Status report of 2010/11 commissioned by the World Watch Institute In 2010, all renewables excluding large hydro received \$151 billion of global private investment (nuclear got none) and surpassed nuclear power's total global installed capacity. Within a few years, they will exceed its output.

There are many technologies within the term "renewable energy". They include solar PV (electricity); solar heating (both industrial electricity generation and hot water); wind; tidal race (Benguella and Agulhas currents); run of rive small hydro (large hydro is considered a human rights and climate change problem); OTEC (Ocean Thermal Electricity Conversion) which makes drinking water as a waste; biogas from separated organic streams and wave power. Many of these are mature technologies, already delivering industrial baseload electricity, and in the case of bio-gas, it is also providing safe and dignified sanitation and food security in the process.

Most of these technologies can be rolled out in very short time frames, and the ability of our local economy to produce them can be ramped up in short timeframes. Solar water heaters and solar cells are already being made here, but the support is not currently available.

Manufacture will require the very skills that we have lost major numbers of jobs in, and skills and technology transfer also increase the ability of our country to be both self-sufficient in energy, as well as seek to supply other countries, including within Africa

A lot of debate has happened on various mediums around the issue of nuclear energy. Some (predominantly the nuclear industry) are seeing the renaissance of nuclear energy while others are

disputing it and arguing that the debate in itself is opportunistic as it arises at the time when every reasonable being views environmental degradation and widespread radiation as global concerns.

Climate change is a global threat to life in general. Energy generation through coal and oil production threatens to change life as we know it. Threatening water supply, impacting on crops and food security, and introducing the world to weather patterns never experienced before including the melting of glaciers in the North Pole, droughts and famine in the South.

Those advocating for a nuclear renaissance are seeing it as a panacea to the climate change crisis, despite the negative issues associated with nuclear power. Issues concerning radioactive waste, costs of constructing nuclear plants, funding for nuclear energy and available sources of uranium, as well as the fact that nuclear is worse for climate change than all renewable technologies, makes this view problematic.

Because of its health, safety, environmental and security issues, nuclear is not one technology amongst many others such as coal, and wind. Whilst nuclear technology is carbon neutral only during the electricity production process, it is not a benign safety hazard. The focus on climate change and energy security, as driven primarily by the nuclear lobbyists of the world, must be assessed in such a way that nuclear power is examined in the context of the fundamental problem of nuclear safety and economic and security concerns.

The fundamental issues on effective nuclear waste management is essential, and must be examined, noting that nuclear waste takes hundreds of thousands of years to degrade to assumed safe levels, which will be far longer than the life of the nuclear industry and especially beyond the life of the individual companies. To show this time-span in context, this is longer than human beings have been on this planet – i.e. if nuclear waste was created when humans first appeared on Earth, it would still be dangerous. If one is allowed to produce such waste, it should be based on the cradle to the grave principles, that the producers will safeguard this waste until such time it is not a threat to human life or the environment on which we all depend to live. Clearly, this is impossible to do.

It is recommended that SATUCC take a firm stand against nuclear, but also campaign actively for clean and people-friendly energy sources, mainly locally manufactured renewable energies, in the shortest possible timeframe.

Over time, all coal fired power station will reach the end of their lives – and the massive job losses over the last decade or so has not warranted concern from many sources. However, the supporters of renewable people's energy are fully supportive of a programme, in partnership with the trade union movement, for a just transition for any and all workers who may be affected in the future, both by retrenchments, or job losses through the high costs that will be attached for climate change reasons to coal.

The question about hydro power, particularly with regard to the Caborra Bassa in Mozambique and Inga Dam in the DRC are critical this debate and must be explored with the intention of seeking to source alternative sources of energy and securing the future of our development as a region, but in a manner that guarantees future generations of their planet.

**Focus Point eleven:**

**Gender and the struggle against inequalities, poverty and unemployment**

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**INEQUALITY**

Inequalities are the biggest threat to stability and human development. A society based on classes is inherently a deeply unequal society, based largely, on two groups in society (classes);

- Ruling class – which owns all the resources and wealth of society and use them in their own interests, to serve their own narrow desires
- Working and poor classes – those who won only their labour power and are denied all the key and strategic resources and wealth of society, hence their dependence on selling their labour power to the lowest (though sometimes high) bidder for skilled workers

The division of society into classes is the basis of unequal access to the accumulation and means of livelihood, resources, power and opportunities.

Under colonial system race, class and gender was used to form the intricate system of oppression and exploitation. The combination of apartheid and capitalism as an economic system and customary practices denied women their basic right to full social and economic participation, hence the fight against the triple oppression faced by African women in particular.

Colonial and apartheid laws set out limited and impoverished roles of women, in particular African women and defined their role as women in society.

The capitalist system benefits from women oppression and the resultant inequalities.

The global trends have resulted in the feminization of the labour market when women were allowed to participate in the economy; however this was driven by the private sector desire to reduce their costs through low wage and flexible labour market. In the SADC region, women's economic participation and integration is on the increase, but does not go without its contradictions namely the differentiated salaries and pay gaps, their occupation of low paying jobs, their predominance in the precarious forms of employment and casualised work. The women's reproductive roles in the society, in particular the domestic responsibilities of child birth, child rearing and domestic care are unrecognised. Therefore strategies, including child-care facilities are necessary as a means to acknowledge the reproductive role of women, as well as the collective responsibility of both men and women in the development of children.

**Income inequality:** Income inequality is the most glaring among the inequality trends. The income gap between the highest earning levels comprised of white male in majority (of companies listed in the JSE) and the lowest has reached unacceptable levels and are often receive exuberant increases of over 124% in salary compared to the lowest who seldom get a two digit salary increase PA (PriceWaterhouseCoopers). Women workers don't benefit much from these increase given that they occupy the lowest levels of employment in the work place. Government legislative measures to close the wage gap.

**Economic inequality:** The unequal distribution of resources, in particular the ownership of the means of production which is skewed in favour of capital, in particular monopoly capital is factor that contributes majorly to economic inequality in the southern African region. The economic redress through developmental strategies and transformation measures are not making a dent in the lives of the ordinary people, instead they perpetuate the monopoly capitalism by de-racializing the economy without making an impact to meet the economic needs of its people, especially of women. The economic growth accumulated from the Gross Domestic Production is not fairly distributed to benefit the poor and therefore benefit the rich, instead the gap between the rich and the poor is widened. The alternatives strategies of developmental state are reluctant to try alternative micro economic policies such as the strategic intervention of state in key mineral are seldom tested so that their proceeds are ploughed back to communities and the requirements for access to finance are seldom tailor made to suit their needs of women such as supporting their domestic skills through support of cooperatives.

**POVERTY:**

Poverty in the African continent can be traced politically, i.e. by locating the history of colonial and even pre-colonial periods. The unequal distribution of wealth has led to poverty in the African continent, including our own region, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It was used as the main source of labour force and went through the most gross experiences of land dispossession as a result communities were deprived of space to cultivate their land and therefore sustainable livelihood as a means of subsistence was taken away from the indigenous people of the continent.

This was enforced through the migration system. Post liberation dispensation in most countries in the SADC region, most governments have to put in place policy measures and transformation processes in order to redress the imbalance of the past. The introduction of the colonial and apartheid migration systems resulted in women being marginalized to rural areas to fend for their families. Their contribution to the agriculture production was limited to subsistence economy and the introduction of private ownership of land, including the challenge of scarce resources, financial support for equipment's and implements, which was not supported by government through subsidies and incentives.

The lack of a systematic transformation of economic structure leads to deeper economic crises. A developmental state is a solution to Southern Africa challenges, however it requires a radical shift and concerned about creating an environment that is favourable to the foreign investor whose interest is to extract and export the mineral wealth and less concerned about the fair distribution of income generated from the GDP, it also requires a shift from being too dependent on donor funding. These trends still persist in countries like Mozambique 50 %: Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia 35% of each national budget on donor funding. In the African continent the feminization of poverty is still rife, especially in SADC and has an extremely severe and disproportionate impact on African women”

### **Traditional Growth strategies have failed**

The economic status of women is informed by the combination of capitalist and patriarchal nature of most African society leads to their exclusion and result in inequality. Migration labour system marginalized women to rural areas and therefore denied them social mobility and equal access to opportunities of development and trapping them poverty. Most of them experienced limited access to education, land, finance and support by government through social support and basic services and infrastructure.

### **Unemployment**

According to ILO global employment trends report of 2012 most of the women were occupying the most vulnerable sectors of the economy (54%) compared with their men counterparts (48%).

The so-called free market economy (*including its neo-liberal variant*) as a system has failed to achieve sustainable development and to ensure that the right to employment is guaranteed to all citizens in the African diaspora. The Southern African region is among those that have the highest rates of unemployment. This is despite the economic viability informed by the richness in mineral resource base, agricultural viability and manufacturing capacity. The efforts on progressive micro economic policies initiated by the democratically elected government seem to be making limited impact with regard to the structural outlook of unemployment patterns.

### **Unequal access to opportunities of development and employment**

Women have less chance of employment opportunities than their male counterparts. Their economic participation is limited by their previously disadvantaged status in terms of their literacy levels, skills and work experience in terms of managerial position. Among the many contributory factors is the factors relating to their reproductive roles whereby they have to fight for inclusive policies such as

the maternity protection rights. This is in spite of the reality that women comprise the majority of the society in which they live. The trade unions efforts to change this situation through collective bargaining has recorded some achievements and milestones, however there is a lot to be done to change the attitudes of most employers, including that of their male counterparts.

The flexible nature of jobs, especially in the industries such as the construction, hospitality, retail, manufacturing and subcontracting which has become a permanent feature in the labour market despite the labour movement's warnings against this trend.

Our various countries' trends of job shedding through retrenchment, including the deliberate use of labour brokers, which subject workers especially young workers to different and inferior working conditions of employment, with women as worst victims.

Some of the young workers affected by unemployment are graduates from different institutions of higher and further education and training including skills development institutions such as the artisan's training institutions for vocational training.

The incentives proposed through the youth wage subsidies by most of our countries' treasuries will benefit employers and stand a high chance of replacing workers with youth and targeting and placing older workers as potential targets for retrenchments, women in particular and thus benefiting the employer rather than the young workers in general.

The cooperatives drives of government should be targeted to address youth unemployment and to build an alternative economy based on the cooperatives drive build on the principles of building Self-reliance through mobilization of communities to be the one providing the services needed within their immediate social setting.

Structural interventions that will empower women to change their economic status;

- Campaign for the ratification of SADC, AU and related international instruments, such as the SADC Protocol on Gender and development, the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW), as well as ILO Conventions C189 domestic workers on decent work and C183 on Maternity Protection.
- Fight to ensure Gender Mainstreaming in all our union, national and regional programmes and activities, including and primarily, the socialisation of children and society as a whole.
- Call for Development models based on the Fair ownership, distribution and control of power and resources, tackling inequalities, poverty and unemployment
- Campaign for Economic transformation of the SADC region towards industrialisation and away from the failed neoliberal paradigm
- Mobilise communities for self-reliance and local development through the creation of cooperatives
- Provision of Decent jobs and transformation of the SADC labour market
- Equal access for opportunities of development and livelihood for all
- Equal pay for work of equal value
- Subsidised Childcare facilities and related support amenities

## **Focus Point twelve:**

### **Development of a Comprehensive Health System in SADC and guaranteeing the right to quality and access for all**

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Universal Healthcare Coverage (UHC), a goal that all people should obtain health services they need without the risk of financial hardship linked to paying for them, has been the centre of the global healthcare debate in the recent years. In its 58<sup>th</sup> World Health Assembly (WHA), member countries were encouraged to move towards achieving universal health coverage. In this regard, Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries are members of World Health Organisation (WHO) and are therefore bound by this 58<sup>th</sup> resolution of the WHA. It is against this background that we endeavour to create an enabling environment for the achievement of this important pronouncement and call to action.

#### **Having said that, we note that:**

- a) Health as a fundamental human right should be accessible to all citizens.
- b) There is an increasing burden of diseases across nations especially in the developing countries, with special emphasis on Africa.
- c) Health is fast becoming a privatized commodity and therefore its accessibility has become a privilege and no more a fundamental human right.
- d) Health is increasingly becoming a very expensive and unaffordable commodity that is sold to the highest bidder, particularly in developing countries and therefore marginalizes the poor who need it the most.
- e) The cost of pharmaceuticals and medicine is extremely high which makes it more inaccessible.

#### **We further note:**

- f) That the socio economic status of societies is on a continuous basis negatively impacted by the gruesome effects due to lack of accessibility to health services for the overwhelming majority of our people.
- g) That the continuously dilapidated state of healthcare in the developing countries as a result of being overstretched and underfunded is a push factor for the migration of skilled health workers.
- h) The Protocol on Health in the SADC region in particular its objectives on regional collaboration and mutual support, and also the SADC Cooperation Policy Framework adopted in 1998 at Grand Baie Mauritius.

#### **Our view is that:**

Enabling factors are pre conditions for the successful implementation of universal healthcare coverage. Such enabling factors include, but not limited to: Availability of infrastructure, Skilled Healthcare Human Resources, A sound tax administration, A transparent public financing of healthcare, and Monitored and effective health spending.

Furthermore, the core pillars of universal health coverage are founded on proper financing of health and retention of healthcare workers in resource-limiting settings.

#### **We therefore believe that:**

- a) Good investment in public healthcare infrastructure, a well refined revenue generation mechanism in the form of proper taxation, proper management of healthcare funding, and effective monitoring mechanisms are key components of successful healthcare system.
- b) The state of healthcare in the developing countries is mainly aggravated by extreme shortage of human resource.
- c) Lack of sufficient funds to train healthcare professionals further worsens the state of healthcare in the face of chronic pandemics.
- d) Regional collaboration will provide a full range of cost effective and quality integrated health services through regional co-operation.
- e) Public healthcare is very important and must be built and supported to ensure massive access for all

**We resolve that:**

- a) The Congress should develop a campaign that advocates for the universal healthcare coverage for all irrespective of their political, social and economic standing.
- b) The Congress develops a campaign that advocates for non-privatization of health and the full and proper resourcing of public health for maximum public access
- c) The Congress develops mechanisms for support towards promotion of healthcare for all in the SADC region whereby health human resource development is a key priority and migration of healthcare professionals is discouraged.
- d) All unions must lobby their governments to establish local pharmaceutical factories (plants) and encourage scientific skills share especially in the development of new medicines.
- e) The Congress calls for effective and proper governance processes for efficient and effective administration of public funds and resources in the SADC region.
- f) The Congress calls on members to engage governments to uphold co-operation policy as reflected in the Protocol on Health in SADC and not to allow social, political, economic and other factors to compromise regional collaboration and co-operation.

**Focus Point thirteen:**

**Migration, uneven development and the right to free movement of labour**

SATUCC recognises widespread migration as a permanent feature of the changing global political economy, and commits to defending the rights of migrants and fighting against xenophobia, particularly within South Africa. Therefore, it is important that as different unions, our work primarily entails organising all workers, regardless of their country of origins, race, sex, ethnicity and language.

In Africa, migration is historically tied to the onset of colonialism, which divided the continent along artificial boundaries, and initiated a process of uneven capitalist development. Capitalism is a system based on extreme inequalities and massive poverty, hence the inevitability of social tensions and division. In South Africa, these were reinforced by apartheid, which systematised racial and tribal relations and fostered separation, competition and individualism in society as part of the accumulation process.

In the context of neoliberal globalisation and capitalist crisis, migration has become a typical characteristic feature of the integrated global economy. The relative development of South Africa, combined with the collapse and decline of many African economies under the pressure of neo-liberalism and structural adjustment, means that South Africa continues to be at the centre of in-

migration in the region. What is unique to the current era of globalisation is that the transfer of wealth from the South to the North (and arguably from the rest of Africa to South Africa) is occurring against the backdrop of decades of economic stagnation and crisis. This means that migrants often tend to increase job pressures in the receiving countries, by increasing the reserve army of labour.

This intensifies competition between workers, creates bitter divisions, and induces xenophobic sentiments, which undermine the unity of workers' struggle and the potential for their emancipation. Political elites exacerbate these tensions to deflect attention away from the failures of services delivery. The media also play a role in promoting negative images of Africans. But more fundamentally, this situation benefits capital – which actively promotes xenophobia while enjoying ever-expanding profits as workers fight amongst themselves for the crumbs.

The struggle for a strong, united and progressive working class movement in Africa that can challenge the legacy of capitalism and imperialism rests on the existence of a strong and united working class movement that understands the role of capital in promoting disunity and xenophobia.

This entails:

- Providing mass education that builds popular consciousness, class unity and pride, and broadens awareness of the conditions facing people in other countries in Africa. This includes challenging the generalised lack of understanding of root causes of persisting socio-economic ills, by locating them in capitalism, the apartheid legacy, and the post-independence failure to fundamentally bring about economic redress.
- Condemning sporadic attacks on foreign nationals in various of our countries in the strongest terms, and fighting for justice for the victims of such violence.
- Working to ensure that blame for social ills is not directed at our working class brothers and sisters from other countries. We must strive to underscore the divisiveness of xenophobia and the role it plays in undermining our struggle.
- Placing primacy on organising migrant workers as a means to combating the super-exploitation of these vulnerable sections of the working class.
- Condemning and exposing the widespread abuse and exploitation of the migrant workers by employers, agents and other intermediaries.
- Fighting for and defending migrants' rights and equal access to social protection. This entails extending solidarity, social justice, equal treatment and gender equality to all migrant workers regardless of legal status, in order to secure non-discrimination and equal treatment of all, including non-nationals themselves.
- Calling for the review and transformation of our migration dispensation away from the racist and exclusionary colonial and apartheid-style policy towards a more progressive, inclusive and humane approach, based on equal rights for all as enshrined in our own constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Promoting African heritage and affirming the positive values of Ubuntu, while challenging negative imagery and false linkages between migration and crime in the media.
- Linking xenophobia to the call for a comprehensive development plan for the African continent as a means to fight the underlying causes of xenophobia, as well as campaigning against undemocratic regimes and human rights abuses which force people from their homes.
- Calling for the tightening of security to ensure that criminals escaping the laws of their countries are not able to hide amongst honest migrants and asylum seekers in South Africa.
- Fighting for the development of policies that protect foreign nationals working in the country, and for their right to organise and be organised into unions in order to enjoy the dignity afforded all workers by the Labour laws and other policies in our countries.

- Facilitate and promote skills transfers between and amongst African and other countries, particularly in the global South. This includes focussing on the targeted recruitment of skilled people from sister countries, who should be allowed to equally enjoy rights and make a contribution to the development of the country.

Our various national struggles must not be understood as separate to our domestic agenda, but rather as an extension of it to a broader sphere. The struggles we fight locally are intimately connected to the struggles fought internationally – as part of a global struggle.

This struggle is not confined to economic exploitation; it is a struggle that recognises the integrated and co-dependent nature of all struggles, including the eradication of imperialism, racism, sexism, homophobia and all other forms of oppression. It is simultaneously a struggle for equality and social and political freedoms and rights for all. Furthermore, it is a struggle that is not confined to the human terrain but is integrally intertwined with the struggle against environmental destruction and climate change. Because these problems are rooted in the capitalist system, true human and environmental emancipation can only be achieved through a deep-seated transformation of the domestic and international political economy, and its reconstruction along democratic socialist lines.

This entails a sustained struggle by a united, international working class for the fundamental improvement of the conditions of its life in all spheres – economic, political and social. It is a fundamental to the working class struggle that the tangible gains made in daily struggles must be linked to the broad struggle for socialism. This requires the massive expansion of worker power and hegemony. It is a global struggle because capitalism is a global system.

More than ever, the fact that the ruling class is no longer just national makes it necessary to fight the struggle on an international terrain, and to consolidate and build on the gains won by workers at local, national and global levels.

SATUCC has identified the fight for social, political, human and environmental rights as a key area of concern in its broader mission. This entails building a united working class movement that embraces and links struggles for a broad array of political and human rights, struggles for equality and democracy, struggles against occupation and national oppression, abuse, corruption, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, sexism, discrimination, subjugation and environmental justice and for peace and stability. This requires that the working class collectively takes up issues affecting some sections of its ranks more than others as part of a broader struggle against capitalism.

We call for the immediate ratification of the protocol on the facilitation of free movement of people in the region, because capital is guaranteed free movement too. But also, we believe that will facilitate people-centred regional integration.

#### **Focus Point Fourteen:**

#### **Organising and supporting workers in the creative arts sector, sports and other cultural sites of the economy**

The history of the arts and cultural sector in the SADC region can be traced to the distortions of history under colonialism, wherein the cultural heritage and legacy of our people was appropriated by colonialists for their own interests and simultaneously suppressed the free development of our people's cultural and artistic expressions.

We also note that culture is not just a commodity, or money making scheme, but a way of life and rich heritage of the people, which must be supported, developed and popularised for the benefit of society as a whole and for the nourishment of its spirit and soul.

In this regard, we seek to promote, defend and advance the rights of the workers involved in this sector and who make a living out of their labour power in this sector of the economy.

The arts and cultural sector within the SADC region, requires that we create a platform to interact and exchange knowledge and information through bilateral talks or multilateral agreements. Through a treaty or a Memorandum of Understanding, Trade Agreement(s) and maybe a cartel that is based on sharing equal opportunities as our approach towards the rich northern countries, which will help strengthen our relations within SADC, but also help educate and present holistically our cultural identity that is deliberately distorted by external forces.

It has also been noted that in many instances, there are unequal relations between countries and companies which impact on fair deals for workers and sectors in these various countries and within them.

We must also fight against cultural imperialism, the domination of foreign sports and cultural brands, recording companies who are themselves pirates and looters, as well as lack of protection of our small cultural industries which are threatened by the big giants from developed countries.

There has also been a growing concern that Piracy (*not in the narrow sense of focussing on those on the streets, but the big companies themselves too*) in several of our countries seem to exist without any restraint. It is important that the rights of artists and cultural workers are fully protected by law to ensure that they benefit from the products of their hard labour. They should also be protected from multinational companies that predate on the lack of support for our own industries, thus subjecting them to unfair competition.

Under the UNESCO Cultural Diversity and Preferential Treatment, SADC region can benefit in the promotion of its cultural products and services. It would even be more easier for us to access and influence such support through a SADC collective or coalition on Cultural Growth and development through Diversity.

SATUCC should work with unions in the cultural, artistic and sporting sectors to initiate a joint discussion on such matters including those that relates to solidarity in matters of commonly shared interests. A SADC dialogue that will feed into the African Diaspora Dialogue on Cultural Diversity and tolerance is long overdue and as such, SATUCC must concretely support the efforts of creative workers in the region towards an interim SADC structure that could start the discussion on the hosting of such dialogues and joint programmes.

Over and above it is important that we act collectively as a region at the international level and harness the energies of our various international affiliations towards serving and supporting our goal for a new and transformed cultural growth path and development. Our countries are collectively being held hostage by multinational companies that are largely from outside the region and they victimise us collectively.

It is critical that as a region, a Continent and a geo-political and economic bloc, we should be able to consistently share ideas and strategies, as well as shape our relations with each other on such issues on a mutual basis of understanding and value-addition. The strengthening of such relations remains an important tool towards shaping our foreign policy as a region and continent.

SATUCC must also take a firm stand to support the struggles of the people who are still subjected to autocratic regimes like in the case of Swaziland and a proper Indaba be held on the issues of rendering support and solidarity, ensuring the development of workers in this sector and organising workers into unions. It is important that we isolate any regime, company or even cultural and sporting group that either oppress people or refuse to support the just struggles for workers and human rights in any SADC country.

The weapon of cultural boycott must be employed against any government that refuse to respect the rights of the people, in which case SATUCC must mobilise solidarity and pressure all companies and artists to support these noble causes.