

COSATU VICTORIES



COSATU

"Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories!" Amilcar Cabral

COSATU VICTORIES
SINCE THE 2015 SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS

Contents

1. Introduction	3
2. Organisational Victories	9
3. Political Victories.....	11
4. Legislative and Policy Victories	19
5. Priorities and Non Negotiable Tasks to be undertaken	22
5.1. COSATU Priority Campaigns	22
6. Conclusion.....	23

1. Introduction

This is a report on the victories of COSATU secured through the brave and stoical working class struggles. It is an honest and principled account of work done by the federation over the years to date and is given in the spirit of the words of the great revolutionary Amilca Cabral when he said *“Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories!”*

It is therefore not aimed at pulling the wool over our people, neither is it aimed to be a tool used to hide the remaining challenges facing the federation. But is aimed at demonstrating the resilience of the federation which despite the challenges and attacks from our class enemies and detractors has continued to leap from one great victory to another.

This report is dedicated to the militancy and radicalism demonstrated by our forbearers who amongst others included Vuyisile Mini, Lukesmart Ngudle; Eric Mtshali; Zola Zembe; John Nkadimeng, Lesley Mesina, Steven Dlamini, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Ray Simons, Oscar Mpetha, Rita Ndzanga and Gana Makhabeni, Elijah Barayi. John Gomono, Violet Seboni, Allinah Rantsolase

As COSATU we are an offspring of the victorious 1947 mine workers deadly strike which took the colonial and apartheid bull by its horns and proved that workers struggles cannot be totally victorious without the victory of the political class struggle.

We are the children of the Corrobrick workers whose strike spread like wildfire from Durban to every corner of our country in 1973.

Our militancy resembles the anger of the OK Bazaars strike of 1987 that lasted for over six months and showed that women’s place is at the forefront of our militant unions.

Our stoicism comes from the 1987 railway strike led by SARHWU (today SATAWU) when the regime unleashed violence and killed workers.

We stand on the victories of the 1987 mineworkers’ strike involving over 300 000 workers who, for 21 days, stood toe-to-toe with the brutal private army of the Chamber of Mines. Through grounding COSATU in the masses we have survived the storms and all kinds of weather and came out more united and wiser with clarity of purpose.

Our history is a history of class war, it is decorated with victories born from the brave struggles of the working class. We have fought the apartheid regime to death with the same vigour we are currently fighting the democratic government when they adopt policies aimed at living the working people high and dry!

Blood was split, lives were lost, families were destroyed and killed, houses were burnt to ashes and many could not enjoy the ordinary life of being youth, husbands and wives because they chose the risk of facing death and imprisonment in pursuit of the noble goal of freedom for the working class.

These victories articulated below did not come cheap, each one of them represent the sweat, blood and sacrifices made by the working people. They represent the scars which we have turned into stripes and badge of honour earned in the deadly class combat in which COSATU occupied the front ranks.

They are the building blocks and the cumulative quantitative changes which led to the strategic defeat of the colonial and apartheid regime resulting to the 1994 democratic breakthrough.

Each one of these victories continues to lay a solid foundation for a future Socialist South Africa. The struggle continues and COSATU's battle cry "*an injury to one is an injury to all*" continues to be echoed in every city and in every village as workers intensify war against labour brokers, against E-tolls, defending their jobs and hard won gains, fighting against Neo liberalism and demanding a job creating economy.

COSATU's first and early victories

(a) Defeating apartheid stratagem and tricks by our class enemy to liquidate COSATU

We were born on the 1st December 1985, in the middle of a brutal state of emergency which was coupled with state sponsored counter revolutionary violence that saw thousands of COSATU members, supporters and their families being mercilessly killed, imprisoned without trial and their houses burnt to ashes.

The regime made attempts to set workers against each other through the formation of a bogus federation such as UWUSA. This included all other related apartheid and employer ill-conceived initiatives aimed at liquidating COSATU which followed such as in 1986, hardly a year after the formation of COSATU, the IFP, funded by the apartheid regime through Adriaan Vlok's departmental funds, established a right-wing labour federation, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), as a direct counter to COSATU. The apartheid regime was extremely worried about the existence of a revolutionary trade union federation and sought to counter that potential power with a sweetheart federation of a special type - one with no affiliated unions. It did not succeed to destroy COSATU because essentially it was not a genuine union. Its agenda was purely and narrow political. A few years down the line it died its natural death.

On the 7th May, in 1987, COSATU House was bombed by the apartheid regime and many of our unions offices were burnt and raided but instead of getting workers demoralised, leaving COSATU, they became more even militant and joined COSATU unions in numbers. Later Adrian Vlok went to the TRC to ask for amnesty for having been the nefarious brains behind the COSATU bombing.

This did not stop attempts by the class enemy to weaken and destroy COSATU using various tactics including weakening and destroying its unions from within.

In 1995 Turning Wheels - a small union - mobilised truck drivers who were otherwise members of SATAWU. It staged a highway blockade near Mooiriver that lasted days.

In 1997, the five madoda in Rustenburg and the small union calling itself Mouthpiece, linked to the IFP, caused mayhem. Their activities led to the killing of the NUM Carletonville regional chairperson, Comrade Selby Mayise, and other shaft stewards in Carletonville, when they convinced workers to join unprotected strikes in demand of death benefits and provident funds.

OGAWU, which is was a splinter union formed by a former CEPPWAWU President, opportunistically took the matter up and lost in every court including in the ILO. OGAWU tried to use this to counter-organise not only CEPPWAWU but also SACTWU and other unions they thought were vulnerable in the Port Elizabeth area. It failed!

Recently 3000 workers were led by a small crisis committee of a mere seven people in the uranium mine near Klerksdorp. All these workers have been dismissed. The NUM must now fight for their reinstatement - the crisis committee is nowhere to be found.

Even with all these attacks workers stood firm and defended their federation. COSATU continued to grow from strength to strength.

(b) Abolishment of the Pass Laws

The mass power and organisational authority of the federation saw our first President comrade Elijah Barayi departing from his written notes and instead gave PW Botha six months to do away with passes. Botha succumbed, and abolished the hated pass laws that replaced slavery Act which had been abolished on 1 August 1834 in the Cape and which was at the centre of the cheap labour system and the apartheid administrative capacity to pursue separate development through Bantustans .

(c) May Day as a paid Public Holiday

In 1986 which also marked the 100th anniversary of May Day as COSATU , we staged one of the biggest-ever stay-aways to demand recognition of May Day as a paid public holiday.

This action was supported by the formations of the Mass Democratic Movement under the leadership of the United Democratic Front which played a critical role in executing internal mass mobilization as part of the four pillars of the ANC led liberation movement.

Workers all over the country responded to the call and more than 1, 5-million workers observed our call, joined by thousands of school pupils, students, taxi drivers, hawkers, shopkeepers, domestic workers, self-employed and unemployed people.

Rallies were held in all the major cities, even though many of these were banned in advance by the state. The majority of our members and many workers in various work places had already defied the law and unilaterally declared the May Day a public holiday and stayed away from work.

Shocked by this wave of worker militancy and uncompromising workers' struggles , the Apartheid regime under P.W. Botha responded by declaring the first Friday in May as Workers` Day, a paid public day. COSATU announced that it would stop work on both the first Friday and the real May Day. Faced with this, the apartheid regime backed down and in 1987 recognised 1st May as a public holiday. May Day remains a living evidence of what united and militant workers struggles can achieved even under the worst of conditions.

Today May Day is one of the 12 public holidays, which we celebrate in a thriving democracy.

As we look back at the journey we have travelled as workers in South Africa, we can say with pride that indeed we have secured many victories and made many advances.

The victory of having May Day as a public holiday taught us that our united and militant struggles could secure many other victories

(d) Victory on the recognition of Black Trade Union and the Progressive labour Laws

COSATU and its predecessors have been at the fore front of changing labour regulation in this country. The Wiehahn Commission in the late 1970s was a direct product of the 1973 Durban strikes.

COSATU challenged the apartheid regime's attempt to reform labour legislation towards the late eighties in the form of a revised LRA. The apartheid regime was forced to

grudgingly accept and recognise the need for, and the role of, black and non-racial trade unions. Up to about the Wiehahn Commission black workers did not have the right to collective bargain and freedom of association to form and join unions.

The new raft of labour laws introduced after apartheid was pioneered by COSATU and the liberation movement. We often forget that these laws had to be fought for and these battles shaped a broadly labour friendly labour regime.

COSATU also plays an important role in the international trade union movement. It is held in high esteem in the international scene and many look to COSATU for answers. COSATU with its allies are gradually shifting the international trade union movement towards a more progressive platform. The federation is currently affiliated to both the ITUC and WFTU and the primary mandate is to work towards uniting these two world federations, inspired by the popular version of the communist manifesto's call "workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains"

(e) The new Labour Relations Act as part of the decisive victories secured in the early years of COSATU.

In September 1987, PW Botha's government, at the request of employers, proposed amendments to the then Labour Relations Act (LRA). The amendments were intended to weaken the growing labour movement and undermine the gains made by workers since the 1970s.

In the same year, 1987 on the 9th August the NUM organized one of the biggest strikes in the country in which approximately 360 000 mine workers went on strike over wage and working conditions.

The strike lasted for three weeks costing the Chamber of Mines close to R250 million.

In an attempt to break the strike, the Chamber of Mines retrenched approximately 50 000 workers.

The strike finally came to an end after an agreement was negotiated with the Chamber of Mines outlining new working conditions and wage increases for mineworkers.

The NUM strike was part of the heightening of the struggle against the then LRA. It is this momentum which in 1988 led to millions of workers staying away from work to press for the reversal of the changes despite the threat of dismissals by employers. In 1990 the regime agreed to the proposed changes.

All these were alliance led struggles which were opposed by the NP, DP now DA, IFP and the FF. Today they claim them as theirs as they get heralded as one of the most progressive in the world.

When COSATU heightened the campaign for the new LRA we were joined by amongst others the ANC president comrade Nelson Mandela who joined thousands of our members and workers in Johannesburg to press home our demands.

It is these struggles which brought workers closer to the ANC and SACP in the townships and in the rural Bantustans to fight the apartheid. It was during these battles that the ANC and SACP put emphasis on instilling a need for its members to join trade unions.

This blossomed over a long period of time into the mushroom growth of the trade-union movement of the 1980s, which has culminated in the formation of this Giant federation COSATU - the biggest federation the country has ever known.

It is for this reason that we continue to emphasise that the unity of COSATU and the unity of the Alliance shall be achieved in the streets in the actual crucible of struggle.

The labour relations Act as we know it today was a product of these COSATU led struggles .

(f) Victory against the Apartheid Economy and the Reconstruction and Development Programme

When COSATU was formed white capital had amassed enough economic power. Records show that at the time the South African economy was virtually owned by three huge conglomerates - Sanlam, Old Mutual and Anglo American.

In the production sector, 2.7 per cent of enterprises controlled over 50 per cent of our country's total turnover; 6.3 per cent of all enterprises employed over half of the national workforce; and a mere 6 per cent had 85 per cent of all fixed assets. The level of concentration in South Africa was virtually unprecedented and the trend to ever greater concentration was increasing each year.

By 1987, four companies (Anglo American, Sanlam, SA Mutual and Rembrandt) alone controlled 80 per cent of all shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Of these companies, Anglo American alone controlled 55 per cent.

It was because of these material conditions that from the very onset we challenged the economic agenda of the apartheid state through the anti-privatisation, fuel-price and anti-VAT campaigns. The apartheid state grudgingly came to the table to discuss these matters, leading to the formation of the National Economic Forum, the predecessor of NEDLAC. This concession was historic, as it forced the apartheid government to negotiate economic policy. It stopped attempts fundamentally to restructure the economy on the eve of the democratic breakthrough.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Alliance programme of action from 1994, started in vigorous debates within the liberation movement as a whole leading to the ANC adopting it as its electoral platform in 1994.

(g) Victory on workers' rights inserted in the Democratic Constitution

COSATU played a critical role in the struggle for the democratisation of South Africa. COSATU also articulated a vision of a democratic society both at the political and workplace level. COSATU fought for the current Constitution and articulated a vision of a thoroughgoing democracy with a strong participatory element. In addition we fought hard for the inclusion of socio-economic rights as means of ensuring substantive equality. It is in this respect that we should understand COSATU's insistence of the inclusion of workers' rights in the Constitution.

Today we all appreciate the vital role of the Constitution in providing a framework for the radical transformation of our society. COSATU's contribution should not be underestimated neither should it be forgotten.

COSATU's Current Victories

"Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material

benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children” - Amilcar Cabral

The federation has in the recent past leading to the 2015 Special National Congress faced one of the biggest challenges. Attempts were made to undermine the federation’s founding principles particularly of One Union, One Industry and to convert the federation into a political entity and if that fails, the next step was to divide and disintegrate its unions.

These plots were uncovered and decisively thwarted by the workers at the 2015 seminal Special National Congress and later in the 12th National Congress. This period saw the federation taking extra ordinary steps to dismiss the general secretary and one of its biggest unions for undermining the federation’s constitution. During this period books were written by various individuals and institutions aimed at writing the obituary of the federation. This period also presented many lessons to the federation and placed the federation under serious pressure testing her resilience.

Today it can be reported with certainty that the federation passed this test with flying colours, emerging more united with a clear sense of purpose on what is to be done.

But more importantly is that even during this period of the worst challenges the federation never ceased to mount a serious fight against her class enemies and in the process secured many victories making COSATU to remain a force to be reckoned with in society. Thanks to the workers who stood up and defended their federation and the leaders of this generation who worked steer and steered the federation towards a right path.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that COSATU remains a home for all workers, both the employed and the unemployed. We do not only make demands but our demands are always accompanied by well researched and properly considered radical alternatives . We continue to play a central role in shaping the political, economic and political landscape as well as advancing the interest of workers in the workplace, guided by the teachings of Amilcar Cabral to *“always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children”* .

We know from our own experience that democracy alone and political power would not place food on the table for our people. Political power has to be transformed into material benefits for the working class.

Building on early victories and through consistent struggles on the ground , the federation continues to be an uncompromising voice of the voiceless, the hope of the working people, an even more sharper instrument of class war in the hands of the working class, the moral compass and conscience of society. Our war cry remains “An Injury to One is An Injury to All “. It is echoed in every village , in every city and in every workplace inspiring all generations of workers in a struggle against exploitation by employers.

We have waged our fight and secured our victories inspired and guided by the words of the African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral when he said “always bear in mind that the people *are* not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to

win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children”.

The fighting capacity of COSATU remains at high levels despite the challenges we have gone through. The Federation is like a baobab tree that has survived all kinds of weather and remains standing to provide shelter to all workers. Like an elephant, every step we take and every move we make is ground breaking.

For an example the recent 2017/18 report on Industrial Action released by the Department of Labour shows that the 960 889 working days lost due to industrial disputes in 2017. This represents 1% increase in the number of working days lost from 946 323 working days lost in 2016 with a total of 122 strikes.

The report also shows that the public sector saw more working days lost than the private sector stoppages in 2017, e.g. health and social services strikes. In terms of trade union membership participation, NEHAWU and SAMWU recorded the highest membership participants at 29.07% and 10.01% respectively.

Below we proudly give an account of the victories secured by the federation since 2015 to date guided by the words of comrade Amilcar Cabral *“Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories!”*

1. Organisational Victories

Guided by the words of comrade Oliver when he said *“Be vigilant comrades... Beware of the wedge-driver, the man who creeps from ear to ear, carrying a bag full of wedges, driving them in between you and the next man, between a group and another, a man who goes round creating splits and divisions. Beware of the wedge-driver, comrades. Watch his poisonous tongue”* , the federation has emerged from the dark past of divisions and have recently made the following strides

1.1. Unity and Coherency

COSATU never hides her challenges but confront and use them as stepping stones to grow the organisation . As we speak , emerging from the recent challenges , COSATU remains a dynamic and vibrant trade union movement and a biggest organisation in civil society after the faith-based organisations.

It boast a coherent and vibrant internal organisation and has adapted relatively well to the new dispensation with very limited casualties. It faces many challenges yet it is willing to confront them honestly, with the sometimes brutally open debates for which it remains famous.

1.2. Building a strong shop floor organisation

COSATU has maintained the traditions of strong shop - floor organisation and a militant struggle for worker rights, collective bargaining and power.

1.3. Maintaining and deepening internal democracy and Worker control

It remains an active, democratic organisation controlled by workers, based on campaigns and mobilisation, incorporation of broader social issues and interests into our programme. COSATU continues to build alliances with community organisations, with the political movement, with intellectuals, advancing a struggle for democracy and social justice and a commitment to development and growth in the democratic South Africa.

1.4. Maintaining and Building a Campaigning Organisation on the ground

COSATU has taken up the following campaigns showing its organisational strength:

a) Living Wage Campaign and the victory on the National Minimum Wage

Through consistent struggles the long standing demand of workers which was even inscribed into the Freedom Charter; a National Minimum Wage has finally become law in South Africa.

The next phase of the campaign will be focusing on achieving a Living Wage which include heightening a campaign for the implementation of National health Insurance , an affordable , accessible , safe and integrated public transport , deepening the struggle towards a full realisation of free education in institutions of higher learning , heightening a campaign for a comprehensive social security system

b) National health Insurance System

COSATU saved NHI from being undermined by the private sector and the exponents of Neo-liberalism and NHI is in a process of being translated in a reality . it is public knowledge that recently COSATU made its own input on the NHI white paper.

c) Comprehensive Social Security System

COSATU forced back on the table a discussion of the Comprehensive Social System and was despite attempts by the National Treasury to undermine this process .

d) Campaign Against Labour Brokers

Our campaign against labour brokers has seen progress with policy changes making it unlawful to have workers subjected under labour brokers after three months. The campaign continues aimed at the total ban of labour brokers.

e) Campaign Against the Implementation of Taxation Laws Amendment Act

The federation stopped the implementation of taxation laws amendment Act. Even as they postpone it, COSATU said even that is not enough because our demands have not been met. COSATU has said to all and sundry that this campaign continues until all the demands have been addressed.

f) Defending the Right to Collective Bargaining

COSATU the Free Market Foundation head on in their attempt to steal workers right to collective bargaining.

g) Challenging the exploitation of workers in media Houses

It is COSATU who confronted the ANN7 and ENCA about undermining workers' rights

h) Demanding the transformation of SABC

It is COSATU raise alarm bells about SABC problematic editorial policy which was being rammed through by the SABC COO without consulting with all stakeholders.

i) Taking up the plight of Farm Workers

It is COSATU that made a presentation to the Human Right Commission to raise the plight of farm workers and as we speak the Human Right Commissioned is ceased with issues relating to the plight of farm workers, preparing to report back to COSATU and society.

2. Political Victories

Amongst the most strategic political victories achieved by COSATU are the following:

2.1. Securing victories in various strategic political platforms

- a) COSATU's power politically, and its militant mass organisation, has enabled it to engage from a position of strength in a whole host of forums- whether in Parliament, in the Alliance, in NEDLAC or in bilateral with government. The entrenchment of worker rights in the Constitution, the achievement of progressive labour legislation, and many other gains have been the result of the political militancy of COSATU.
- b) COSATU's organisational militancy, and strategic political stance, has been more effective in advancing workers economic interests at a national level, than those unions that have taken a passive stance or have confined themselves to the workplace.
- c) COSATU campaigns led to privatisation policies being abandoned; to the adoption of more expansionary fiscal and monetary policies and more involvement by the state in the economy; to policies geared to employment creation, such as the public- investment programme, the expanded public

works programme, greater employment in the public service, and the extension of social grants to the poor; and the establishment of free basic services as a right. The politically conscious and mobilised stance of COSATU has achieved far more for workers than if we had confined our action narrowly to the workplace.

2.2. Forging the movement to reassert its mass based character and to adopt progressive and working class biased policies

- a) After a long time in the post 1994 era in which both the character and the politics of the movement have tended to shift away from being anchored on the working class, starting from the 2005 National General Council and the 2007 52nd National Conference of the ANC COSATU working with the SACP and many in the structures of the ANC and SANCO forced the movement to reassert its mass based character and the working class policy perspective. Delegates at Polokwane were determined to reclaim the organisation and return it to its historical traditions of being a dynamic movement, driven by its mass constituency, and biased towards the working class and the poor. Polokwane returned the ANC closer to the people, and created hope among ordinary workers. Polokwane saw a political shift that signalled the determination of the new leadership to ensure that government advances ANC policies. If previous progressive ANC policies were consigned to the dustbin, Polokwane for the first time held out the possibility that these policies will be translated into government policy and implemented.
- b) The Conference took resolutions which dealt with the relationship of the ANC to governance, as well as the Alliance. In this regard there are a number of important statements and proposals:
- (There must be) greater coordination between work of the ANC structures and governance work, to give strategic leadership to cadres deployed in the state and to improve capacity to hold cadres deployed accountable.
 - Constitutional structures (must) strengthen caucuses as instruments for robust oversight, mutual accountability, collective leadership and discipline among cadres deployed to government, parliament, legislatures and municipalities.
 - Improve capacity of ANC structures to monitor and evaluate the implementation of policy by cadres deployed in government. A monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be developed and include annual assessment of public representatives by branches and regions and mid-term performance evaluations by provinces and HQ.
 - The National Policy Conference should become a consultative platform for policy review in the run-up to National Conferences and a consultative body for the development of the Election Manifesto in the run-up to elections.
 - The Policy Institute should be actualised as a matter of utmost priority
 - We should strengthen list guidelines and processes for public representatives to enhance democratic participation, ensure that we select and deploy the

best cadres for public office and involve the broader community in our candidate selection processes.

- Champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations. (Implement) an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency.
- Confirm the relevance of the alliance, united in action for the joint programme of social transformation. Enhance coordination amongst alliance partners, and strengthen the organisational capacity of each individual component.

2.3. Policies which came from Polokwane included the following policies which represented a progressive breakthrough

- (a) The emphasis on creation of decent work as "the primary focus of economic policies," and the commitment to tailor all government policies and institutions, including macro-economic policies, to achieve this objective.
- (b) The economic transformation resolution stated that "the central and most pressing challenges we face are unemployment, poverty and inequality" and proposes policies to deal with these challenges.
- (c) A shift from the notion of growth as the solution to everything (and an emphasis only on intervention in the "2nd economy"), to an acceptance that the current growth path as a whole has to be fundamentally shifted, to be redistributive and to create jobs. The resolution calls for "an effective strategy of redistribution that builds a new and more equitable growth path."
- (d) An agrarian development programme that must bring decent livelihoods to those of our people who were historically most oppressed - farm workers and people in the former homelands. The resolutions seek to ensure that land reform becomes a programme that creates livelihoods on a mass scale for our people, in contrast to programmes that call only for enrichment of a few black commercial farmers. They talk of the need to ensure that infrastructure and government services do more to support development of impoverished rural areas.
- (e) A thoroughgoing democratisation of our society, from the state to the economy to communities on the ground. State bureaucracy must become more responsive to the masses. It has to listen to the concerns of our communities and the working class as a whole, and our organisations must be treated as the legitimate voice of our communities, not as one more in a queue of special interests.
- (f) Clearer elaboration of the notion of a progressive developmental state, which has a bias towards the working class and a more democratic and less top-down character. The state should not, as in the past, be neutral between big business, on the one hand, and working people and the poor, on the other.
- (g) A partial move away from the emphasis on the market and competitiveness, and greater emphasis on the role of the state in driving the economy, a state-led industrial strategy, an expanded role for state ownership, and a more interventionist approach to the country's mineral riches.

- (h) The original policy document submitted to Conference contained repeated references to the "correctness" of government economic policy, its continuity, and denied the need for any shifts. These references were removed from the Polokwane resolutions;
- (i) The resolutions attempted to consolidate certain progressive shifts that had emerged in recent years, in relation for instance to the role of the state in the economy, the retreat from privatization etc. Delegates also challenged some areas of government policy, such as rural development, and economic policy, which contradicted, or failed to advance, the logic of this emerging development strategy.

The Economic Transformation Resolution

The Economic Transformation Resolution also calls for: decisive action against current patterns of **ownership and production** especially the "monopoly domination of our economy"; co-ordinated **government wide economic planning** to align policies; a commitment to building the human capacity of the state, including by "ensuring **adequate numbers of personnel** to ensure delivery..." **intervention by the state** in key sectors of the economy, to transform the structure of the economy, ensuring that national resources, including land minerals, and water are exploited to maximise growth, development and employment; strengthening the **role of SOE's**, and ensuring that state entities respond to "a clearly defined public mandate and act in terms of our overarching industrial policy and economic transformation objectives" while emphasizing the development of **SMME's**, stating that "we should ensure that fundamental worker rights are protected in small enterprise";

The Resolution on **Industrial Policy** commits government to: "[Transforming the structures of production and ownership, including through] Active and well-resourced industrial and trade policy aimed at creating decent work through expansion of labour absorbing sectors, diversifying our industrial and services base, pursuing an active beneficiation strategy, building sustainable export industries, and expanding production for domestic and regional consumption. In general, industrial policy should lead our overall approach to sector development, whilst trade policy should play a supporting role and be sensitive to employment outcomes."

On **Macro-economic policy**, the resolution is very general and only calls for "**Macro-economic policies that support and sustain growth, job creation and poverty eradication on a sustainable basis.**" However, the clear intention of the delegates, and the progressive thrust of the resolution on issues such as redistribution, employment etc, supports the viewpoint that delegates wanted a realignment of macro-economic policy. Delegates raised concerns about monetary policy, interest rates, inflation targeting, the role of the reserve bank, and aspects of fiscal policy, including the budget surplus.

Contractionary monetary policies, high interest rates, inflation targeting etc, do not "support growth, employment creation and poverty eradication". Nor does a relatively conservative budget, and fiscal surpluses. Nor are conservative fiscal and monetary policies "sustainable", if they choke off growth in the economy; retard employment; increase the cost of living; deepen inequalities etc. Equally, these policies increase the

vulnerability of our economy, deepen the trade deficit and balance of payments imbalances, increase financial speculation, undermine investment in infrastructure and service delivery, and therefore are *unsustainable*. Therefore, the formulation lays the basis for a more detailed Alliance consensus as to what type of macro-economic policies would advance the stipulated developmental objectives.

Social Transformation

The Social Transformation Resolution, although having certain problems, does include the following welcome features:

- an emphasis on attacking poverty and inequality; commitment to extend the Child Support Grant to 18 years, and equalise the pensionable age at 60;
- Commitment to expand no fees schools to 60% by 2009; commitment to progressively introduce free education for the poor until undergraduate level;
- The commitment to make education and health the "2 key priorities" of the ANC;
- Strengthening the public health care system including the introduction of the National Health Insurance - special tax dedicated to fixing the crises in the public health care and public hospitals, hospital revitalisation, and ensuring adequate provision of funding;
- Roll out of comprehensive health care, including the provision of ARVs;
- Explore the possibility of creating a state-owned pharmaceutical company to provide affordable medicines;
- Provide alternative housing stock, including rental; curb the cost of construction; coordinated planning of human settlement, and acceleration of land acquisition etc;

Rural Development

The Resolution on Rural Development, Land Reform, and Agrarian Change constitutes a major intervention, and strategic shift from current government policy. It rejects existing policies on rural development as woefully inadequate, and proposes the formulation of a new, comprehensive rural development plan, a White paper on rural development, land reform and agrarian change, and a legislative programme to implement these changes.

It resolves inter alia to:

- Embark on an integrated programme of rural development, land reform and agrarian change;
- Empower poor communities and build the momentum behind agrarian change and land reform by supporting the self-organisation of rural people;
- Build stronger state capacity and devote greater resources to the challenges of rural development, land reform and agrarian change;
- Ensure that the state regulates the land market effectively with a view to promoting the goals of rural development and agrarian change;
- Change all policies that create a bias in favour of large-scale, capital intensive, environmentally damaging agriculture and under-utilisation of land and which constrain the emergence of a vibrant, pro-poor rural economy;

- Support the growth of rural market institutions including through the provision of infrastructure and by helping rural communities and small farmers to access markets, build links with formal sector value chains and coordinate their activities;
- Where necessary, expropriate property in the public interest to achieve equity, redress, social justice and sustainable development;
- Work together with the progressive trade union movement, government agencies and civil society to realize the rights of farm workers and farm dwellers, combat human rights abuses and super-exploitation, and provision of support and advice to communities living on farms;
- Ensure that the allocation of customary land be democratised in a manner which empowers rural women and supports the building of democratic community structures at village level;
- Find ways to stabilise food prices in order to prevent inflationary surges, protect food security and combat hunger;
- Accelerate the roll-out of rural infrastructure, particularly roads but also other services including potable water, electricity and irrigation and ensuring in particular that the former Bantustan areas are properly provisioned with an infrastructural base for economic and social development.

Transformation of the State

The Resolution on Transformation of State and Governance has some progressive dimensions, including proposals to:

- abolish *floor crossing*;
- the creation of a *single public service* needs to involve an engagement with relevant Alliance structures;
- introduce *measures to combat corruption* both by "those who corrupt as well as those who are corrupted". The resolution however is short on detail;
- on *post-tenure employment rules* for elected representatives and public servants, the NEC needs to urgently develop a framework to regulate "the flow of skills between the public and private sector". The resolution proposes elements, which must guide this framework.

International

The Resolution on International Relations proposes, inter alia:

- that the ANC, should ensure "changes of colonial patterns of economic relations, and creates possibilities for equitable and balanced North-South relations, transformation and beneficiation of African natural resources, sustainable flows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), market access for products from the South to generate employment, and contribute to poverty eradication";
- the Resolution calls for a legislated code of good business practice, for South African companies doing business in the continent, and for the ANC to interact with countries in Africa to: encourage them to strengthen their labour and trade laws; and encourage the private sector/business to comply with the standards of the International Labour Organisation (ILO);

- on Migration, Immigrants and Xenophobia, the ANC needs to review the current policy, legislation and systems; harmonise policies in SADC; and embark on programmes to combat xenophobia;
- convene a meeting of progressive parties and movements in Africa, as a run-up to holding a global meeting of all progressive movements; and formalize relations with progressive movements particularly in Latin America and Asia;
- to support various international struggles of oppressed peoples;
- to reject current moves by the USA to enlarge its military presence in Africa by establishing the African Command military Centre (Africom).

The Alliance Economic Summit

Guided by the Polokwane resolutions and the Freedom Charter's call that "The people shall share in the country's wealth", the Alliance Economic Summit in October 2008 agreed amongst other things that existing government economic policies needed to be reviewed and that "decisive action is required to transform the patterns of wealth production and distribution. Macroeconomic policy needs to support economic development and employment creation. Interest rate policy, while continuing to be directed at containing inflation should also be sensitive to its impact on the productive economy and employment. The priority, in line with the Polokwane resolutions, is to create decent jobs and combat poverty and unemployment".

The Summit declared "industrial policy can play an important role in ensuring decent standards of work and a growing income for workers. Practices such as labour broking and casualisation should be reviewed, given the damage they cause to labour standards. Regulation should be introduced to address this matter".

It also noted with concern "the high levels of executive pay in the corporate sector and State Owned Enterprises as well as the huge income inequalities in the labour market and called for consideration of ways to promote more equitable income outcomes" and "implement the decent work agenda, as defined by the ILO."

The Summit agreed that "resource-based policies should ensure maximum downstream economic activities through beneficiation to increase the level of jobs in the local economy and this framework should embrace minerals, agriculture and the marine sector. Infrastructure needs to be biased towards growing increasingly diversified and complex manufactured exports rather than encouraging the export of un- and semi-beneficiated exports of bulk commodities."

The Summit also raised the need to reintroduce legislated prescribed asset requirements, to compel retirement funds, which control nearly R3 trillion in workers' assets to direct a certain portion of their investments into socially productive investment, such as co-ops, community investment programmes and providing infrastructural and financial help to small businesses.

The Summit agreed on the need for a high level planning, evaluation and monitoring capacity in government. Its preferred option was a Planning Commission, headed by the Presidency, with the power to align the work of all Departments of government and organs of state to government's developmental agenda. The Commission would

promote the alignment of government budgets with developmental planning, set broad targets through medium- and long-term plans, conduct strategic risk assessment

Mangaung and NASREC

The broad thrust of the resolutions of these ANC conferences, from Polokwane to NASREC already provide a good framework for the radical second phase. What is required is the translation of these resolutions into a comprehensive, coherently integrated economic strategy for the radical second phase rather the current pattern where there seems to be the picking and choosing of certain resolutions - thrown into an incoherent economic policy framework.

The ANC adopted resolutions that underscore this potential:

- Free education for the poor and working class
- Nationalisation of the SARB
- Expropriation of land without compensation subject to food security concerns
- Support for mining subject to further discussions and free carry shares for the state instead of tenderpreneurs.
- Full implementation of the NHI

Subsequently, this was followed up with the January 8th Statement which reaffirmed these key NASREC policy positions, including:

- The need to reduce concentration of ownership and control in the economy and breaking up monopolies
- Implementation of the National Minimum Wage
- The Job Summit

- (a) Placing the reconfiguration of the Alliance on the table
- (b) NASREC Caused ANC conference to adopt progressive policies
- (c) These include the following:
- (d) Nationalisation of the Reserve Bank
- (e) Free Education
- (f) International victories

ANC 54th national congress

Over and above the divisions that were there for all to see in the conference there are issues that are worth mentioning and these include the following;

- a) The proposal to establish branches in workplaces was defeated.
- b) All ANC discussion documents were not strong on a need for a functioning reconfigured alliance.

c) All commissions at the conference did not put an emphasis on a need to ensure a strong link between state power and mass power

However, eventually the main outcomes the 54th ANC National Conference were positive and aligned to many of the COSATU demands and these include the following:

- Free education for the poor and working class
- Nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank
- Expropriation of land without compensation subject to food security concerns
- Support for mining subject to further discussions and free carry shares for the state instead of tenderpreneurs.
- Full implementation of the NHI

The ANC Lekgotla

Following the 54th National Conference, the ANC Lekgotla took place in January 2019. It clarified the resolutions of the conference and recommitted itself that it will abide the conference mandate of radical socio economic transformation.

January 8 statement

The January 8th statement remained in line with the progressive outcomes of the 54th National Conference and highlighted the following ;

- Welcomed the establishment of a commission of inquiry on corruption and state capture.
- Implementation of the National minimum wage by May 1 this year
- Greater worker ownership and board representation
- Reducing concentration of ownership and control in the economy and breaking up monopolies
- Nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank
- Youth unemployment
- A call for a Social Pact

3. Legislative and Policy Victories

A) Traditional Courts Bill - we strongly opposed the earlier version of the bill previously at Parliament as it essentially sought to establish two judicial systems in the country, did not provide people in rural areas a choice as to whether they want to be subject to traditional courts and place women at a further disadvantage. The new version of the bill was drafted by the department through a task team that included various civil society organisations. Key concessions and changes made include:

- Seeks to regulate existing courts and ensure they adhere to the Constitution.
- Provides for persons in traditional areas to opt out of traditional courts.
- Limits jurisdiction to civil issues below claims of R5000.
- Will fall under authority of judiciary and Department.
- Requires courts to adhere to constitutional protections of gender and sexual orientation rights.

- Courts have no jurisdiction over criminal matters

B) Protected Disclosures Amendment Bill: This bill seeks to strengthen the existing act and fill various loopholes. COSATU welcomed its provisions which strengthen whistle blowers' protections. COSATU's proposals were agreed to by the Portfolio Committee and Department which have extended protections to workers (both permanent and contract) who expose corruption and in particular to protect their labour rights, e.g. provisions to prohibit their subsequent work place victimisation. It also provides protection to workers from being sued for libel damages etc. when exposing corruption.

C) Labour Laws Amendment Bill: COSATU strongly supported this progressive bill as it is in line with COSATU's long standing struggles to achieve greater paternity and family leave provisions. This is a private member's bill provides for 10 days paid parental leave for fathers or a mother (who is not giving birth e.g. in a same sex marriage or partnership) when their child is born. It includes 10 weeks paid leave for a parent adopting a child under two years of age. The other adopting parent would then qualify for 10 days parental leave.

D) Unemployment Insurance Amendment Bill : The key changes to the UIF will include:

- Increase UIF benefits from 8 to 12 months.
- Increase maternity leave benefits from 54% to 66% of salary within the thresholds.
- Allow the Minister to increase maternity leave payments up to certain limits if sufficient funds are available without amending the act.
- Allow still born births and third trimester miscarriages to qualify for maternity leave.
- Separate maternity leave credits from UIF credits.
- Provide for reduced time workers under full time UIF benefits.
- Cover learnerships under the UIF.
- Deceased' beneficiaries will be entitled to the deceased's remaining benefits.
- Reduce time needed to accumulate UIF.
- Allow the Minister to issue regulations for domestic and SMME workers if needs be.
- Includes public service employees who would now be covered, e.g. if they are dismissed. Their inclusion will also significantly boost the UIF and provide space to increase further access to it by unemployed workers or mothers on maternity leave.

E) Critical Infrastructure Protection Bill

This bill will replace the National Key Points Act. This act was adopted during the height of the apartheid regime's suppression of the liberation movement. It has been especially problematic for unions as it has been used by government and parastatal officials to

deny union recruitment, organising and whistle blowing at national key points, e.g. airports, ports etc. This particularly impacts upon POPCRU, SATAWU and NUM's ability to organise at national key points.

Government agreed to all of COSATU's demands and made the following concessions in the bill. This was a significant victory to protect workers and unions and whistle blowers and reduce the space to abuse the key point law to hide corruption. The concessions given to COSATU at Nedlac include:

- It will not interfere with any union and labour rights whatsoever. All labour matters are to be guided by the LRA and BCEA.
- It will not interfere with whistle blowing. This will be guided by the Protected Disclosures Act.
- Public consultation processes to be provided for when processing and deciding upon an application to declare a key point.
- Such decisions to be made by an oversight body including external experts.
- The public must be informed beforehand of such applications as well as afterwards of the decisions. The decisions must take into account public comments.
- Parliament must receive annual reports on all key points.

F) Extension of Security of Tenure Amendment Bill : Key progressive provisions in the bill include:

- Substitute the provision of subsidies with tenure grants;
- Further regulate the rights of occupiers;
- Provide for legal representation for occupiers;
- Further regulate the eviction of occupiers by enforcing alternative resolution mechanisms provided for in the Act;
- Provide for the establishment and operation of a Land Rights Management Board; and
- Provide for the establishment and operation of Land Rights Management Committees to identify, monitor and settle land rights disputes.
- Alternative accommodation is provided to farm workers and dwellers when evicted;
- Farm workers and dwellers are able to erect and access graves and tomb stones for loved ones on the farms where they reside as well as to hold funerals there;
- Farmers will be obliged to ensure that adequate maintenance of houses accommodating farm workers;
- Farm workers will also be empowered to make repairs as well to houses accommodating them;
- Ensuring that the family and dependents are protected with the expanded definition of family and dependents in the Bill.
- Land disputes and reform can be overseen and dealt with adequately and progressively with the proposed Land Rights Management Board and Land Rights Management Committees.
- The proposed provision of legal representation, mediation and arbitration will assist in resolving cases, especially those where farm workers have frequently been abused and had their rights violated.

The department and ministry had agreed to COSATU's proposed additional provisions to further protect farm workers. However the department then "forgot" to include these in the draft of the bill submitted to the NA. It has now agreed with the ANC study group for these to be inserted during the NCOP engagements. These provisions include:

- The Land Rights Management Board to include occupiers, landowners and organised labour and not less than 50% of the woman representation. And for farm workers and their dependents to be further protected from evictions by the following insertions:
 - "An opportunity for genuine consultation with those affected;
 - Adequate and reasonable notice for all affected persons prior to the scheduled date of eviction;
 - Information on the proposed evictions, and, where applicable, on the alternative purpose for which the land or accommodation is to be used, to be made available in reasonable time to all those affected;
 - Where groups of people are involved, government officials or their representatives to be present during an eviction;
 - All persons carrying out the eviction to be properly identified;
 - Evictions not to take place in particularly bad weather or at night unless the affected persons consent otherwise;
 - Provision of legal remedies;
 - Provision, where possible, of legal aid to persons who are in need of it to seek redress from the courts;
 - An eviction may not result in persons affected being rendered homeless or vulnerable to the violation of other human rights; and
 - A court cannot make an eviction order in the absence of a probation report and report from the local municipality on emergency housing."

4. Priorities and Non Negotiable Tasks to be undertaken

4.1. COSATU Priority Campaigns

Summary of Cross Cutting Issues

1. Priorities for the remaining part of 2018

Last Quarter

- 1.1.** December 1 – HIV and AIDS Campaign
- 1.2.** COSATU Birthday
- 1.3.** 27th November – COSATU to be visible across the country on the violence against women and child abuse
- 1.4.** Shop Steward training

2. Priorities for 2019

1st Quarter

- 2.1. The right to learn or Go back to School Campaign .to Convene Education Alliance
- 2.2. General Elections Campaign
- 2.3. High Cost of living – Fuel and VAT

2nd Quarter

- 2.4. Preparations for May Day
- 2.5. Recruitment focusing on the unorganised, young workers and Retention of Members . This will include union growth and membership retention

3rd Quarter

- 2.6. Health and Safety – use section 77 – start in March have a march on health – emphasising Job Summit – Labour brokers; scrapping of e-tolls etc.
- 2.7. Implementation of NHI
- 2.8. Politics and ideological consciousness – have political schools – debate ideological and political issues – reconfiguration of the alliance

4th Quarter

- 2.9. The National Minimum Wage Struggle
- 2.10. Anti -Corruption campaign
- 2.11. Provinces in the borders to pick up one international campaign.

5. Conclusion

We remain guided by the words of comrade Govan Mbeki when answering a question “what then must the oppressed and exploited majority do to turn things in their favour ?

He said that ” Our starting point is to direct our attention and efforts to the source of our strength by saying:” Go to the masses of the oppressed and exploited peoples of our land. Work among them, work with them to prepare the way for a takeover of power “

The Giant is moving and anyone standing on our way shall perish !