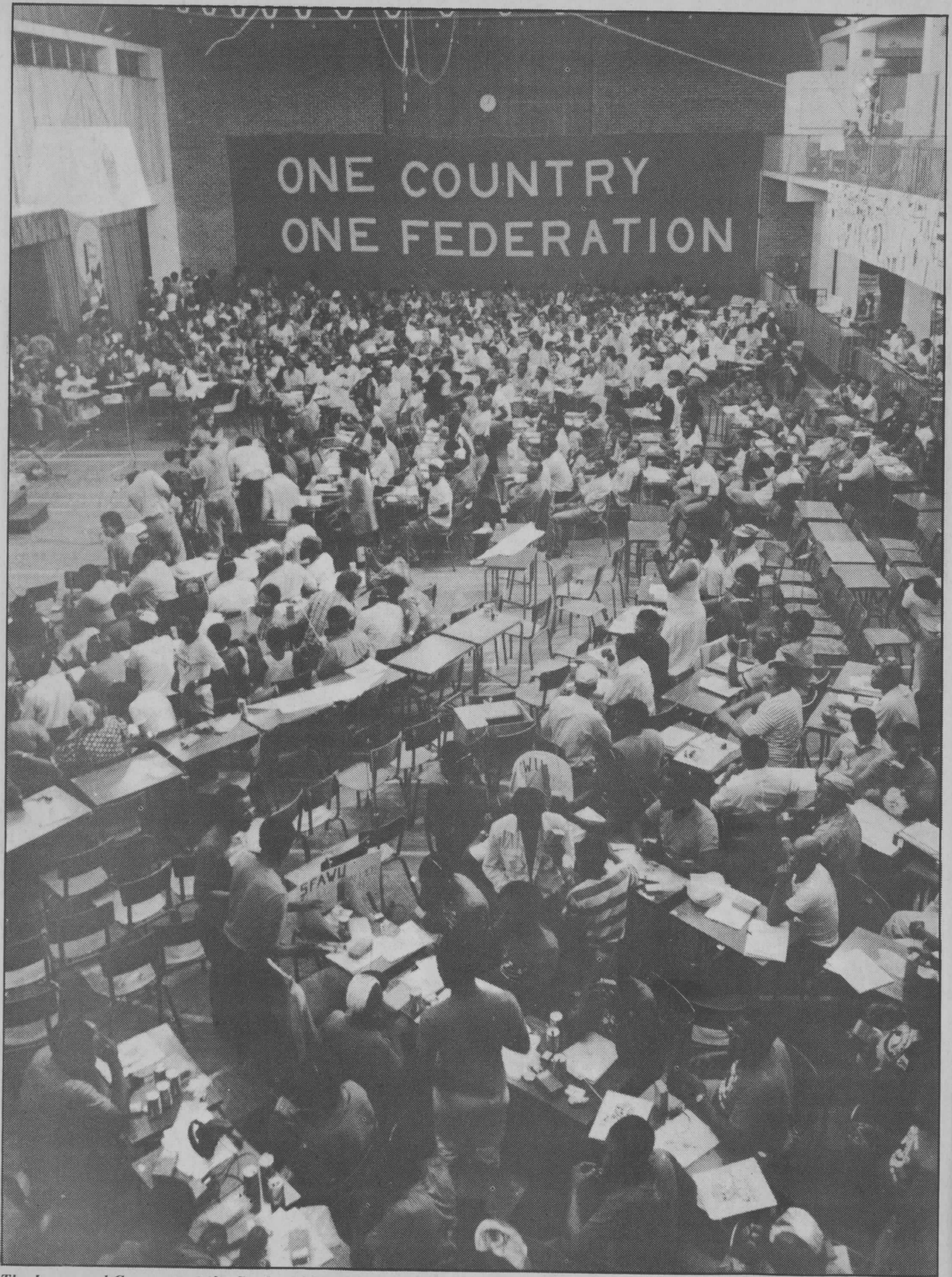




NEWS Congress

**'We firmly commit ourselves
to a united democratic South Africa
free of oppression and exploitation'**



The Inaugural Congress at the Students' Union Hall, Durban
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The weekend of November 29 to December 1 saw the launch of the biggest trade union federation of industrial workers in South African labour history.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has a paid-up membership of 449 679 covering all the major industrial sectors of this country apart from agriculture. And fairly soon even agriculture will be covered, as COSATU decided at the Inaugural Congress to fund an organising drive in the agricultural and state sectors.

COSATU is also a truly national federation representing workers in

all the major industrial towns of South Africa. Eight hundred and seventy delegates came to the Inaugural Congress from the Eastern and Western Cape, Natal, Transvaal, the Orange Free State and even from as far as Namibia, making it the one of the biggest worker congresses in South African history.

Among the federation's affiliates are some of this country's giant industrial unions like the rapidly expanding National Union of Mineworkers, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, and the Metal and Allied Workers Union. And

once mergers have been completed towards the middle of next year, almost all of the industrial sectors will be represented by large industrial unions.

Clearly by its sheer size, COSATU will put the stamp of the working class on South African politics more firmly than ever before. But more important than its size, the federation through its extensive democratic structures has considerable organisational power based in the factories. The challenge facing COSATU will be whether it is able to link this worker base to the present upsurge in South Africa's black communities.



The congress opened with the singing of 'Nkosi Sikelela'

Workers' political strength depends upon building strong and militant organisation in the workplace.

We also have to realise that organised workers are not representative of the working class as a whole but are its most effective weapon. Therefore, for workers it is important that organisation on the shop floor be strengthened and in this way we will be able to contribute to the struggle of the working class as a whole and to the struggle of the oppressed people in this country.

It is also important to draw people into a programme for the restructuring of society in order to make sure that the wealth of our society is democratically controlled and shared by all its people.

It is important to realise that the politic struggle is not only to remove the government. We must also eliminate unemployment, improve education, improve health facilities and the wealth of society must be shared among all those that work in this country.

It is important that the politics of the working class eventually be-

comes the politics of all the oppressed people of this country.

This was the central thrust of Cyril Ramaphosa's opening speech which set the tone for the Inaugural Congress. Apart from being the general secretary of COSATU's biggest union — the National Union of Mineworkers — Cyril Ramaphosa was also the convener of the congress.

It was clear to all the delegates who crowded into the Students' Union Hall at the University of Natal that the Inaugural Congress was an historic occasion. It represented a giant step for this country's working class.

As Cyril Ramaphosa put it earlier in his speech, 'The formation of this congress represents a tremendous victory for the working class. Never before has it been so powerful and so poised to make a mark in society.'

Cyril Ramaphosa went on to discuss the role that COSATU will play within the 'crisis' in which South Africa now finds itself and its crucial role within the wider struggle for liberation.

We are all living in urgent times, he said, therefore it is urgent to make it clear to the South African govern-

ment, employers and all sections of society where the working class, united under the banner of COSATU, will stand.

The reforms that have been proposed by the government and employers are not offering any solution. The Rand is continuing to drop, there is high inflation and the cost of living is rising every day.

While all this is happening the people in the country are continuing to resist. Confrontation with the police has become a daily thing. Some of the townships have become completely ungovernable. The government has clearly demonstrated that it is not in control of this country and PW Botha has failed to point the direction. It is time that the working class tell him to lay down his powers and let the legitimate leaders of the country take over the seat he now occupies.

We have seen in the past four years that organisations of the oppressed have grown stronger. And at the same time we have seen trade unions growing stronger as well. We have seen trade unions not only broaden their areas of struggle on the

'Working class power depends upon strong factory organisation'

shop floor, we have also seen them contribute to community struggles.

However the pace of these struggles has been determined by people in the community. As trade unions we have always thought that our main area of activity was on the shop floor — the struggle against the bosses. But we have always recognised that industrial issues are political. Workers have long realised when they are paid lower wages that it is a political issue. But what is difficult is how to make the link between economic and political issues.

We all agree that the struggle of workers on the shop floor cannot be separated from the wider struggle for liberation. The important question we have to ask ourselves is how is COSATU going to contribute to the struggle for our liberation. As unions we have sought to develop a consciousness among workers, not only of racial oppression but also of their exploitation as a working class.

As unions we have influenced the wider political struggle. Our struggles on the shop floor have widened the space for struggles in the community. Through interaction with community organisations, we have developed the principle of worker controlled democratic organisation. But our main political task as workers is to develop organisation among workers as well as a strong worker leadership. We have as unions to act decisively to ensure that we, as workers, lead the struggle.

Our most urgent task is to develop a unity among workers. We would wish COSATU to give firm political direction for workers. If workers are to lead the struggle for liberation we have to win the confidence of other sectors of society. It is important for us to work in alliance with other classes in society. But if we are to get into alliances with other progressive organisations, it must be on terms that are favourable to us as workers.

To make sure we establish alliances which are progressive, we must be strong and united. And it is COSATU that is going to unite us under one banner. To do this we have to give concrete expression to the five

basic principles on which COSATU was formed. All these principles must be put into practice in order to build a stronger unity and enable us to better participate in the struggle for liberation.

When we do plunge into political activity, we must make sure that the unions under COSATU have a strong shop floor base not only to take on the employers but the State as well. Our role in the political struggle will depend on our organisational strength.

We must meet with progressive political organisations. We have to work in co-operation with them on realistic campaigns. We must not shy away and pretend they do not exist.

We have to pay particular attention to worker education and our role in the political struggle. We must encourage a healthy exchange between our Congress and other progressive organisations.

In the next few days we will be considering resolutions which will point the direction that COSATU will take. We will be putting our heads together not only to make sure that we reach Pretoria but also to make a better life for us workers in this country. What we have to make clear is that a giant has risen and it will confront all that stand in its way.

COSATU is going to determine the direction of the working class in this country, Cyril Ramaphosa concluded.



The congress convener, Cyril Ramaphosa

NEW WORKER LEADERS

We the trade union representatives here present firmly commit ourselves to a united democratic South Africa, free of oppression and economic exploitation.

So starts the preamble for the new constitution of COSATU. The whole of the second day of the Inaugural Congress was spent looking at the constitution which sets up the various structures of the federation, including the National Congress, the Central Executive Committee (which replaces FOSATU's Central Committee), the Executive Committee and the regional structures.

The preamble of the constitution sets out the general tasks of the federation. It continues as follows:

We believe that this (a united democratic South Africa) can only be achieved under the leadership of a united working class. Our history has taught us that to achieve this goal we will have to carry out the following tasks:

- To organise the unorganised workers and build effective trade unions based on the democratic organisation of workers in the factories, mines, shops, farms and other workplaces.
- Organise national industrial unions, financed and controlled by their worker members through democratically elected committees.
- Unify these industrial unions into a national worker controlled federation.
- Combat the divisions amongst the workers of South Africa and unite them into a strong and confident working class.
- Encourage democratic worker organisations and leadership in all spheres of our society together with other progressive sectors of the community.
- Reinforce and encourage progressive international worker contact and solidarity so as to assist one another in our struggles.

We call on all those who identify with this commitment to join us and the workers whom we represent as comrades in the struggle ahead. We call on all trade unions to strive and unite their members in their ranks without discrimination and prejudice, and therefore resolve that this federation shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interests of all workers and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity: 'An injury to one is an injury to all'.

Immediately after the preamble was accepted, the name of the federation was discussed and on this there was no disagreement — it should be called the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Another important part of the constitution which was debated on the second day was the 'Aims and Objects' of the federation. The most important of these are:

- To secure social and economic justice for all workers.
- To strive for the building of a united working class movement regardless of 'race', colour, creed, or sex.
- To encourage all workers to join trade unions and to develop a spirit of solidarity among all workers.
- To understand how the economy of the country affects workers and to formulate clear policies as to how the economy would be restructured in the interests of the working class.
- To work for a restructuring of the economy which will allow the creation of wealth to be democratically controlled and fairly shared.
- To strive for just standards of living, social security and fair conditions of work for all.
- To facilitate and co-ordinate education and training of all workers so as to further the interests of the working class.

Most of the draft constitution was passed without any changes. However, there were important amendments made to the composition and voting procedures of the Central Executive Committee.

The National Union of Textile Workers proposed that when the members of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) are divided on a particular issue and it goes to the vote, then it should only be passed if over two-thirds of the CEC vote in favour of the motion. NUTW delegates explained to the congress that this was to ensure the greatest possible unity at the CEC. They argued that most issues would be decided by consensus but where there was division, they said, it should not be possible for some of the unions to 'bulldoze' other unions. NUTW's proposal was accepted by the congress.

In order to make the CEC more representative and therefore more democratic, the Food and Canning Workers Union suggested that the bigger unions be entitled to more delegates. They proposed that unions with more than 15 000 members be al-

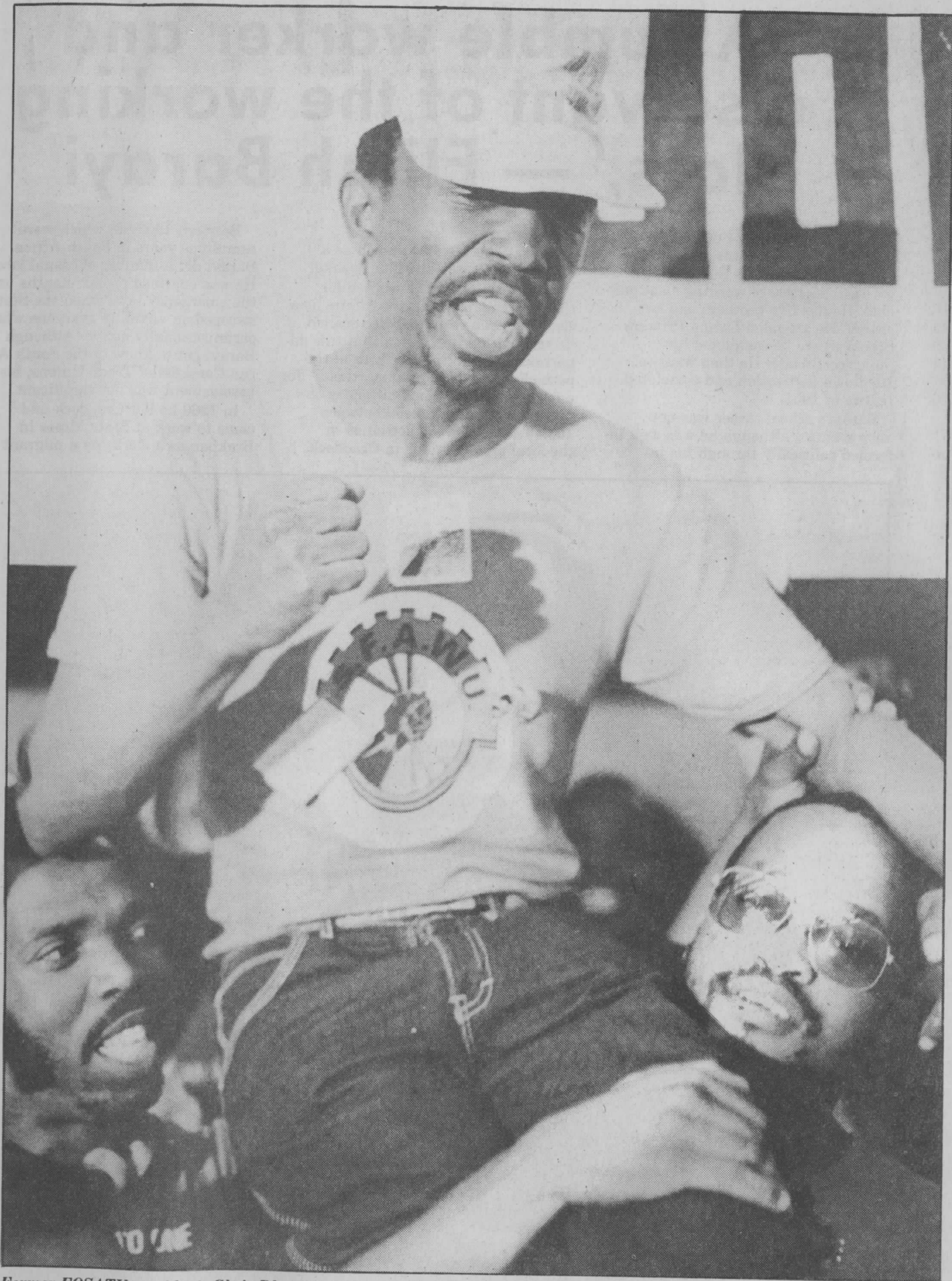
lowed an extra two delegates. Unions with less than 15 000 members will therefore have two places on the CEC and the larger unions will have four. Similar adjustments were made to the Regional Executive Committees. In proposing this amendment to the size of the CEC, FCWU said this change would mean that there would be more adequate worker representatives and it would also encourage the formation of bigger unions.

The congress also accepted that in addition to the post of general secretary, there should also be an assistant general secretary. In proposing this the Municipal Workers Union of South Africa said that because COSATU was such a large federation, the general secretary would need some assistance.

Late on Saturday evening, after the constitution had been completed, the congress finally got round to electing the office bearers. Most of them were elected unopposed. The congress only needed to vote on the position of second vice-president where there was two candidates — Robert Gqweta from the South African Allied Workers Union and Makhulu Ledwaba from the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union. There was much excitement in the hall as the office bearers were announced. Each of them was carried shoulder high by members of their unions to the front of the hall to take their place on the stage.

National Union of Mineworkers' vice-president, Elijah Barayi, became the first president of COSATU. The two vice-presidents are Chris Dlamini (former FOSATU president) and Makhulu Ledwaba (CCAWUSA's president). The vice-president of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, Maxwell Xulu, was elected as treasurer of the federation. Jay Naidoo, Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union's general secretary, was elected general secretary of COSATU and Sydney Mafumadi from the General and Allied Workers Union was elected the assistant general secretary.

In his brief acceptance speech, Jay Naidoo said that COSATU was an important force in the struggle for liberation from apartheid and class exploitation. 'But we need discipline and sacrifices. This federation has been founded on the sacrifices made by the people before us from ICU, CNETU, SACTU and now there is COSATU,' he concluded.



Former FOSATU president, Chris Dlamini, becomes the new federation's first vice-president

'A humble worker and a servant of the working class,' — Elijah Barayi

The first president of COSATU, Elijah Barayi, was born in Craddock in the Eastern Cape on April 15 1930 of working class parents. He has five brothers and two sisters. He attended Lwana Primary School where he completed his junior certificate. He then went to Heldtown Institution and completed matric in 1951.

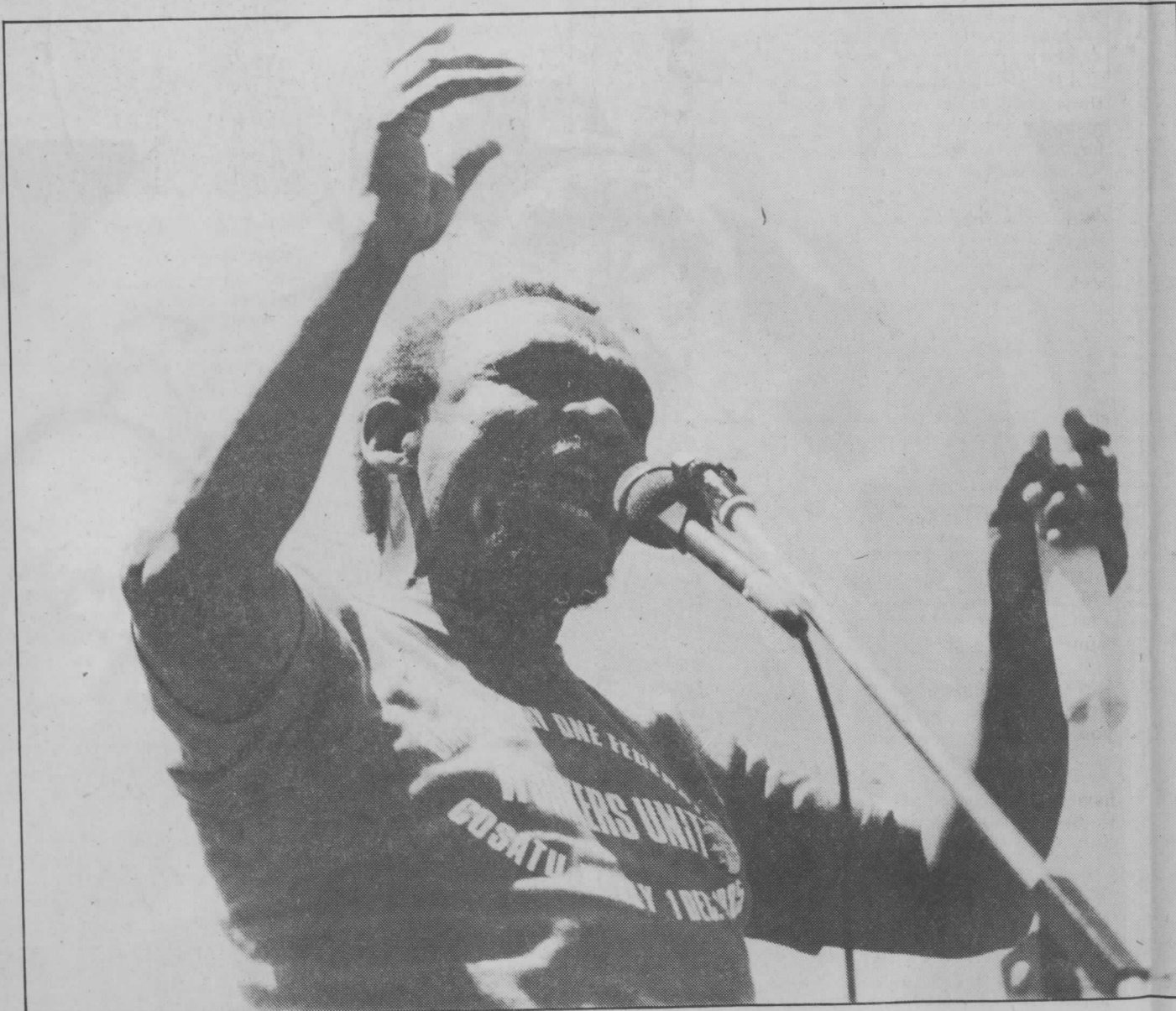
Barayi's school career was not very eventful although he was well informed politically through his in-

volvement in the local youth organisations. He was known as a talented organiser and able speaker.

For a brief period he worked for the Department of Native Affairs as a clerk but soon resigned. He recalled 'It was not my line, given that this department was in the forefront of the pernicious legislation of apartheid.' For a few years Barayi had difficulty obtaining work and instead between 1951-3 continued his activities in the local organisations in Craddock.

Between 1953-60, which were tumultuous years in South Africa, Barayi did a number of casual jobs. He was detained for six months under the emergency laws when the State swooped on virtually everyone who was organisationally active. Although Barayi got to know of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, his involvement was not significant.

In 1960 he left Craddock and came to work at State Mines in Brakpan as a clerk. As a migrant



COSATU president, Elijah Barayi

worker he lived in the hostels earning 'something like five pounds'. It was in the mining industry that he experienced all the brutal aspects of apartheid. 'It was there where I realised that the freedom of South Africa's black people would be won by the working class because they are the most oppressed and exploited section of our society,' he recalls.

He was transferred to Elsburg Gold Company in the Weston area in 1969. He stayed there until 1973 and then joined Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine in Carltonville as a clerk. In 1976 he was promoted to a personnel assistant — a position he still presently holds. He says that his 'real contact' with trade unions was with the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982. 'When Wiehan announced that black workers could form trade unions, it was then that we started to develop organisation on the mines. When NUM came we were ready,' he said.

'I joined NUM because the workers were paid peanuts. It is also true that through the union, workers' rights can be fought for, their dignity won and their pride restored. It is also through the trade union that I can make my contribution to the struggle for freedom of South Africa's working people,' he said.

Barayi was elected the vice-president at the Founding Congress of NUM in 1982. He is extremely popular with rank and file workers. His style of leadership is by example. He is unassuming and modest. Barayi led one of the biggest strikes in Carltonville when 30 000 miners struck on May 17 and 18 this year in solidarity with the dismissal of two shaft stewards. He detests being compared with anyone. He is, in his words, 'a humble worker and servant of the working class'.

What is your view of an ideal union?

The union must represent the views and interests of its members. The union must be democratic and under worker control. This must be the foundation of any organisation.

Did the overnight prominence as COSATU president effect you in your life?

Well obviously there are now many new pressures placed on me. But I have not changed at all. My lifestyle is still the same. I still have to work a full day.

As president do you see yourself as a man who takes decisions or who carries out the wishes of the workers?

I am a servant of the workers. I was elected to carry out their wishes. As a



Elijah Barayi being paraded around the field at the mass rally

worker leader I have a duty to see that workers' interests are advanced.

What to your mind is the foremost challenge facing you as president?

Firstly, to see the mergers of unions so that we get national industrial unions established. Secondly, to get the federation operating in a unified way by getting the locals and regions going. In this way COSATU's policies can take effect. Thirdly, to organise those workers who are not organised and presently not in our federation. Simply to mobilise the entire working class is the most important long term objective.

What do you regard as the most difficult part of your job?

Getting all the unions to act in unity. We are a new born baby. We need time to consolidate various levels of COSATU structures.

Can you clarify the extent to which COSATU plays a political role?

One thing is clear. We as trade unions are directly effected by the political system in South Africa. So we cannot divorce ourselves from the political struggle. COSATU's political policy has not yet been decided so our ex-

act programme of action will only be clear once this decision is made. But political involvement will be decided, depending on the issue, whether it is local or national, by the appropriate structure of the federation. Our relationship with other organisations will depend on whether they agree with our aims and objectives. I can't say more than that until COSATU adopts their political policy.

COSATU has been accused of being a front for the ANC and labelled a communist organisation by government analysts and other critics. How do you respond and can you clarify your relationship with the ANC, UDF and other organisations?

These accusations have no substance. They are premature. On what basis do they make these accusations? The government is very stupid if they wish to take up this position. COSATU is an independent trade union federation and represents over half a million members. We have no links with any organisation. Our relationship with progressive organisations will be decided when we discuss our political policy. But it must be clearly stated that COSATU, as a workers' organisation will put the interests of workers first.



COSATU — WE'LL RISE WITH YOU



U-COSATU — Sonyuka naye 'masingena enkululekweni (COSATU — We'll rise with you as we advance towards freedom), sang between 8 000 and 10 000 workers at the mass rally on December 1 at the Kings Park Rugby Stadium in Durban held to celebrate the founding of the new federation — COSATU.

This stadium which usually sees two rugby teams battling it out on the field was treated to a very different kind of spectacle. Huge groups of singing workers waving colourful union banners marched up and down the field before the rally began.

Banners were from the National Union of Textile Workers, General Workers Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, Transport and General Workers Union, Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union, Metal and Allied Workers Union, National Union of Mineworkers, Food and Canning Workers Union and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union.

Even the huge COSATU banner was paraded up and down the field. And when the new COSATU president, Elijah Barayi, arrived workers

lifted him shoulder high and marched round the field.

Before the COSATU president addressed the rally, workers were treated to two choirs — one from Kelloggs in Springs (the K Team) and the other from the Frame factories in New Germany. The K Team sang most of the songs that they have recorded on the FOSATU record.

Also, COSATU's assistant general secretary, Sydney Mafumadi read out messages of support which came from a wide variety of local organisations such as the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, the Western Cape Youth League and the United Democratic Front. Messages were also received from all the international secretariats and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as well as numerous European trade unions and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Under banners which called on the Troops and police to get out of the townships and another which called for the release of Mandela, Elijah Barayi, gave the government six months in which to get rid of the pass system.

'PW should get rid of the passes. He should get rid of these troops before

the house burns. We are saying to PW that he must unban COSAS because it is innocent. All these examples show beyond doubt that PW and his government have failed to rule this land. We are saying to PW and his colleagues that they must resign and let the rightful people take over their positions,' he said.

Earlier in his speech Elijah Barayi said that the economy was in the mess because the country was being ruled by criminals.

'JB Vorster was in prison for two-and-a-half years for assisting the Germans. And thereafter he became prime minister and then president. PW Botha in 1943 was moving round the schools trying to get Afrikaans introduced. But today when kids say they don't want Afrikaans in the schools they are shot at by police,' he added.

Speaking about disinvestment, Brother Barayi attacked 'bantustan leaders' for going up and down the world saying that black people would suffer if the companies disinvested.

'I have got a message for the puppets of the bantustans — the blood of the black people and the tears of the black people will be asked from you,' he concluded.



When the workers' rally had finished at Kings Park Rugby Stadium, delegates rushed back to the congress to begin discussing the numerous resolutions that had been put forward by the various unions.

But first the matter of the symbol still had to be decided. There were five symbols to choose from. Most of the delegates preferred the symbol with the three figures. Women delegates were insistent that one of the figures be changed to a woman in order to represent the important role that women workers play in the struggle. Another delegate also suggested that the federation's slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all' be added to the symbol. So in the end it was decided to ask the artist to redraw the symbol to fit in with these suggestions and it would then be submitted to the first meeting of the Central Executive Committee

By this stage of the congress time was running out so the office bearers suggested that the delegates only deal with about half of the resolutions which had been put forward and that the rest be referred to the CEC. The Sunday evening was then spent debating these resolutions. The resolutions which were passed deal with a large variety of subjects. Included are resolutions supporting all forms of international pressure on South Africa, calls for the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency, the granting of the right to strike and to picket and the establishment of a minimum wage.

Other resolutions condemn the bantustan system, the migrant labour system and the double exploitation of women workers. Below we print in full the resolutions that were passed at the congress.

MIGRANT LABOUR

This federation noting:

1. That pass laws were legislated by the apartheid regime to control and dehumanise the lives of the working class in SA.
2. That pass laws and influx control served to strengthen the hand of capital to exploit and oppress the working class in its endeavour to generate super profits.
3. That the economic and social hardships of the migrant labour system includes the break-up of family life and relationships.
4. That the migrant labour system seeks to further divide the oppressed and exploited workers into permanent residents and migrants.
5. That if the apartheid regime persists threatening to repatriate migrant workers to the homelands and neighbouring countries.

Resolves to;

1. Fight for the scrapping of the migrant labour system including pass laws and influx control.
2. Fight for the right of workers to seek work wherever they wish and

to reside with their families wherever they wish and that proper housing will be provided for them.

3. Call for a national strike should the apartheid regime carry out its threat to repatriate any migrant workers.

Proposed by the National Union of Mineworkers

UNEMPLOYMENT

Believing:

That all able-bodied men and women have a right to work.

Noting:

1. That under capitalist conditions of exploitation, unemployment is a reality facing every worker at all times.
2. That these unemployed workers are used as a reserve pool of labour by the bosses to keep wages low and to provide a source of scab labour in the event of strikes.
3. That the interests of all workers, whether employed or unemployed, are the same — the right to a job at a decent living wage.
4. That the unity of employed and unemployed workers is essential in the struggle against scabbing and to advance the struggle for the right to work at a living wage.
5. That under capitalist conditions of exploitation, unemployment is a reality facing workers at all times and is a waste of the human resources of this country.

And further noting:

1. That in SA there are millions of unemployed — a number that is increasing daily through retrenchments.
2. That the introductions of new technology for profiteering purposes is making the whole unemployment situation even worse. This is further aggravated by pressure from employers for higher productivity.
3. That many are abandoning all hope of finding suitable employment in the immediate future.
4. That for thousands of school leavers there is virtually no prospect of getting employment and therefore no possibility of drawing UIF benefits.
5. That unemployed workers are not organised in SA.

Congress therefore resolves to:

1. Fight as one united force to defend all jobs threatened by retrenchments; fight the closing of the factories; and fight for participation in and control over — right from the planning stage — the implementation of any new technology. And fight all attempts by employers to make

workers work harder and attempts to rationalise production, because in the present system this always leads to unemployment.

2. Campaign for a 40 hour week at full pay and a ban on overtime.
3. Fight for free and increased unemployment benefits and that these benefits be paid in SA.
4. Fight for a subsistence fund, in addition to unemployed benefits, supplemented by rent, transport and medical concessions for all unemployed workers.
5. Demand that the state initiate a national programme of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed and to improve services and facilities in working class communities.
6. Fight for work-sharing on full pay whenever workers face retrenchments.
7. Establish a national unemployed workers union as a full affiliate of the new federation to struggle for the realisation of the right of all to work and security.
8. Struggle for a fair, democratic and rational political and economic system which can guarantee full employment for all people in Southern Africa at a living wage.
9. To give full support to efforts by retrenched and dismissed workers to establish co-operatives based on the principles of COSATU.

Composite resolution

NATIONAL MINIMUM LIVING WAGE

Seeing that:

1. The majority of workers in SA are earning starvation wages because of the present economic system, constantly rising prices (inflation) is making what little money workers have worth less and less every day.
2. Employers in SA continue to make massive and completely unrealistic profits when compared with employers in other capitalist countries.
3. Many millions of workers do not have any minimum wage protection whatsoever.
4. The issue of a living wage is one of the strongest points for organising the unorganised.

We hereby resolve:

1. That the Central Executive Committee establish as soon as possible what workers regard as a minimum living wage.
2. To initiate and conduct — in alliance with other progressive organisations and trade unions in the country — an ongoing national

campaign for a legally enforced national minimum living wage for all workers in SA, by amongst other things fighting in every industry through worker action and negotiation for that minimum living wage to be paid by all employers.

3. To fight for this minimum living wage to be automatically linked to the rate of inflation.
4. To struggle for the abolition of GST on all essential items and worker control over all deductions like pensions and UIF, which are being financed by workers but used against workers by the racist and anti-worker government.
5. To fight to open all the books of every organised company so that workers can see exactly how the wealth they have produced is being wasted and misused by the employers' profit system, and on that basis can demand their full share of the wealth they have produced. Should the wealth not be there, then it will only prove the inefficiency of employer management and strengthen the case for worker control and management of production.

Proposed by CCAWUSA

WOMEN

This Federation noting:

1. That women workers experience both exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race;
2. That women are employed in a limited range of occupations, doing boring and repetitive work with low and often unequal pay;
3. That due to overtime and night work women workers are subjected to many dangers while commuting;
4. That women workers often suffer sexual harassment in recruitment and employment;
5. That most women workers in South Africa lose their jobs when they become pregnant;
6. That pregnant women often have to work under conditions harmful to themselves and their unborn child.

Resolves to fight:

1. Against all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society and in the federation;
2. For the equal right of women and men to paid work as an important part of the broader aim to achieve full and freely chosen employment;
3. For equal pay for all work of equal value - the value of work must be determined by organised women and men workers themselves;
4. For the restructuring of employment

- so as to allow women and men the opportunity of qualifying for jobs of equal value;
5. For childcare and family facilities to meet workers' needs and make it easier for workers to combine work and family responsibilities;
6. For full maternity rights, including paid maternity and paternity leave and job security;
7. For the protection of women and men from all types of work proved to be harmful to them, including work which interferes with their ability to have children;
8. Against sexual harassment in whatever form it occurs;
9. For adequate and safe transport for workers doing overtime and night work.

Now commits itself:

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

Proposed by CCAWUSA

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

This Federation noting:

1. That Capital and the local state are spending millions of rand to celebrate the centenary of Johannesburg;
2. That they are planning the celebrations next year without consulting the workers who have built Johannesburg, the gold mines and the industrial complexes we have today;

Therefore resolves:

1. To organise a boycott of all centenary celebrations;
2. To ensure that all unions under the banner of COSATU organise an alternative programme to highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg and in particular the mining industry.

FEDERALISM

This Congress noting that:

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

Resolves to:

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

And further believes that:

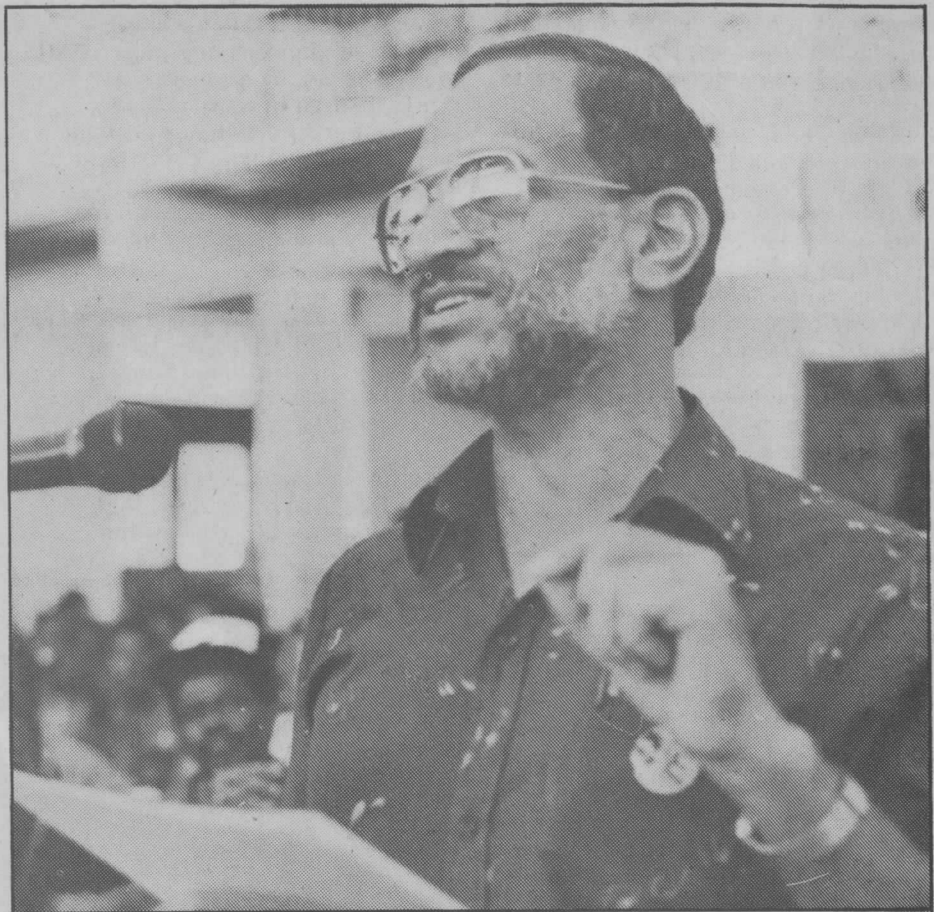
Only with the total unification of all people into South Africa will we be able to re-build our rich land and make a real contribution to breaking the chains of poverty and economic exploitation that bind Africa.

Proposed by the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union

DISINVESTMENT

This Congress:

1. Believes that all forms of international pressure on the South African government — including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment — is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it.
2. Further believes that if this government remains intransigent in its racist, anti-democratic and anti-worker practices, then this pressure will have to increase as an act of solidarity with our struggle for liberation from exploitation and oppression.
3. Commits ourselves to ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of the people of South Africa for the benefit of all and further commits ourselves to the principle of international working class solidarity action as the most powerful form of solidarity action with our struggle.



NAAWU's Fred Sauls speaks during one of the congress debates

Proposed by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA)

Proposed by the General and Allied Workers Union

STATE OF EMERGENCY

This Inaugural Conference believing:

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

Calls:

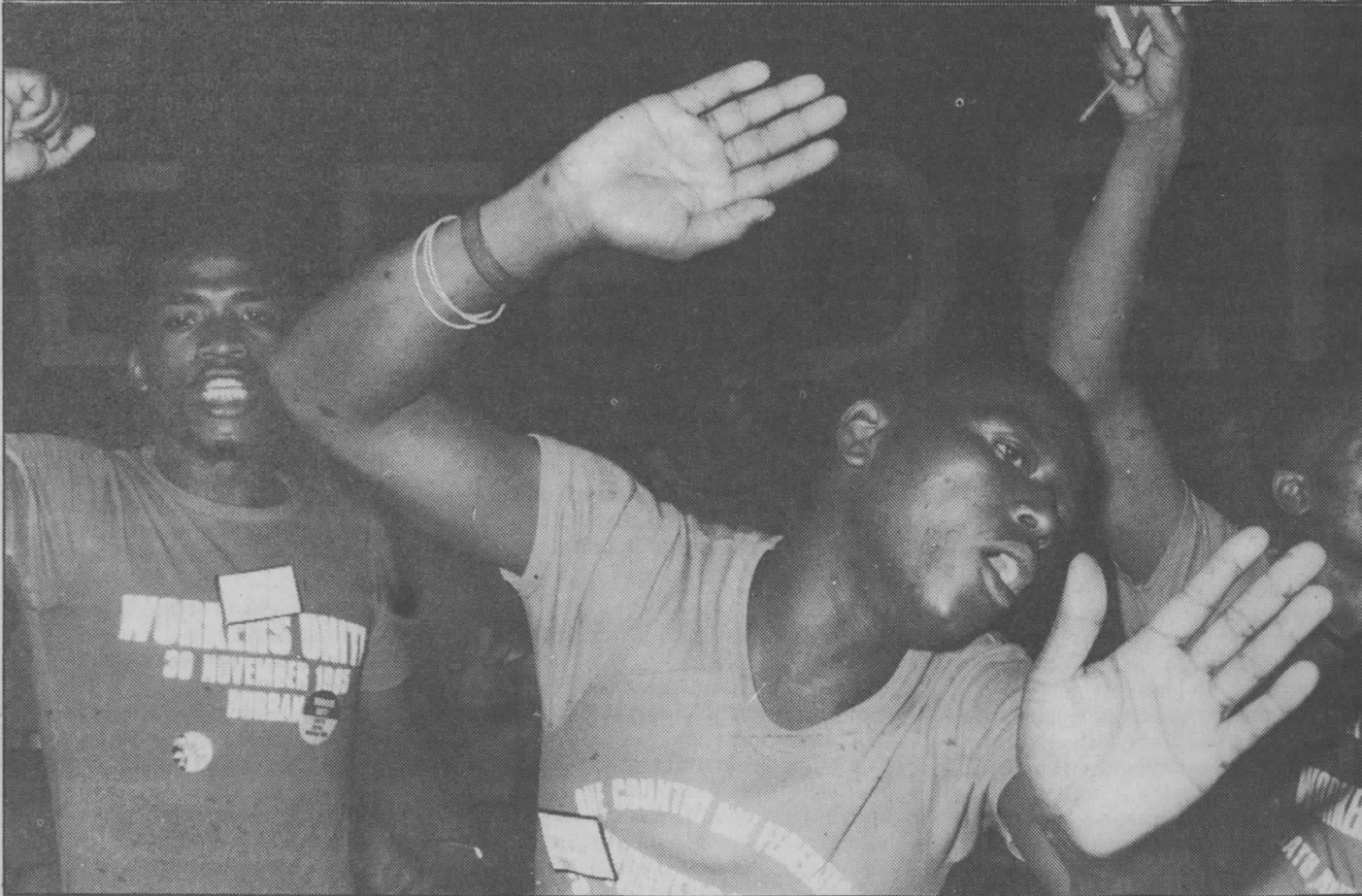
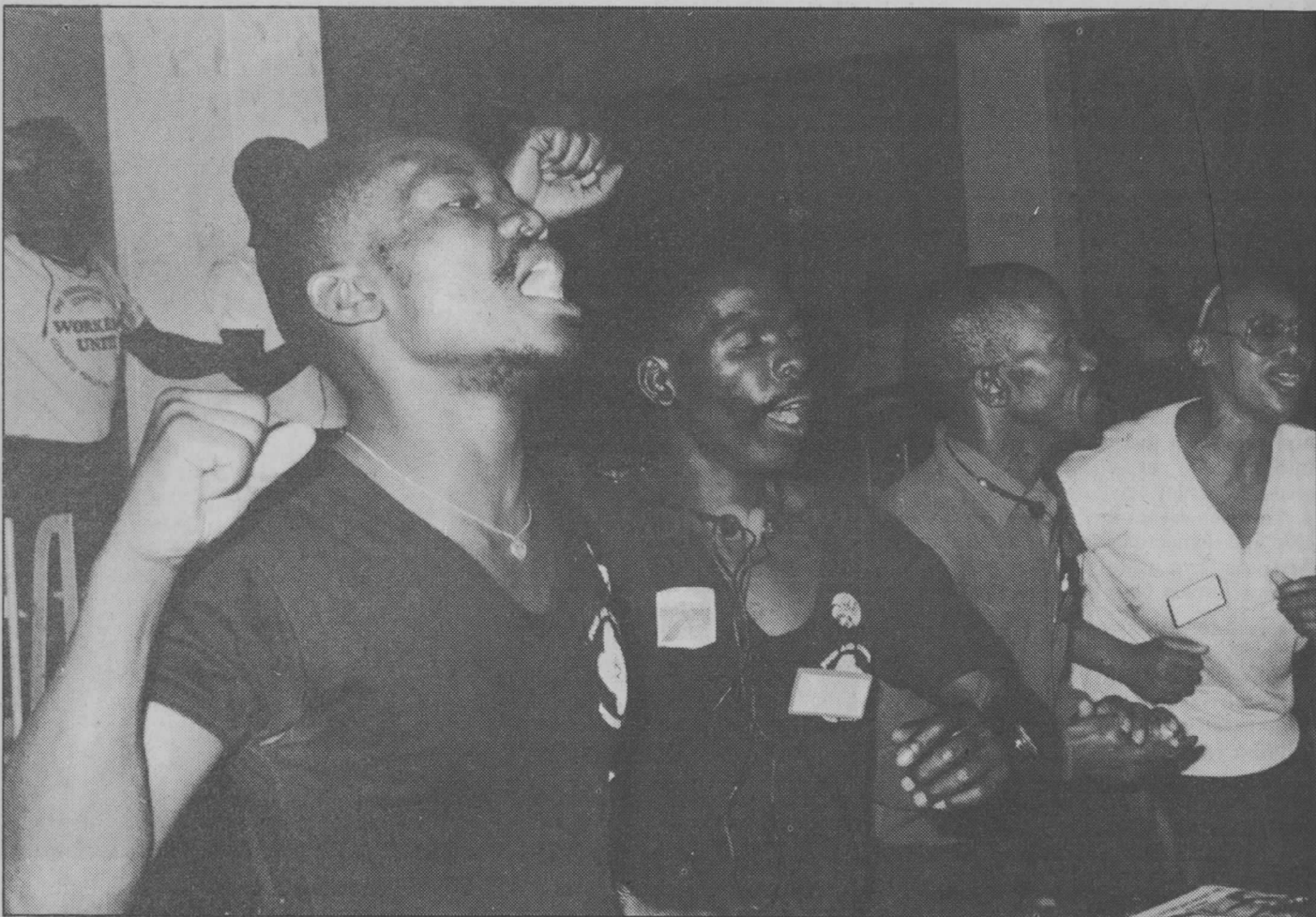
1. For the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency.
2. For the withdrawal of the SADF and all apartheid security forces from the townships.
3. For the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations, as a prelude to the creation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

RIGHT TO STRIKE

This federation noting:

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

Therefore resolves:



Workers still found time to sing in between the debates at congress

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

Composite resolution

BANTUSTANS

The Congress noting:

1. That the bantustan system was

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

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

Noting in particular:

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

Hereby resolves that:

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

4. That we express our solidarity with those communities around Durban and elsewhere who are struggling against being incorporated into the bantustans.

Composite resolution

SOUTHERN AFRICAN UNION COOPERATION

This federation noting:

1. That foreign and South African multinational corporations (MNC's) have for years exploited workers in Southern Africa by reaping huge profits and exporting them to Europe and America.
2. That workers in Southern Africa are employed by the same MNC's and subjected to similar conditions of control, exploitation and oppression.
3. That many of them are union bashers and have undermined the legitimate right of workers to organise trade unions.
4. That these MNC's, as the major agencies of imperialism, have coop-



Excitement at this the first congress of COSATU



The symbol most favoured by delegates at the congress
Page 18

erated with reactionary regimes in pursuit of super-profits.

5. That MNC's can only be resisted if there is unity and worker to worker contact in various countries of Southern Africa.

6. That the problems faced by the workers of Southern Africa are integrally linked and that their futures are tied together.

Therefore resolves:

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

Proposed by NUM

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Noting:

1. That all affiliates have previously committed themselves to the establishment of one national union in each sector of industry.
2. That the structures of the federation are less effective with so many affiliates.
3. That we will be unable to protect worker interests and advance their rights unless we build large broadly based industrial unions capable of dealing with the highly centralised structures of capital.

Therefore resolves:

1. To confirm its commitment to the establishment of one national affiliate in each industry and to national co-operation between such affiliates as a matter of great urgency.
2. That should such developments not have materialised by the end of March 1986, a Special National Congress be convened in June or July 1986 to assess such failure.
3. That in order to facilitate the establishment of national industrial unions affiliates are urged to establish a single union in each of the following sectors:

Food and Drink;
Textile, Clothing and Leather;
Paper, Wood and Printing;
Mining, Electrical Energy;
Metal, Motor Assembly and Components;
Chemical and Petroleum;
Commercial and Catering;
Transport, SA Transport Services,

Cleaning and Security;
Local Government and Public Administration including Education, Health, Posts and Telecommunications;
Domestic Workers.

4. That all structures of the federation be used to encourage mergers of affiliates operating in the same industry.
5. That the Central Executive Committee establish priorities in relation to resources available with a view to the establishment of national affiliates in the Construction and Agriculture sectors.
6. That the Central Executive Committee be directed to facilitate the implementation of this resolution and to this end take such action as may be necessary. Further that the Central Executive Committee may also evaluate the viability of the sectors outlined above, with particular reference to problems which may exist in all sectors.

Proposed by the Chemical Workers Industrial Union and the National Union of Textile Workers

REGIONAL AREAS OF THE FEDERATION

That this congress resolves:

1. That the regional areas of the federation be:

Northern Transvaal
Witwatersrand/Vaal
Highveld
Western Transvaal
Northern Natal
Southern Natal
Orange Free State
Northern Cape
Western Cape
Eastern Cape

2. That the Central Executive Committee be instructed, that immediately when feasible as provided for in clause 9.1. of the constitution of the federation, that regional structures be established in such regional areas.

Proposed by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union

EDUCATION

This federation noting:

1. That the present education system in South Africa is designed to maintain the working class in ideological bondage.
2. That the present education system is

designed to continue and reinforce the values, ideas and practices of the ruling classes.

3. That the present education system is aimed at fostering divisions and anti-democratic values within the working class.

4. That education is vital in the liberation struggle of the working class.

5. That education must serve the interests of the vast majority of the people of the country.

Therefore resolves:

1. To establish a national, regional and local education programme for the federation to:

a) ensure that this education programme politicises, mobilises and organises the working class so that they play the leading role in the liberation of our society and its transformation into an economic, social and political system that will serve the needs of those who are now oppressed and exploited.

b) develop an understanding and capacity to wage our struggle by democratic means that will allow maximum participation decision making power for workers both now and in the future society we wish to build.

c) develop the human potential to the fullest and to create and transform skills and the abilities as that they are accessible to the oppressed and exploited.

d) develop the understanding among the working class that their struggle forms part of the world struggle against oppression and exploitation.

2. To establish a Federation newspaper which will:

a) express the views and policies of the Federation and its affiliates.

b) record the struggles of the Federation and its affiliates.

c) counter the dominance of the bosses' media by popularising democratic ideas, values and traditions among the working class.


3. To organise and commemorate the important cultural events and resistance days in the working class calendar, for example, May Day and June 16 and Federation Day.

4. To recommend to the Central Executive Committee of the federation that they appoint an education officer and newspaper editor.

5. To establish a National Coordinating Education Committee made up of:

- a) regional and local committees of workers.
- b) union representatives.

Proposed by NUM



1. Amalgamated Black Workers Union	1 000
2. Brick Clay and Allied Workers Union	748
3. Cape Town Municipal Workers Association	11 097
4. Chemical Workers Industrial Union	20 700
5. Cleaning Services and Allied Workers Union	850
6. Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA	50 345
7. Food and Canning Workers Union	26 455
8. General and Allied Workers Union	19 076
9. General Workers Union	10 000
10. General Workers Union of SA	2 205
11. Health and Allied Workers Union	1 111
12. Metal and Allied Workers Union	36 789
13. Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of SA	3 100
14. Municipal Workers Union of SA	9 249
15. National Automobile and Allied Workers Union	20 338
16. National General Workers Union and the Retail and Allied Workers Union (Pretoria)	6 057
17. National Iron Steel and Metal Workers Union	976
18. Commercial Distributive Workers Union	1 600
19. National Post Office and Allied Workers Union	2 163
20. National Union of Textile Workers	23 241
21. National Union of Mineworkers	100 000
22. Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union	11 856
23. Retail and Allied Workers Union (Cape Town)	3 830
24. South African Allied Workers Union	25 032
25. South African Domestic Workers Association	4 500
26. South African Mineworkers Union	3 029
27. South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union	8 220
28. SA Scooter Transport and Allied Workers Union	4 700
29. SA Textile and Allied Workers Union	1 900
30. Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union	19 596
31. South African Tin Workers Union	581
32. Transport and General Workers Union	11 000
33. United Metal Mining and Allied Workers Union of SA	8 335