

COSATU Collective Bargaining, Organising and Campaigns Conference Declaration 15 March 2013

Introduction

We the 500 delegates representing 2,2 million members of the Federation organised by all the 19 affiliated unions, meeting in Boksburg, a city in which our working class hero Chris Hanu is buried, declare to all our members, the working class as a whole, and South Africa and the world, that we spent four days as instructed by the 11th Workers' Parliament to discuss pertinent issues affecting workers and our country as a whole.

Plenary inputs were of the highest quality, and discussions in the fifteen commissions that sat over the four days were dynamic and focused. Delegates are to be congratulated for bringing the best of their knowledge and experience to the fore.

We are emerging from the Conference more confident and united, and better prepared to confront our organisational challenges. We are meeting at a time when the focus of the country has been on negative issues that has threatened the foundation of our organisational unity in the recent past. But the spirit of delegates to this conference, as all observers can attest, was overwhelmingly constructive, and not infected at all by recent leadership divisions which have confronted the Federation. We commit to build on this progress, and work even harder for unity amongst our leaders and in the ranks of the workers movement. We declare that those who work to undermine worker unity are the enemies of all of us.

The Conference also takes place in the context of the continuing crisis of global capitalism, and the generalised international intensification of the attack by capital against trade unions, in an attempt to re-establish their conditions for heightened profitability, at the expense of workers and the poor.

This Conference is taking place at a time when the labour movement is facing some very serious challenges- both internal and external. Some are self-inflicted, and some are being pursued by our class enemies, to fatally weaken us. We condemn in the strongest possible terms the tendency of anonymous individuals within the federation to "leak" distorted and false information about decisions made in constitutional structures to the press.

We are acutely aware that unity is the only weapon workers have to improve their wages and conditions of employment. This matter of unity was forcefully reinforced by the Secretary General of the ANC to all of us that when he warned us that allowing a degeneration of worker organisation - would be a disaster. We will not allow that to happen. We want to bequeath to the next generation a united, growing, militant, independent and fighting federation that will continue to be a major factor in the political and economic life of our country.

The 11th National Congress told us in no uncertain terms to work for unity, and declared: "We know that we cannot afford to fight silly battles against one another when the house is on fire."

In the recent period we have come under sustained attack focused on weakening our affiliates, with the biggest COSATU affiliate being the primary target. In the process gains that took many years of militant worker struggles are being reversed with the main beneficiary of the worker versus worker violence being our class enemies. Collective bargaining institutions are also being thrown into disarray as too many of our members are being told that these institutions, which remain critical to worker power, are no longer important.

We are aware that the reason why our enemies found it easy to launch these attacks is because we have allowed a situation where our base is organisationally, politically and ideologically weakened.

The 2012 COSATU Congress spent extraordinary time assessing our organisational and political and economic challenges after listening to workers. The Congress Declaration stated that “The workers of our country have spoken, and COSATU, their organisation, has listened”. The congress further strongly stated, “We are not prepared to tolerate massive levels of unemployment! We want labour brokers banned now! We will not accept widespread poverty! We cannot live with grotesque levels of inequality, which have made us the most unequal society on the planet!” This Collective Bargaining Organising and Campaigns Conference is a sequel to this Congress, and seeks to take forward the resolutions and programme adopted here.

We commit to leave no stone unturned in pursuance of the programme to rebuild our organisation and address the remaining weaknesses. During this historic Collective Bargaining Organising and Campaigns Conference we spent many hours over four days addressing each of the challenges at hand.

We know that the prerequisite to addressing all the challenges is strengthening of unity between all our leadership structures, and in our organisation in general. We adopt the programme below to rally our members and the entire working class behind its objectives.

Our Campaign programme

1. Build our organisation

1.1 Organise the unorganised increase trade union membership and density

We noted that two out of every three workers are NOT organised! We have adopted a detailed plan and programme that will serve as a guide to our structures and members to ensure that all workers belong to our giant Federation. An intense recruitment drive will be launched to reach out to small and big workplaces ensuring that we aim to be 100% representative instead of just gunning for a 50+1% representation.

The main focus of this recruitment drive shall be the most vulnerable workers, and workers in rural areas and small towns. Vulnerable workers are particularly those in low-paid sectors, with few benefits, unorganised, young, female and rural. We recognise that vulnerability is not confined to low paid workers. Many professional workers are barely protected in law, and it is our duty to extend our organisational reach to them. We shall also target white workers, women, youth and foreign nationals to ensure that our movement strengthens our broader political goal of building a united, democratic non-racial, non-sexist, egalitarian and

prosperous South Africa. Conference committed to ensuring that the Vulnerable Workers' Task Team is effective. We have no choice but to build solidarity and unity amongst the working class as a whole.

Specifically in relation to Domestic Workers, Conference agreed to step up the pressure on government to ratify the ILO Convention on Domestic Workers, and to pledge practical support to SADSAWU. Conference also agreed that our support and engagement with the organisation of street vendors must take place at every level of the Federation.

To us numbers do not necessarily translate into organised power – our strength is derived from mobilisation of members, and politicisation of the working class to act in their class interests, so that we can use bargaining to strengthen our organisation and use organisation to strengthen collective bargaining.

We call on all affiliates of the federation to desist from recycling of members amongst themselves. Poaching members from another COSATU union is not registering progress. The Federation will work harder to enforce the founding principles of the Federation, including the one union one industry principle, and ensure that mergers and integration take place between unions that are currently competing for the same membership.

Conference calls upon affiliates to set new targets for recruitment. Efforts will be coordinated through a listening “Ear to the Floor” campaign across the federation, and will be coordinated and monitored through national and provincial structures.

Immediate tasks that were agreed were to make May a month of targeted recruitment, and for affiliates to use the months of June and August respectively for establishing youth and women's forums.

1.2 The second challenge is service to our members

Our members have told us in the NALEDI Workers' Survey that the most important reason for joining a COSATU union was protection against dismissal and unfair discipline (38% of our members), followed by improving wages, benefits and working conditions (33% of our members). The remaining 29% of members told us that they joined the union to change society (9%), or because of peer pressure or a closed shop (5%) or because of union benefits (3%).

This tells us that we have to put our efforts first and foremost into successfully defending workers in disciplinary cases and into wage bargaining. And yet the statistics we have from the CCMA show us that only 46% of cases referred by COSATU affiliates to arbitration were won in favour of workers.

Through the Naledi survey, our members are telling us in plain language that we have to pull up our socks in all areas of service.

We have developed strategies to address these weaknesses of our movement today. At the centre of this strategy is using education to empower our leaders, shop stewards, organisers and other cadres of the movement. Emphasis will be on a mindset change and ensuring that our structures are more responsive to our member's expectations, and our structures and leadership are more accountable.

We shall pay special attention to ***Building Unions in Small Towns*** where the majority of our organising presence exists (not in overall membership numbers but in numbers of locations). The vast majority of our 236 Locals are based in small towns.

Conference made very concrete proposals on steps for deepening organisation in small towns and rural areas, including the establishment of mobile offices and centres of service to cut across sectors. A summit of shop stewards from these areas was recommended to fine-tune the proposals.

Conference agreed that pressure must be put on the DOL to work closely with us in ensuring enforcement in these areas.

Our recruitment and organising in small towns and rural areas will be linked to a campaign for rural development. The hostile and brutal working conditions experienced by workers in these areas cannot be separated from the general environment, inclusive of high levels of illiteracy.

1.3 Fragmentation of the unions is a source of weakness not strength

There are presently 193 registered unions in South Africa, 117 of these do not belong to any of the existing four federations, with multiple unions mostly in the sectors that are the least organised such as catering, wholesale, hotel, cleaning, security, etc.

We will step up our shop stewards' education programmes. The CEC adopted a framework for an education programme to be rolled out over this year. This new education programme puts shop stewards training at the centre. But this can only happen if all affiliates buy into the process, and help to develop the necessary materials by pooling together their existing resources and expertise.

Another worrying indicator is that 35% of our members have told us that there has not been a shop stewards election in their workplace in the past four years (compared to 50% of non-COSATU unions).

We have agreed that in future we must determinedly monitor and enforce the observation of our constitutions. In finding ways to improve our levels of representation and democracy we have agreed to establish an agreed checklist for all activities across the Federation. The components of the checklist are: -

- ❖ Is the activity being conducted on lines that promote Internal Democracy?
- ❖ Does the activity promote Solidarity?
- ❖ Is Activism present?
- ❖ Is the activity steeped in Dialogue – that is not just a one-way street of communication from the top down?

The issue of **democracy and accountability** is a theme that we will take forward in all our future discussions. We are now challenged to defend this organisational culture, which is under attack.

1.4 The Challenge of Social Distance

First and most importantly the system of capitalism creates a social distance or stratification of society. Our task is to expose the capitalist trappings and struggle against them. We shall

actively work against creation of a social distance amongst shop stewards, between shop stewards and workers, between leaders and their base, as well as a distance between the trade union movement and the most vulnerable and marginalised within the working class.

Conference agreed that the key to narrowing social distance is to step up listening. But the material base of distance must also be tackled. Resource allocation within affiliates and the federation must be carefully assessed – from allowances paid to full time office bearers to the varying quality of offices and office resources.

1.5 We shall fight corruption within our ranks and in society as a whole

Our members have spoken through the NALEDI survey, and we have an obligation to tackle corruption. “Corruption” for our members can mean many things, from selling out to management without any financial exchange through to the abuse of union funds, creating privilege for leaders, and being bribed by management. We must be seen to acting decisively against corruption, not only in society more broadly but also within our own ranks.

We need to intensify our general fight against corruption, using all the strategies which we have deployed, but also speak out more forcefully against wastage on consultants, who abuse the system in an attempt to legitimate corruption.

1.6 Unity of workers and their federation is sacrosanct!

We will work to leave no stone unturned in ensuring that the unity of the federation is restored and that cooperation between leaders of the Federation and affiliated unions is enhanced.

We will also work harder to ensure unity between the working class axis within the tripartite Alliance and between all components of the Alliance. We shall ensure that the unity of the organs of people’s power is enhanced in particular by pursuing the struggle for radical economic transformation, as the main content of this phase of our transition.

1.7 Solidarity Support campaign for affiliates under attack

As pointed out by our congress, our federation has come under immense attack from our class enemies including through turning workers against workers. We are dedicated to fostering a spirit of solidarity and cooperation amongst all COSATU unions and ensure that the current tensions that exist as a result of poaching, is addressed through the process the CEC is already embarking upon.

We have instructed the Campaigns and Organising Committee to meet on the 20th March to develop sustained solidarity with all affiliates facing attack, including the NUM, SATAWU and CWU who have come under a systematic attack in the recent past.

The Campaigns and Organising Committee must ensure that the Operations Centre is revived and that there is participation by the political leadership of affiliates and the national organizers.

2. Engineering the second phase for radical economic transformation

Preamble

Inspired by Marx and Engels's words: "people cannot be liberated as long as they are unable to obtain food and drink, housing and clothing *in adequate quality and quantity*". Also recalling what Engels said: "*Democracy would be quite useless to the proletariat if it were not immediately utilised as a means of accomplishing further measures directly attacking private ownership and securing the existence of the proletariat*". We will never be liberated unless we achieve the comfort that is promised by the Freedom Charter, unless we uproot the conditions that make us to have hands that are trembling with starvation.

2.1 Transform the economy and fight for a New Growth Path

We agree with our Alliance partners that **the core of this second radical phase of the transition of our NDR must be a fundamental economic shift**, to transform the structure of our economy, and address the triple crisis of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

While we have made important advances in the areas of democracy, human rights and social benefits, for which we give full credit to the efforts of our Alliance, and the ANC government, socio-economically, workers' lives have not been fundamentally transformed. As a result of the structural fault-lines of the economy we inherited from colonialism and apartheid, the disastrous neoliberal policies of the 1996 class project, and the worldwide crisis of capitalism, working people face mass unemployment, widespread poverty and widening inequality.

The shocking levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality lie at the heart of the increasingly violent protests we are seeing in both workplaces and communities. It is creating what we have been calling 'ticking time bombs', which are now starting to explode.

We have clearly not come close to achieving the economic demands in the Freedom Charter that:

"The people shall share in the country's wealth; The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people."

We reaffirm the Congress decision to embark on a programme of action to drive the radical economic shift in line with the demands of the Freedom Charter. Key demands include:

- 1) The call for **decisive state intervention in strategic sectors of the economy**, including through strategic nationalisation and state ownership, and the use of a variety of macro-economic and other levers at the states disposal, which can be deployed to regulate and channel investment, production, consumption and trade to deliberately drive industrialisation, sustainable development, decent employment creation, and regional development, and to break historical patterns of colonial exploitation and dependence.
- 2) The urgent need to radically overhaul our **macroeconomic policy** in line with the radical economic shift, which we all agree, needs to happen.
- 3) The radical economic shift requires that **institutionally**, the Treasury, which constitutes the biggest obstacle to the government's economic programme, needs to be urgently realigned; a new mandate needs to be given to the Reserve

Bank, which must be nationalised; and the National Planning Commission must be given a renewed mandate, to realign the national plan, in line with the proposed radical economic shift. Aspects of the New Growth Path also need to be realigned in line with the proposed new macro-economic framework. All state owned enterprises and state development finance institutions need to be given a new mandate.

4) Urgent steps must be taken to reverse the **current investment strike and export of South African capital**. There is currently R1, 2 trillion lying idle in social surplus, which employers are refusing to invest. These measures need to include capital controls and measures aimed at prescribed investment, and penalising speculation.

5) The urgent introduction of **comprehensive social security**.

We have submitted a Section 77 notice to force a debate on these demands with the key role players in the economy as instructed by the 11th National Congress. Our demands amongst others are:

- I. On the role of Treasury, monetary policy and the Reserve Bank;
- II. State intervention in strategic sectors including through nationalisation;
- III. Measures to ensure beneficiation, such as taxes of mineral exports;
- IV. Channelling of retirement funds into productive investment;
- V. Comprehensive land reform, and measure to ensure food security; and
- VI. The more effective deployment of all state levers to advance industrialisation and the creation of decent work on a large scale.
- VII. Addressing the unemployment crisis through creation of decent work
- VIII. Eradication of poverty
- IX. Fighting the scourge of Income inequalities
- X. Fighting the attack on centralised bargaining
- XI. Fighting for a forty-hour week
- XII. The banning of labour broking
- XIII. Full social protection
- XIV. Ownership and control of the economy
- XV. Fundamental tax reforms and the transformation of our macroeconomic policy
- XVI. Access to quality education and quality health care

On transforming the financial sector, and channelling workers savings productively, we have are taking forward the instruction of our 11th National Congress and adopted a programme to ensure:

- I. The consolidation of retirement funds and the creation of a central retirement fund investment vehicle in the private sector, along the lines of the PIC, aimed at directing savings of workers into productive investment, and development.

II. The establishment of a Workers Bank.

We call for a consideration to be given to establishing an ombudsman that will monitor retailers who have over time developed an exploitative relationship with real producers - both manufacturers and farmers. Retailers currently take the lion's share of every cent consumers spend on goods on their shelves, and this needs to be reversed.

While we welcome the recent announcement by government of the intention to provide for a "blacklist amnesty" for individuals currently blacklisted for debt, it concerns us that no additional support or mechanism is being put in place for these same individuals to get out of debt. The personal debt crisis continues to grow. COSATU must actively participate in the dti parliamentary process on this critical matter.

We take cognisance of the fact that we cannot win these demands in isolation from other struggles of workers in our region and continent. Accordingly we must be more active in the African continent, including in the institutions of the African Union, to ensure that the agenda of industrialisation and development of new growth paths, takes us away from growth paths inherited from the colonial era that were based on extraction of mineral wealth.

2.2 Labour market

The RDP proceeds from the following premise: *"Central to building the economy is the question of worker rights. Past policies of labour exploitation and repression must be redressed and the imbalances of power between employers and workers corrected. The basic rights to organise and to strike must be entrenched. And negotiations and participative structures at national, industry and workplace level must be created to ensure that labour plays an effective role in the reconstruction and development of our country"*.

In this context, the conference addressed the critical issues of attacks on collective bargaining, and the need to defend and advance legislated wall to wall **centralised bargaining**; the need for decisive action to transform the apartheid wage structure, including the proposal for a **National Minimum Wage**; and the need to defend the **right to strike**.

Further, we shall pursue each of the demands of the Freedom Charter including the 40-hour working week in the streets and institutions we have created such as Nedlac.

The Conference is adopting a separate Declaration on the Attack on Centralised Bargaining. We pledge to do everything in our power to advance centralised bargaining, and to defend it against current attacks, both in the private and public sectors. We will take this matter up at Nedlac in the form of a Section 77 application, and in mass campaigns. Further, addressing the inherent instability in our collective bargaining system is linked to Conference's proposal for the introduction of legislated and comprehensive centralised bargaining in all sectors of our economy, which will help overcome the current emerging chaos in our labour market

We have noted the following in terms of labour market issues:

1. In terms of fair incomes in the workplace, we note that in 2011, half of South African workers earned less than R 3 033 a month. African workers earn 23% what white workers earn, and women earn 77% what men earn.

2. Despite the Price Waterhouse Coopers Report (2010) on Executive Pay over-estimating the wages paid to low paid workers in the South African economy the Executive Pay report found the pay gap to be in the order of 250-300 times the lowest paid worker. If we then correct the wage of the lowest paid workers, we find that **the median executive pay gap ranges from 1 535—1 842 times the wage earned by the lowest paid worker.**
3. Building on our 9th Congress resolution, we proposed in 2010 that the pay-ratio of the top 10% highly paid managers in companies to the bottom 10% lowest paid must converge to at most 16:1 over time¹. We propose that grading systems need to be simplified and reduced to a target number of five grades in a workplace, with a gap in pay between grades of no more than 10%. **Targets for reducing the wage gap need to be contained in plans submitted in terms of a strengthened Employment Equity Act, which needs to introduce strict penalties for non-compliance.** EE Plans need to be aligned with Skills plans, and we propose that these two committees in the workplace be merged. We called for active steps to be undertaken to close the apartheid wage gap. We proposed that the tax system should be actively used to deal with inequalities in the labour market. The trends in terms of pay, the inequalities in the labour market and the fact that there are no policy interventions to deal with these problems are clearly not in line with our expectations as the Federation, and we will engage urgently with government on our proposals to redress this situation.
4. **The Freedom Charter says that there shall be a national minimum wage.** Yet, one of the areas that bourgeois apologists always raise regarding the discussion on labour market performance is the issue of minimum wages. They claim that minimum wage laws lead to unemployment, since many firms may not be able to pay them. However, international experience as outlined to the Conference by the ILO expert, as well as a detailed input on the experience in Brazil, discredit these claims for what they are: propaganda and a denial of realities here and elsewhere. The average minimum wage in South Africa was R3 336 in 2010. **Minimum wages are reported by the Labour Research Service Report on Bargaining Indicators (2011) as being 19% below the living wage level of R4 105.** Therefore the call for a national minimum wage in the Freedom Charter is yet to have effective meaning for at least 44% of the workforce. Conference therefore resolved to engage urgently with government on our call for a legislated National Minimum Wage to be introduced by 2014.
5. On the right to strike, **Conference agreed we need to campaign and lobby for two fundamental changes to the law. The first is on the question of the use of replacement labour (scabs).** Conference appreciated that the right of employers in South Africa to employ replacement labour is an infringement of the right to strike. Conference noted that this has been confirmed by the ILO's freedom of Association Committee in numerous cases. In our context of very high levels of unemployment, it is also a root cause of violence in strikes. **The second area in which a change in the law is required is on the question of liability for damage.** The current provisions are inconsistent and illogical and must be amended. It is totally unacceptable that unions must be punished for actions of individuals acting outside of union policy.

¹ See Resolution 3.10.5 (4), COSATU 9th Congress.

Conference recognised that the right to strike also goes with responsibilities, and agreed that we need to take greater care in communicating with members during strikes, exercising leadership, and improving our planning, coordination and ensuring that our strikes are not violent.

- 6. On social protection, the Freedom Charter states that: “The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits”.** However the Unemployment Insurance Fund does not cover 43% of workers and 49% of women in the workforce are not covered by the UIF. And the UIF is a temporary insurance measure, not comprehensive social protection for the unemployed. At any one time, only 6% of the unemployed are entitled to draw UIF. According to the General Household Survey, 77% of the unemployed rely on employed workers for survival. In addition, given the fact that minimum wages are fragmented, extremely low, and widely violated in South Africa, the existing system is also not effective in providing strong income protection for the lowest paid workers. The other social protection that is in existence are social grants, particularly Child Support Grants which, despite being grossly inadequate, are meant to cover the well being of children, not cover the unemployed. In short, social protection of families in South Africa is extremely weak, because over 7 million unemployed have no form of social protection.

We demand that UIF immediately be extended to include workers who have resigned, and that the payment period for claimants be extended beyond the current six months. We also reaffirm our demand for a Basic Income Grant.

Conference considered Treasury’s recently published proposals on retirement funds but agreed that serious engagement with members is necessary before any detailed response can be developed. Conference had no in principle difficulty with the preservation proposals, BUT comprehensive social security must be in place before this can even be considered. Government must release its proposals on comprehensive social security for public consideration. Conference affirmed COSATU’s position that retirement funds should be consolidated.

- 7. On Decent Work, Conference agreed that job security is a fundamental measure of decency. The demand for the banning of Labour Brokers therefore continues to be a central demand.** Statistics South Africa does not report the use of labour brokers in the labour market directly. However by 2012 contract work of limited and unspecified duration accounted for almost 32% of total employment.
- 8. We will intensify the campaign against labour brokers as part of the current mobilisation to engineer a radical economic transformation** in the second phase of our national democratic revolution. Affiliates will “localise” the issue of labour broking and develop their own material relevant to their sectors. Workers will be mobilised around a national action. We shall continue to engage the ANC and the Alliance to amongst others ensure that the agreements that have been reached are taken forward in parliament. This will include finding an agreement on the current and only area of disagreement wherein COSATU demands that no labour broker be allowed from day one of employment, with the ANC envisaging some role for labour brokers in the first six months. Conference believes that the 6 month provision will open the system up to

major abuse. This is the experience internationally, where employers continuously rotate labour broker workers to maximise exploitation.

9. The right to collective representation is also a fundamental measure of decency. **While the Freedom Charter calls for workers to have rights to negotiate wages with their employers, 54% of the workers receive no regular wage increments or have their wages determined solely by their employers.** Extension of the collective bargaining system is therefore critical. Other measures of decent work must include a 40 hour week, without loss of benefits, safety and security, **maternity and paternity leave** on full pay, decent housing, and affordable, safe and reliable public transport. These will continue to be central campaign demands. **Skills development and training is also a crucial aspect of the labour market. The Commission on Employment Equity Report (2010) observes that for professionally qualified workers, skills development and training remains biased towards Whites, who command 61% of the skills development and training among those who are professionally qualified. Among skilled workers, the Commission on Employment Equity Report (2010) says that: “it is evident that private sector employers continue to invest more training on Whites than on other population groups. If there was willingness on employers to empower Blacks, it would have been evident in the training provided. This therefore suggests that employers are not utilising their training strategically to ensure that they empower the under-represented groups to ensure their upward mobility within the workplace”².** Unfortunately, the Commission on Employment Equity Report does not provide information about skills development and training of the unskilled segment of the workforce. **We should therefore call for more detail in future Employment Equity Reports.**

Conference agreed we need to be more vigilant in our engagement and sign-off on work place skills plans, and that we must ensure that collective bargaining and negotiations on grading and pay progression must be aligned with skills development as well as with employment equity strategies. To this effect EE and skills committees in the work place should be merged, and reporting to government integrated. We demand that the SOEs radically step up their roll-out of skills training. Internally in COSATU we should have an annual meeting of affiliates to assess progress.

10. There are a number of interventions that should be made in the labour market to address the poor conditions faced by workers. COSATU shall campaign for among others, the following demands:
- **A legislated National Minimum Wage, which** will cover all workers, and the abolition of the existing ineffective and fragmented system of sectoral determinations.
 - **The introduction of comprehensive, legislated, wall-to-wall centralised bargaining in all sectors of the economy,** through appropriate amendments to the LRA
 - Enforcement of an upper limit of a **40-hour work week** across the board

² Commission on Employment Equity Report (2009—2010), p.30.

- **Taxation of firms that pay below the statutory minimum wage**, and the distribution of such tax proceeds back to the workers concerned
 - **Tax reform to target executive pay** and to set targets to close the apartheid wage gap
 - The Department of Labour must set targets and timeframes to **extend maternity leave and all other leave benefits to all workers**, taking into account the fact that we are almost two decades into democracy
 - **Extend social protection** and ensure that there is an income floor below which no South African worker or household should fall.
 - **Set targets for the reduction of “low-wage” employment**, through the introduction of solidarity measures in wage formation, using targets for collective bargaining, the setting of the National Minimum Wage, deployment of state levers such as procurement, and state incentive schemes, and a strengthened Employment Equity Act. This should be an integral part of realising our demand that the income gap between the highest paid and the lowest paid should be at most 16:1. We will engage with government on a comprehensive national wage and income policy.
 - **Link skills development and training with career-pathing** as part of the employment equity targets; skills development and training should lead to upward mobility of the workforce.
 - **Combat the suppression of young people’s talents**, especially African graduates, who are made to do jobs that do not assist in sharpening their skills
 - **We need to relentlessly fight the apartheid wage gap!**
11. The second phase of the NDR cannot reproduce the terrible dynamics of the colonial and capitalist labour market as we have outlined. **Transformation of the labour market must fundamentally alter the power relations between the workers and the employers, in favour of the workers, and reverse the declining share of workers in national income.**
12. We note that **the cornerstone of the NDP is to create jobs on the back of a deregulated labour market, and the introduction of lower entry wages for young workers- below the existing poverty wages which the majority of workers are currently receiving. We reject the major labour market proposals emanating from the National Development Plan**, aimed to entrench and further promote a multi-tier labour market and the downward variation of minimum standards of employment, and **commit to resist these anti worker proposals from being implemented by government and the employers.** Our criticism of the NDP is not limited to its labour market policy stance but to the whole economy including its utter contempt for industrialisation and the concept of decent work.
13. We call for the substantial strengthening of the capacity of both the DOL and Bargaining Councils to enforce the law and regulations and we call for the criminalisation of non compliant employers. In the same spirit we call for the criminalisation of price fixers.

2.3 Education

The Freedom Charter states that: *“The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands; The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit”*.

In addition the SACP (1962) said: *“Standards of education must be the same for all children, irrespective of race, home language or economic status, and designed to develop citizens imbued with a love of their people, their country and humanity”*.

We have made progress to take forward this vision but challenges remain. We shall work with the Alliance and progressive civil society formations in particular COSAS and SASCO to address the horrific conditions under which the majority of educators and learners function, including total lack of the most basic infrastructure, sanitation, computers, access to broadband, libraries etc. We are currently engaging with government on these concerns at Nedlac, and will intensify our campaign around these issues. :

We thus have to understand the conditions of employment under which teachers operate, including the fact that in many cases, these schools are located in poverty-stricken communities, with extreme levels of unemployment and hunger. And act accordingly.

2.4 Health

The Freedom Charter states that: *“A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children”*.

The RDP calls for the creation of single national health system, driven by the primary health care approach. Furthermore, the entire health system is supposed to be located within the context of rising standards of living through improved wages and income-earning opportunities, improved sanitation, water supply, energy sources, and accommodation. All these provisions ensure that material conditions exist to shift the national health system from the catastrophically expensive curative mode to the preventive mode.

We have welcomed the agreement that the National Health Insurance be introduced without any further delay. We shall work with government, the Alliance and progressive civil society formations to ensure that the NHI pilot projects receive maximum support from all our people and that they succeed.

We shall take up campaigns and work with the department of health to ensure that the current health challenges and dysfunctionality of our hospitals and health system as a whole is addressed.

2.5 Basic Goods and Services

The Freedom Charter states that: *“All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; Unused housing space to be made available to the people”*. It furthermore states that *“slums shall be*

demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres”. How far have we advanced in realizing these demands?

We celebrate the advances our democracy under the ANC government has registered in meeting basic service demands of our people. For example, in terms of water and sanitation, the General Household Survey (2009) notes that the “percentage of households who receive piped water supplies from their local municipalities increased from 74,5% in 2007 to 83,3% in 2009”. The survey further reports that an estimated 50% of households do not pay for piped water. **This is an important advance for the working class.** Households without a toilet or who use the bucket system declined from 8% to 6% between 2007 and 2010. .

Despite some progress, communities face serious challenges, and we see that the spate of service delivery protests continues. The working class is engaged in struggles on many fronts and it is important that we re-build bridges and links with other forms of organisation of our class in order to win the struggle. The capitalist class is fighting us in the airwaves, in school curriculums, in Universities, in factories, abroad, everywhere. We therefore need to realise that though very important, trade unions are just one form of organisation, we need to build other forms of organisation, build the mass democratic movement into a fighting, working class led movement. We need to draw in revolutionary intellectuals, the youth, etc. into the mainstream of our struggles.

Accordingly we shall knit the workplace and community struggles into a single working class offensive to improve service to our people.

2.6 Housing

In 2010, we reported that there has been progress in the provision of housing since 1994; 74% of South African households live in brick structures, flats and townhouses.

Nevertheless there remain 15% of households who live in shacks, which amounts to 1.875 million households, which is equivalent to about 7.5 million people.

Despite the progress that has been made in the provision of decent human settlements, **the quality of housing remains a major challenge, as well as the location of most working class communities;**

We commit to take up the working class struggle for realisation of the demands of the Freedom Charter. This will include ensuring that the government designs a housing scheme for public sector workers and others to ensure that those workers who don't qualify for the RDP and bank bonds are catered for

3. Other campaigns

3.1 E Tolling

We will continue with the campaign to mobilise members and the community at large to resist the implementation of E-Tolls. This is a campaign against commodification of the major urban highways that will marginalise the poor from using the best roads. We will link the campaign to the broader demands for accessible, affordable and safe public transport system. To us this forms part and parcel of our demand that the second phase of the transition addresses the need for radical economic transformation.

We vow to make implementation of e-tolls unworkable!

3.2 Electricity tariff hikes

COSATU has welcomed the reduction of proposed tariffs from 16% to 8%, as a result of our campaigns, although we believe this is still too high, and will have negative effects on the economy and the poor. This reduction was possible because our own members, supported by a range of other social forces including the ANC, made it clear that the cost of the proposed electricity hikes shall have catastrophic consequences to employment and the economy.

We note that NERSA has imposed a 5% tariff increase for Eskom and 3% for the IPPS. We will appeal against this decision to tax consumers to subsidise the private sector. COSATU will resist with everything in its power a policy that seeks to promote private companies to compete with a public institution by fleecing citizens. We will ensure that the coalition already active is mobilised to take up remaining demands of the campaign.

The promotion of commodification and partial privatisation of electricity provision, as well as roads, is part of a broader worrying trend towards privatisation and the promotion of PPPs in infrastructure. We note that the proposals in the NDP Chapter on Infrastructure will further promote this, if implemented, and we pledge to oppose these developments, as they will continue to place a greater burden on working class communities, and limit access to basic services.

3.3 2013 May Day Commemorations

May Day will be used as a major focus of our endeavours to engineer our own Lula moment. As part of this programme we will ensure that workers participate in May Day rallies *en masse*. There are 27 confirmed rallies throughout the country. The main national May Day rally will be held in the Northern Cape in memory of the workers who lost their lives ten years ago on their way from Kimberley.

The theme is to be finalised, but will be based on the following:

“A united working class for a radical economic transformation”

4 Campaign against Gender Based Violence

International Women’s Day (8th March) was celebrated this year in South Africa in the context of a deepening crisis of the abuse of women and children. On 14th February 2013 COSATU convened an emergency meeting of organisations representing all sectors of society to address gender-based violence. The meeting was precipitated by the recent spate of brutal cases, highlighted in particular by the brutal rape and murder of Anene Booysens.

The response to the call was very encouraging, with over 40 organisations responding to the call, including COSATU affiliates, SACP, labour service organisations, Civil Society organisations, NGOs, religious organisations, student organisations, traditional leaders, as well as The Commission for Gender Equality and the media.

The meeting established an eight person Task Team to take forward the programme of action agreed to.

The six themes agreed to for a sustained programme are:

- I. Social Dialogue,
- II. Media and Social Media,
- III. Criminal Justice System,
- IV. Education,
- V. Funding and
- VI. Health Care.

The task team is finalising a programme and resource materials to take forward the sustained campaign. COSATU will champion this campaign not as a once off activity but as an ongoing campaign linked to our efforts to defeat patriarchy and to build a truly united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

We have to embark on a serious campaign in our communities to stop violence in general, particularly violence against women and children. This is no small matter; we have to fight capitalism, patriarchy, and its scourges by engaging in campaigns that seek to ensure that the working class is seen to be at the forefront of the fight to protect the rights and dignity of all, particularly the most vulnerable.

5 Taking forward the Campaign programme

In order to ensure that we take forward this programme effectively, we have agreed to do the following:

a) Listening Campaign

The Campaigns and Organising Committee meeting on the 20th March will be instructed to discuss a programme of action to systematically roll out and monitor the Listening Campaign, which aims to give greater power to the voice of ordinary members. Affiliates have made a commitment to prioritise the reinstatement of regular General Meetings and Workers Forums in all workplaces.

The agenda for future campaigns meetings will include report backs on these meetings of the listening campaign and identify key concerns received from members in order to review our organisational culture and democratic processes, including election and reporting processes.

The Listening Campaign is to be integrated into all the programmes of affiliates and provinces as part of service to members. Provinces will develop programmes to ensure that Affiliate leadership and members of the CEC hit the ground to engage members on the demands emanating from our 11th National Congress and captured in our Section 77 notice to Nedlac.

We will produce a summary of our demands and write them in all workers' languages. We will also produce pamphlets, posters, banners, graffiti to popularise these demands

b) Engage the Alliance and progressive formations

We will convene a major bilateral summit with the SACP to discuss the campaign to engineer a radical second phase for economic transformation from below and ensure unity of the broader left axis.

We shall continue to pursue an engagement with the leadership of the ANC and the Alliance as a whole to ensure support of our demands, including getting a buy-in from our government

We shall engage with progressive civil society formations to ensure that they also support our demands and that we act together to advance this programme. Our locals and provinces will ensure that we take up issues our people are demanding through the service delivery protests.

We will discuss this programme with other progressive trade unions in our region, continent and the world over to ensure that the working class all over the world work in unison to build a better world for all.

6 *Call to members*

This Conference repeats the rallying call of our 11 National Congress: it calls on all of us to go back to basics, focus effectively on workplace issues, organising and recruitment, deliver service to our members, and implement our 2015 Plan! It is only through building powerful, unified organisation that workers will have an effective engine to drive the changes we want to see at the workplace, in the economy, and at a political level.

We therefore pledge to combat:

- Social distance between leaders and members, by entrenching deeper forms of accountability and worker control;
- Bureaucratisation of our structures, at affiliate or federation level, by ensuring that we remain a campaigning mobilising organisation;
- Any divisive and undemocratic conduct in our unions, which attempts to undermine worker unity, or create splinter unions

We pledge to:

- Build strong worker-controlled unions, focused on issues of concern to our members, at the workplace, socio-economic and political levels;
- Organise the unorganised, and bring all workers under the umbrella of this mighty Federation

- Mobilise our members and all progressive forces behind the demand for a National Minimum Wage
- Deepen our campaign for Decent Work, including to intensify our campaign against labour brokers
- Tackle wage gaps through various means, including revamping our grading systems to be simple and fair, and lobbying for caps on executive pay
- Engage business and government over the current collective bargaining regime, with a view to extending centralised bargaining to all workers in all sectors
- Campaign for changes in the LRA to consolidate the right to strike through restricting the right of employers to employ replacement labour
- Reaffirm our demand for comprehensive social security, including expanded access and the pay period of UIF and a Basic Income Grant. We will positively engage with government's proposed retirement fund reforms but will not consider any changes to the preservation regime until such time as comprehensive social security is in place.
- Put more effort and resources into tackling skills and equity challenges in such a way that we take back ownership of these processes. Engage government on an appropriate industrial and economic development strategy and to raise our concerns about various aspects of the NDP which we believe run counter to the goal of radical economic transformation

Forward with the unity of our great workers movement!

Forward to the programme of radical economic transformation!

Long Live COSATU!

Long Live workers!