

Minutes of the COSATU 8TH National Congress

15 - 18 September 2003

Gallagher Estate

DAY ONE: 15 September 2003

CHAIR: 1st Vice President – Joe Nkosi

1 Opening

The COSATU 1st Vice President Cde Joe Nkosi invited the COSATU choir to lead the singing of the Nkosi Sikelel'i Africa and the Internationale. He requested the congress to observe a minute of silence in remembrance of all the comrades who had passed away since the previous congress, including Comrade Patrick Cokotho, a SACTWU shop steward who passed away the night before, on 14 September 2003. He welcomed all present, wishing them a successful congress, and officially declared the congress opened.

2 Presentation and Adoption of Credentials

The Deputy General Secretary Comrade Bheki Ntshalintshali presented the Congress credentials (see the list below). According to the credentials report, all unions were in good standing except NEHAWU, SACCAWU, PAWE and SAAPAWU, which were in arrears and were allocated observer status.

Affiliate	Membership	CEC Approved delegates	Present	Workers	Officials	Women	Men
1. CEPPWAWU	67 162	90	89	77	12	37	52
2. CWU	29 320	40	40	26	14	13	27
3. DENOSA	70 000	94	62	38	24	48	14
4. FAWU	85 069	114	114	97	17	41	73
5. MUSA	700	1	5 observers	05	0	0	5
6. NEHAWU	234 607	313	291 observers	248	43	140	151
7. NUM	299 509	400	389	360	29	65	324
8. NUMSA	174 212	233	232	184	48	35	197
9. PAWE	365	1	5 observers	4	1	1	4
10. POPCRU	75 937	102	101	98	3	32	69
11. SAAPAWU	18 968	26	26	17	9	10	16
12. SACCAWU	107 553	144	146 observers	105	41	55	91
13. SACTWU	110 216	147	146	127	19	82	64
14. SADNU	8 680	12	10	10	0	4	6
15. SADTU	214 865	287	287	259	28	126	161
16. SAFPU	198	1	2 observers	0	02	0	02

Affiliate	Membership	CEC Approved delegates	Present	Workers	Officials	Women	Men
17. SAMA	4 224	6	6	4	2	3	3
18. SAMWU	114 127	153	151	116	35	52	99
19. SASAWU	14 127	20	19	15	04	05	14
20. SASBO	58 656	79	59	49	10	23	36
21. SATAWU	79 325	106	106	82	24	14	92
TOTAL	1 768 338	2399	2286	1921	365	786	1500
TOTAL %			95.3%	84%	16%	34%	66%

Moved: SATAWU

Seconded : SAMWU

3 Adoption of the Agenda

The programme of the Congress was presented with some modifications (e.g. key note address by ANC President was to be delivered by the ANC Chairperson Mosioa Lekota, while President Mbeki and Deputy President Zuma would be allowed time to greet the congress when they arrived from their international assignments). It was also agreed that some international guests would be given an opportunity to greet the congress when time allows.

The programme was adopted with the proposed changes.

Moved: SADTU

Seconded: SACTWU

4 Adoption of minutes of the 7th National Congress held in September 2000

The chairperson called the Congress to correct, adopt or reject the minutes. The minutes of the 7th National Congress held on 18-21 September 2000 were approved as the true reflection of the previous congress.

Moved: CEPPWAWU

Seconded: NUMSA

5 Introduction of Guests

The General Secretary Comrade Zwelinzima Vavi introduced the guests present. He indicated that as other guests arrived, the Congress would be informed. Among those were introduced were the ICFTU General Secretary, OATUU General Secretary, ANC Secretary General, SACP General Secretary, ICFTU-AFRO General Secretary, NLC President, Former Minister of Labour Tito Mboweni (see the full list of guests in Annexure 1.)

6 Roll of Honour (Obituaries)

The Deputy General Secretary requested the congress to stand up and observe a moment of silence while he read the list of comrades who lost their lives since the 2000 National Congress. See annexure 2.

7 Opening Address

The COSATU President Comrade Willie Madisha gave his opening address (see the full address annexure 3) wishing the congress success. Among others he made following remarks:

- Important role played by the United Democratic Front which comprised more than 700 organisations, as we celebrated its 20 years.
- Important role played by the workers' Durban Strikes that marked the rebirth of workers' resistance against the suppression of civil and labour rights 30 years ago.
- The importance of the federation's Vision 2015, which is based on building working class power and fighting for the creation and retention of quality jobs
- The need to consolidate and sustain the working class leadership of our revolution both in the coming 12 years and beyond.
- With Vision 2015 we should plan to contain and finally stop casualisation of labour, outsourcing, contracting out and informalisation and build regional and continental trade union movement with power and capacity to intervene and engage political structures.
- He went further to comment on a decade of democracy, alliance relations, conduct of private capital in joblessness growth, Growth and Development Summit, HIV/Aids, organisational renewal etc.
- He mourned and saluted members and leaders of COSATU who died since the previous congress.

8 Elections Process for National Office Bearers

The EISA, which is the independent body nominated by the Central Executive Committee to manage the elections process, presented a report on comrades who were nominated to contest the elections for the new office. EISA then opened the elections process and announced the deadline by which affiliates should submit nomination forms. EISA indicated that it would announce the nominees and elections processes once the nominations were closed.

9 Keynote Address by the ANC National Chairperson

Comrade Lekota on behalf of the ANC President Thabo Mbeki delivered the keynote address (see full address – annexure 4). In his address Comrade Lekota among others pointed out the following:

- Looking forward to the outcome of the congress deliberations as the ANC value the alliance with COSATU.
- Workers that COSATU leads produce the wealth of our country and need to address the legacy of poverty and underdevelopment we inherited from the apartheid system.
- COSATU members occupied the front ranks of the mass army that fought and defeated the system and should continue to occupy the front ranks in the new struggle.
- He emphasized the importance of unity of the Alliance, expressing the view that there were those who want to see a weak and divided alliance. These opponents of

the Alliance seemed not to understand that the progressive workers of our country who fought to advance their interests as workers are the same workers who fought and have fought for emancipation of the masses of our people from oppression.

- For over 50 years the trade union movement and liberation movement engaged in the struggle and would continue to do so as this is not a marriage of convenience but a relationship as described by the late ANC president, Inkosi Albert Luthuli, as between the spear and the shield.

10 Messages of Support

The Deputy General Secretary informed the congress of the list of fraternal organisations that had sent messages of support to this 8th National Congress. The Congress received their messages warmly.

CHAIR: 2nd Vice President – Joyce Pekane

11 Overview of the Secretariat Report and the Consolidating Working Class Power for Quality Jobs – towards 2015 Programme

The General Secretary, Comrade Zwelinzima Vavi, introduced the political discussion document by highlighting the two central themes of the programme of namely building working class power and fighting for the retention and creation of quality jobs.

The document highlighted a number of areas ranging from the question of why we need a 2015 Plan, building the power of the working class, building COSATU, creating new organisational strategies for new challenges, building the alliance, defending and creating quality jobs, key political milestones towards the 2015 and anticipated worst scenarios.

He also presented the overview of the secretariat report. The congress resolved to confine itself to the “Consolidating the working class power for quality jobs –towards 2015” programme, and shifted comments and discussions on the overview to the political session.

The congress debated and resolved to adopt the COSATU policy known as 2015 Plan. See attached document.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: SADTU

12 Presentation and Adoption of Financial Statements

The National Treasurer Comrade Alina Rantsolase presented audited financial statements for the previous three years. The Treasurer among others highlighted the following:

- The federation’s income in real terms fell substantially after rising rapidly for most of the late 1990s as for the first time two major affiliates are in arrears.
- In the two years following the 7th Congress the income fell to 22% wiping out virtually the entire increase from 1994 to 2000.
- Over the same period the fee per member remained constant of R1, 05, which means that in real terms, it fell by 15%.

- By 2003 affiliates owed COSATU around R5 million which equals approximately 25% of COSATU's annual income. This was partly offset by the affiliation of DENOSA as well as some other unions.
- The accounts showed reduced dependence on external funding since 2000. The CEC decision to increase affiliation fees per member by 8% to R1. 13 per member starting January 2003, however this represented 13% below the 1988 level.
- Since 2002 the vast majority of affiliates have set up monthly debit orders.
- Salaries were frozen in 2002 and increased below the inflation rate at the end of 2002. In real terms, then, salaries were cut by 13% for 2002.
- The congress debated the audited financial statements for both COSATU and Cubah Properties and adopted them.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: CEPPWAWU

13 Award-giving ceremony

The Elijah Barayi awards were bestowed on the following comrades for their contributions to the working class struggle:

- 1) Chris Hani (posthumously)
- 2) Walter Sisulu (posthumously)
- 3) Oliver Tambo (posthumously)
- 4) John Nkadimeng

DAY TWO: TUESDAY 16 SEP 2003

CHAIR: President Willie Madisha

14 Political Session

The COSATU President Comrade Willie Madisha called upon the COSATU Choir to sing the Red Flag. He thereafter introduced the General Secretary of the SACP, Comrade Blade Nzimande, to address the congress.

14.1 Address by SACP General Secretary – Blade Nzimande

The General Secretary of South African Communist Party addressed the congress (see – annexure 5). In his address, among others, he raised the following:

- Since 1994 there have been many advances for the working class and poor of our country, but there remain serious challenges that we must confront such as job losses with one million formal sector jobs have been lost in five years, workers have been casualised and informalised, household income inequalities and mass poverty have worsened.
- He warned that unless the working class leads, working programmatically and in action with the widest range of the mass of the urban and rural poor, the promise of 1994 would collapse into agendas of narrow self – enrichment and general confusion. The SACP is prepared to work with all potentially patriotic and progressive forces - but one thing is clear, the bourgeoisie, the emerging

bourgeoisies, separately and together, are incapable of charting away out of our persisting crisis of under development, therefore the working class must lead.

- The importance of the strategic nature of the relationship between the SACP and COSATU that are need to deliberately foster; deeper and consolidate.
- The SACP is only credible political voice of the working class, with a proud history of struggle and a clear political theory of the NDR and its relationship to the struggle for socialism. COSATU is the largest trade union federation, progressive in its orientation, with a proud history of militant struggle for the workers, ensuring success for the NDR and taking the struggle for socialism forward.
- Importance of the working class being in the forefront of the struggle to address the national question. That the national question cannot be effectively addressed unless its class content is properly understood and addressed, just as we need to addressed the national content of the class question.
- In the light of informalisation, casualisation and stratification of the working class, we need to creatively think about new forms of organising workers. This means new strategies to organise informal sector workers, casual workers, hawkers and whole range of the new layers of the working class by the neo –liberal restructuring of the economy.
- In relations to the 2004 elections, COSATU’s immediate priority is to ensure an overwhelming majority for the ANC in the elections. That as workers our deepest interest is to return the ANC government overwhelmingly. The ANC is the best-placed organisation to take forward transformation in our country and the only government best capable of addressing the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people.

14.2 Political resolutions

The COSATU President invited the COSATU General Secretary to present the political report. The General Secretary presented the report and highlighted areas for debates; he then presented the resolutions as proposed by affiliates.

The resolutions have been published separately.

14.2.1 Alliance

A composite resolution by SADTU, SAMWU, NUM, NUMSA and CWU was tabled for discussion and adopted.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: SAMWU

14.2.2 COSATU and Good Political Governance and Moral Regeneration.

This resolution combined two resolutions initiated by NUMSA. The resolution was subjected to a discussion with a number of amendments made before being adopted.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: SAMWU

14.3 Address by the African National Congress President

The President of the ANC, Comrade Thabo Mbeki, greeted the congress and in his address raised among others the following issues:

- He tendered his apology for not having been in a position to address the congress the previous day as he was on a government mission addressing pressing matters of the continent regarding the government initiatives to bring a lasting peace solution in Burundi.
- He emphasized the importance of building a strong Alliance and the ANC was interested and willing to do every thing to build a strong COSATU.
- He encouraged COSATU members to play its important revolutionary role at the coming 2004 national elections by ensuring that the ANC won the elections overwhelmingly so that the ANC could continue with its transformation agenda of bringing a better live for our people
- He lamented the collapse of the World Trade Organisation negotiations in Mexico but undertook that the South African government in consultation with other developing countries would continue to engage to realise the wishes of the developing countries.

14.4 Address by the ANC Deputy President

The Deputy President of the ANC, Comrade Jacob Zuma, in his address raised a number of issues. Among others was that the South African government should be applauded for the role it was playing in the Great lake region of bringing peace whose benefit would be enjoyed by all Africans.

He said it was the duty of the tripartite Alliance to deepen democracy in South Africa and defend the country against the fly-by-night revolutionaries.

He asked the congress to resolve on how to move forward and fight against corruption, misuse of power and counter-revolutionaries. He also indicated of his intention to ask the Public Protector to intervene to curb what he termed as “the gross abuse of public power by NPA.”

He also emphasized the importance of a strong COSATU, strong ANC and strong SACP saying that any weak Alliance partner would mean a weak Alliance.

He wished the congress a success in its deliberation for a better South Africa and a strong COSATU.

14.5 Political resolutions continued

14.5.1 Emerging Social Movements

NUMSA tabled the resolution for discussion. The resolution was debated and finally adopted.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: SATAWU

14.5.2 2004 Elections

A composite resolution sponsored by NUMSA, SAMWU, NUM and SADTU was tabled for discussion and finally adopted.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: NUM

14.5.3 Electoral System

The motion was sponsored by NUM and tabled for discussion and finally adopted.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: CEPPWAWU

14.5.4 Deployment and Accountability

The motion arose from the proposed resolution on electoral system sponsored by NUM. The resolution was finally adopted.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: SADTU

14.5.5 Building SACP

This motion was sponsored by CWU and NUMSA. The resolution after it was debated was adopted.

Moved: CWU

Seconded: NUMSA

CHAIR: 1st Vice President, Joe Nkosi

15 Organisational Session

15.1 Presentation of Secretariat Organisational Report and report of the Organisational Review Commission

The General Secretary presented the reports.

15.2 Organisational resolutions

15.2.1 Building COSATU engines (CEC and EXCO)

This resolution arose from the organisational report as part of the constitutional amendments whereby the report argued for few constitutional structural meetings in order to allow more time between the meetings for organisational work. Besides the fewer meetings it also argued that vice Presidents be changed to Deputy Presidents. This resolution was adopted.

Moved: SADTU

Seconded: SAMWU

15.3 Address by Comrade Winnie Madikizela Mandela

The COSATU First Vice President invited comrade Madisha to introduced comrade Winnie Madikizela Mandela. Comrade Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was called to greet the Congress.

15.4 Announcement of nominations

After the greetings by comrade Madikizela Mandela comrade Joe Nkosi invited EISA to address the congress. EISA announced the nominations and indicated that the only

position that was contested was that of the second Deputy President. The position was to be contested by comrades Joyce Pekane and Violet Seboni.

15.5 Organisational resolutions, continued

15.5.1 COSATU Logo

Comrade General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi requested that the congress adopt the new logo with “COSATU” written underneath the existing logo. After few interventions a new COSATU logo was adopted.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: NUM

15.5.2 Sub-committees of the CEC

This resolution was sponsored by NUMSA calling the federation to align the CEC substructures. The congress tasked the head office organisational review committee to develop a programme and tabled at the first CEC in 2003.

Moved: SADTU

Seconded: SACTWU

15.5.3 Regions and Locals

The resolution was sponsored by SAMWU calling COSATU structures to be aligned with the spheres of government including the frequency of regional congresses. The modalities of the proposals were referred to the 2004.CEC.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: SADTU

15.5.4 COSATU Head Office

The proposal arose from the organisational review report and the congress resolved that the secretariat should continue the process of organisational review within the head office and table proposals to the CEC.

Moved: POPCRU

Seconded: NUMSA

15.5.5 Support for affiliates

The resolution was sponsored by CEPPWAWU calling on the federation to develop warning system and systematic assistance to affiliates in clarifying the previous Central Committee resolution.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: NUMSA

15.5.6 Principles of demarcation

This resolution arose from the Organisational report where it calls on the federation to integrate unions in the spirit of one union one industry and review of the cartel and super unions.

Moved: SADTU

Seconded: NUMSA

15.5.7 Unifying the federation

This resolution was reaffirmed in calling for one country one federation. A resolution which also includes a call for creation of associate membership was adopted.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: POPCRU

15.5.8 Improving service to members

The resolution arose from the 2015 Plan document that highlighted the importance of servicing members as a corner stone the existence of any trade union.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: CEPPWAWU

15.5.9 Education

The 2003 COSATU Education Conference sponsored the resolution. The resolution was adopted following debates.

Moved: SADTU

Seconded: SAMWU

15.5.10 Gender

The 2003 COSATU Gender Conference sponsored the resolution. The resolution was adopted following debates.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: SAMWU

15.6 Petition by the Women of South Africa to the Government of Federal republic of Nigeria

The ANC Women's League introduced a petition appealing to the COSATU congress to endorse it. The petition was addressed to President Obasanjo to spare the life of Miss Amina Lawal who was found guilty of having a child out of wedlock and was sentenced to death by stoning. The congress endorsed the call and appealed to members to sign the petition.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: SADTU

15.7 Organisational resolutions, continued

15.7.1 Management

The resolution was sponsored by the Organisational Review report and was calling the implementation of resolutions of the second Central Committee on management.

Moved: DENOSA

Seconded: CEPPWAWU

15.7.2 Amendment of Constitution on election of members not in good standing

The resolution was sponsored by SAMWU and CEPPWAWU.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: SATAWU

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY, 17 SEPTEMBER

CHAIR: President, Willie Madisha

16 International Session

Comrade President Willie Madisha called the Choir to sing Solidarity Forever.

16.1 Address by ICFTU General Secretary, Guy Ryder

The General Secretary of ICFTU brother Guy Ryder representing 158 million members conveyed a message of solidarity and wishes for the success of the congress. See full speech Annexure 6. Amongst other he highlighted the following:

- Trade Unionists on all the continents like COSATU have brought the end of repressive regimes and opened roads to liberty.
- The virtue of free markets for human freedom is widely proclaimed but there is not a shred of evidence that capital ever brought down a brutal regime or that freedom has come from unleashing the forces of the market.
- Capital can quite happily co-exist with nearly any form of government. Not so with trades unions. Where democracy does not exist it falls inevitably to trade union to build it as it happened in South Africa.
- He warned that globalisation today is breeding inequality, injustice and insecurity and it is doing so because of the failure to date to impose on it the type of regulator and standards which all recognise as essential to national markets.
- He stressed that trade unionists must be involved in the WTO. He blamed the collapse the Cancun talks to the industrialised countries. The developing countries are no longer prepared to tolerate the injustice at the heart of the system and procedures over which the WTO presides. Better no deal than a bad deal – but no deal means a continuing status quo that we do not accept and which we want to change.

16.2 Address by OATUU General Secretary, Hassan Sunmonu

Comrade Hassan A. Sunmonu, the General Secretary of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) representing 25 million African Workers from OATUU affiliates in all African countries addressed the congress. See full address on Annexure 7. He wished the congress well and raised a number of issues among others the following:

- COSATU is held in very high esteem by the OATUU and African workers for its militancy and dynamism in defending the trade union rights of South African workers, as well as the socio – economic and democratic rights.

- That the world is going through very turbulent times; insecurity, savage globalisation that puts profit before people, that takes sovereignty away from democratic nations, that take decent jobs, that impoverishes farmers of developing countries that robs the poor to pay the rich.
- Reiterating the support of the OATUU and African workers to Palestinian workers and people for their heroic struggle against occupation and their inalienable right to nationality with Jerusalem as capital.

16.3 Presentation of the International Secretariat Report and Proposals

The Secretariat presented the international report and asked the affiliates to consider it as they deal with the international resolutions. The congress adopted a view that most of the COSATU current international resolutions were still relevant and needed reconfirmation and that the first CEC should consider them. However the congress declaration should include them.

Comrade Bill Lucy of AFC-LIO was invited to deliver a message of support. He was followed by Comrade Carlos from CUT Brazil.

17 Awards Ceremony

The awards ceremony had been shifted from the first day due to time constraints and it was allocated time for the third day. The following categories were considered:

17.1 First Category: Staff who spent 10 years in COSATU

Vuyokazi Bovana (Eastern Cape Administrator)

Dolly Vera Ngali (P.A. to the General Secretary)

17.2 Second Category: Longest Serving Office Bearer

Cde Petrus Mashishi (SAMWU)

17.3 Third Category: Longest Serving Shopsteward

Cde Monica Ishmael (SACTWU)

17.4 Fourth Category: Worst Employers

1. Durban Roodeport Deep
2. Retail Motor Industry Association (RMIA)
3. Mr Price
4. Simba Pty Ltd
5. SALGA
6. Emfuleni Local Authority
7. ISCOR
8. TRANSNET
9. Pro Care Security
10. Fidelity Springbok
11. Middleburg Sawmill

12. Laka Dead Wood (Limpopo)
13. Capricorn Security (Western Cape)
14. Gondoo Security
15. ZZ2 security

DAY FOUR: THURSDAY, 18 SEPTEMBER

CHAIR: President, Willie Madisha

18 Socio-Economic Session

The COSATU President invited the secretariat to present the socio economic report and requested that we highlight issues of importance due to time constraints. The COSATU General Secretary presented the report and made an appeal that congress prioritised them.

18.1 Socio-Economic Resolutions

18.1.1 Growth and Development Summit (GDS)

The resolution was sponsored by SACTWU. It tabled for discussion and the congress adopted it.

Moved: SACTWU

Seconded: SADTU

18.1.2 Import-Parity Pricing

The resolution was sponsored by NUMSA. After debating it was adopted.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: DENOSA

18.1.3 Black Economic Empowerment

This was the composite resolution sponsored by NUMSA and FAWU. After deliberations it was adopted.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: SATAWU

18.1.4 Special Resolution: Declaration on the Rand

This special resolution was sponsored by the SACTWU and NUM.

Moved: SASBO

Seconded: NUM

18.1.5 Proudly South African Campaign

This was a composite resolution sponsored by SACTWU and CWU.

Moved: NUMSA

Seconded: SACCAWU

18.1.6 Restructuring and Job Losses

This resolution was sponsored by CWU.

Moved: CWU

Seconded: SADTU

18.2 Congress Declaration

The General Secretary of COSATU presented the 2015 Plan of COSATU the “consolidating the working class power” for the adoption by the Congress. After a short debate the 2015 Plan was adopted.

Moved: SAMWU

Seconded: SATAWU

CHAIR: Cde Joe Nkosi

19 Process on remaining resolutions

The Chair, Comrade Joe Nkosi, proposed that the rest of resolutions should be deferred to the November 2003 CEC. The recommendation was accepted by the congress.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: SATAWU

20 COSATU CD and children who won the Education Policy

The General Secretary showed the congress the order form for COSATU CD, and requested the Congress to buy the CDs’ in bulk. The African Life announced the children who won Education Policy. The winners were Tisane Marapila and Tshavoni Mashwele.

21 Adoption of Secretariat Report

The COSATU first Vice President called the congress to adopt the secretariat report and the Consolidating working Class Power for Quality Jobs towards 2015. This proposal was accepted by the congress.

Moved: NUM

Seconded: NUMSA

22 Announcement of Election Results

The following Comrades were elected:

President:	Willie Madisha (SADTU)
First Deputy President:	Joseph Nkosi (NUM)
Second Deputy President:	Violet Seboni (SACTWU)
National Treasurer:	Alina Rantsolase (SACCAWU)
General Secretary:	Zwelinzima Vavi (NUM)
Deputy General Secretary:	Bheki Ntshalintshali (CEPPWAWU)

23 Closing remarks

The President of COSATU closed the 8th Congress of COSATU. After the National Anthem the delegates departed.

- Thanked the high level of debates and quality of resolution
- Congress was united and displayed great deal of maturity
- All that is left is to go and implement those resolutions as a matter of urgency
- We must build the affiliates and the federation
- We are going to be pro active in intervening when there are problems and address them as soon as possible.
- Intra unity in affiliates and inter-unity within the affiliates
- There must not be concern groups amongst affiliates
- Affiliates must ensure that there is unity
- There is a very clear programme of action
- COSATU believes that the alliance must remain the political centre
- We call our alliance partners to work with us on realising our common objectives
- We are prepared to go out to work properly with our alliance partners
- We need to stop labels when we disagree and respect each other as we independent but interdependent
- We are independent but dependent on common issues
- Leadership understands that the alliance is very important
- We cannot resolve international problems whereas we are failing to resolve our own internal problems
- Resolved to assist other Trade Unions in the region and in the continent
- Alliance goes to the lowest level in the branch and locals
- We must continue demanding quality and sustainable jobs
- We celebrate the Cabinet's decisions to avail ARVs.
- Call the government to implement the decision quickly in all the provinces
- There are 5.3 millions are infected with HIV/AIDS
- Thanked the former NOBs.
- Thanked Cde Joyce Pékane for her contribution to the federation.
- Welcomed Cde Violet Sibone to the NOBs

Announcements by the General Secretary

Flags must remain back

Order forms must be taken to order the CDs and DVDs

The congress was declared closed and delegates were requested to look after themselves and condomise.

ANNEXURE 1.

GUEST LIST FOR COSATU 8TH CONGRESS 2003

ORGANISATION	NAME	DESIGNATION
1. ANC	Dumisani Makhaye Sydney Mufamadi Membathisi Mdladlana Amos Masondo Susan Shabangu Pule Thate Themba Nobathana Neff Manana Michael Sacks Geraldine Fraser Moleketi Kgalema Mothlanthe	Secretary General
2. SACP	Blade Nzimande Jeremy Cronin Phillip Dexter Ncumisa Kondlo Phumullo Masualle Mandla Makhuphula Vishwas Satgar Juda Tsotetsi Themba Mthembu Mazibuko Jara Solly Mapaila Zama Khumalo Stalin Mtshali Willies Mchunu	General Secretary Deputy Gen Secretary Treasurer CC CC CC Gauteng Provincial Secretary (CC) Mpumalanga Provincial Secretary (CC) CC
3. SASCO	Nandipha Zonela Bandile Masuku Vuyo Mhlakaza Francis Maleka	Secretary General President Political Education Secretary Secretary for International Affairs
COSAS	Julius Malema Emmanuel Modau Priscilla Monama	President Secretary General Treasurer
SANCO	Mlungisi Hlongwane Linda Mngomezulu Susan Shabangu Master Mahlobogoane Gloria Seoketsa	President
Naledi	Davis Jarvis Thobile Janta Mandy Moussou Samuel Denga Ebrahim Khalil Dr Karl von Holdt	Acting Director
Ditsela	Steve Faulkner	Acting Director
Niep	1. Bheki Langa	Director
NACTU	1. Joseph Maqekeni	President
FEDUSA	1. Marry Malete	President
Labour Bulletin	Renee Grawotzky Nthabiseng Dintoe William Matlala	Editor

SHEP	Patricia Khumalo	Director
SALDT	Sethula Ramabu	Director
NEDLAC	Herbert Mkhize	Executive Director
SANGOCO	Glenn Farred	
FES	Bethuel Maserumule Dr Werner Rechmann	President Representative
TAC	Zackie Achmat Mark Heywood Vuyani Jacobs	Chairperson Treasurer Co-ordinator
SACC	Molefe Tsele	
Solidarity Centre	Fisseha Tekie	
SWOP	Eddie Webster	Professor
National Land Committee	1. Andile Mngxitama	
Armgold	Patrice Motsepe	Chairman
KMM Review Publishing	Moeletsi Mbeki	Director
Jonnic + MTN	Cyril Ramaphosa Irene Charnely	Chairman
Investment Solutions	Nomkhutha Ngweni	Director
Nelson Mandela Foundation	Nelson Mandela	
Swaziland Solidarity Network	Bongani Masuku Vincent Dlamini	Secretary General Exco
JohnCom	Connie Molusi	CEO
Gallo Records	Sipho Sithole Charles Kuhn	Deputy CEO CEO
INTERNATIONAL		
TOC	1. Lars Bengtsson	International Secretary
Trade Union Congress of Tanzania	1. Hassan M. Raha	Deputy General Secretary
LO Sweden	Leif Hakanson Keth Thapper Agnetha Carleson Anders Elgorn Carin Jamtin	3rd Vice President International Department
ZCTU	Lovemore Matombo Collin Gwiyo	President 1st Deputy General Secretary
OATUU		Secretary General
SAK (Finland) SAK	Hassan Sunmou Turo Bergman Mirjam Korhonen	International Secretary Project Manager
BFTU	David Chingeta	Deputy General Secretary
SATUCC		Executive Secretary
CGIL	Moses Kachima Paolo Nerozzi Chiara Ingraio	International Secretary Interpreter and Director in the International department President of Education College

	Saul Magneghi	International department Health and Safety Department
CC.OO (Spain)	Marga Ferre Joaquín Nieto Laura Martín	Secretary Head of SID office in Africa General Secretary
Denmark	Ole Christensen Bo. Kaersager	Head International Department Programme Officer Local Consultant
ICFTU Afro	Kelly Zidana Andrew Kailembo	International Secretary
LO Norway	Karin Beate Theodorsen Nina Mjømborg Alice Siame	International Secretary International Secretary
CFDT France	Luc Martinez	President
LO Denmark	Marie Knuppert Erik Nielsen	Executive member
ACTU (Australia)	Sharon Burrow	Director
CITU India	Kali Charran Ghose	Secretary Treasurer Programme Officer Programme Officer
CGT France	Maurice Lamoot	
CTUC (London)	Annie Watson	HIV/Aids Programme director Assistant Director International Department
AFL CIO	William Bill Lucy Andre Aksu Hanad Mohamud Wylie Pierce Chris Harden Renee Saunders	International Secretary International Department
	Juliette Lenoir	FNV Mondial
CGPT (Portugal)	Florival Lanca Fernando Mauricio	International Department 1 st Vice President General Secretary
FNV	Joof van Keulen	General Secretary
CLC (Canada)	Marie-Helene Bonin	Womens Committee 1 st Vice President
COLETU (Lesotho)	Tebogo Tolo Vuyani Tyhali	President
UNTA	Manuel Augusto Viage	President
SFTU	Adelaide Mtambo Elliot Mkhathshwa	Representative
CUT Brazil	Carlos Antonio Spis	Deputy General Secretary International Department
KCTU (Korea)	Dan Byong-HO	
NLC (Nigeria)	Adam Oshiomhole	International Department President
Dutch Africa server for Popcru	Fons Greeblings	Deputy General Secretary
CTC (Cuba)	Francisco Duran	General Secretary

OTC-CS	Florentinah Laza Cardenas	Representative
ZCTU (Zambia)	Estevan Mabhumu Amos Matshinhe Alfred Mudenda	Africa Co-ordinator
ICFTU	Guy Ryder	
LO-TCO Council	Solveig Wickman	
ITGLWF	Jabu Ngcobo	



Annexure 2.

ROLL OF HONOUR

NAME	POSITION
<p>COSATU STAFF</p> <p>Pinkie Ntshangani</p> <p>Connie Mashilo</p> <p>Sphelele Zuma</p>	<p>Eastern Cape Regional Secretary</p> <p>Mpumalanga Administrator</p> <p>Former KZN Regional Secretary</p>
<p>ANC</p> <p>Walter Sisulu</p> <p>Steve Tshwete</p> <p>Peter Mokaba</p> <p>Govern Mbeki</p>	
<p>TRADE UNION AND LIBERATION FIGHTER</p> <p>Constance Ndlovu</p>	
<p>SACP</p> <p>Smiso Nkwanyana</p> <p>Ephraim Mogale</p>	
<p>TAC ACTIVIST</p> <p>Edward Mabunda</p> <p>Charlene Wilson</p>	
<p>CWU</p> <p>Patrick Papi Banda</p> <p>Floyd Matshela</p> <p>Ndodoxolo Gashi</p> <p>Nonelelo Heshu</p> <p>Nosisa Jwili</p> <p>Sipho Cele</p> <p>Masike Pitso</p> <p>Cecilia Moreko</p> <p>Clifford Moletsane</p> <p>Paul Ngwenya</p>	<p>Shopsteward POTWA</p> <p>Deputy President POTWA</p> <p>Chairperson KZN</p> <p>Provincial Chairperson Eastern Cape</p> <p>Organiser KZN</p> <p>Secretary KZN</p> <p>Deputy Chairperson Free State</p> <p>Gender Co-ordinator Free State</p> <p>Telkom Co-ordinator Free State</p>
<p>DENOSA</p> <p>Pearl L.G. Vilakazi</p>	<p>Executive Secretary</p>
<p>NEHAWU</p> <p>Oscar Phillip Mkhonto</p> <p>Joshua Mathebula</p> <p>Peter Sambo</p> <p>Eddie Thethe</p> <p>Willie Nkuna</p> <p>Percy Mthethwa</p> <p>Allen Nkambule</p>	<p>Shopsteward</p> <p>Branch Treasurer</p> <p>Branch Treasurer</p> <p>Branch Treasurer</p> <p>Branch Dep. Secretary</p> <p>Branch Secretary</p> <p>Institutional Secretary</p>

Nonkuselo Nqeketo
Nomthandazo Mtenjana
SACCAWU
Cecil Mlokoti
Ronnie Taki
Nkosiphendule Setumi
Setana Kaile
Vusi Zibi
Sizeni Hlatshwayo
Thokozani Mhlongo
Abraham Sekonya
Molly Mkhwanazi
Sindiswa Mpongwana
Reuben Mabotja
Patience Mangesi
Zoe Holland
Joseph Moremi
Simon Langfoot
Edward Moloto
Philbert Moganisi
Sarel Ntaopane
Vincent Khechane
Patrick Molawa
Moses Khuzwayo
Stella Nkonyane
Priscilla King
Ntombikayise Khumalo
Moses Masuku
Isaac Nhlebela
Maxwell Cindi
Moses Mkhandawire
Isaac Peoleha
Ben Sithole
SACTWU
Kate Jabu Mbhele
Thuli Simelani
Michael Dlamini
Mkhululeko
Noncedo Mto
Mthetheleli Ndingane
Phindile Mndebele
Doris Buthelezi

Shopsteward
Shopsteward

Wits Region Organiser
Wits Region Organiser
Eastern Cape Regional Organiser
Former President and 2nd Vice President
Head Office Paralegal
Administrator KZN
KZN Organiser
Organiser Northern Region
CEC member KZN
Wits Administrator
Wits Shopsteward
CEC member Eastern Cape
Paralegal Western Cape
Organiser Free State/Northern Cape
CEC member Free State/Northern Cape
SNPF Regional Representative
Shopsteward Western Transvaal
Shopsteward Western Transvaal
Shopsteward Western Transvaal
Shopsteward Western Transvaal
KZN Shopsteward
KZN Shopsteward
KZN Shopsteward
KZN Shopsteward
KZN Shopsteward
National Negotiator Head Office
Organiser Mpumalanga
Organiser Free State
Shopsteward Western Transvaal

Durban Central 2001
Ladysmith 2001
Qwaqwa 2001
Eastern Cape 2002
Eastern Cape 2002
Eastern Cape 2002
KZN 2002
KZN 2002

Bheki Nkabinde	KZN 2002
Anelle Stuurman	King Williams Town 2003
Tebogo Nkopo	Eastern Cape 2003
Pat Sassman	Western Cape 2003
Robert Mthembu	Johannesburg Central 2003
Mary Williams	Port Elizabeth 2003
Regina Smith	Western Cape 2003
NUMSA	
Lucky Ladlokova	Alrode Organiser – Ekurhuleni
Daniel Kubheka	Springs Organiser – Ekurhuleni
Simon Mdluli	Alrode Organiser – Ekurhuleni
Sipho Malapane	Shopsteward Nigel local Ekurhuleni
Isiah Bhembe	Shopsteward(CM1) Mpumalanga
Johannes Kgologolo	Shopsteward Malcom – Mpumalanga
Betty Ndungwane	Allegro garage – Mpumalanga
Kapelo Sibiloane	Caltex Garage – Mpumalanga
Abel Vaphi	Shopsteward – Ford Eastern Cape
Lundi Ceshemba	Shopsteward (DCSA) Eastern Cape
Khaya Siyongwana	P.E. Local Organiser – Eastern Cape
Jeffrey Skasha Ndamase	Shopsteward Iscor Vaal – Western Transvaal
Amon Radebe	Shopsteward EasyEng. KZN
Vusi Ngema	Shopsteward (DRBN) Local – KZN
Sipho Mbambo	Shopsteward Port Shepstone – KZN
Sdumo Sithole	Shopsteward TOYOTA – KZN
Russel Gambushe	Shopsteward TOYOTA- KZN
Paulos Mazibuko	Shopsteward TOYOTA – KZN
Bongane Mkhwanazi	Shopsteward Metso
Maxwel Masango	Isithebe Administrator KZN
Alpheus Ndlovu	Hullets Alum
Mduduzi Dlamini	Shopsteward Alusaf B/S
Loderick Langtry	Shopsteward Eng
Joseph Tshabalala	Shopsteward Volkswagen
Mathews Phahlo	Shopsteward Poutry
Thabi Mokoena	Shopsteward RUBB
Simon Moteka	Shopsteward Kromdreskor
Botha Rabel	Shopsteward S.A. Truck B
Paulos Mogoetsane	Shopsteward S.A Truck B
Solomon Malumane	Shopsteward Afrox
Abraham Meso	Shopsteward (BVB)
Abner Lesolang	Shopsteward Durated
Abednico Maezana	Shopsteward Section poles
Stephen Mbeba	Shopsteward Dura Ind

<p>Dan Moholo Ephraim Kekana George Matsaung Frans Mboyane Billy Modise</p>	<p>Shopsteward Durabuild Shopsteward Eskom Shopsteward DR Mnf Shopsteward Eskom Joerg Foundry</p>
<p>POPCRU Bhekisani Ntuli Big Khumalo C.S. Mora Benjamin Ventura Boniswa Williams Grace Asiya Uithaler B Berg H.C. Weenn M. Nthathawe N. Marwebu Ntlanganiso</p>	<p>Provincial Secretary POPCRU Shopsteward KwaDukuza Shopsteward Richmond Shopsteward Namaqualand Branch Secretary Upper Karoo Shopsteward Coriesburg Shopsteward Southern Cape Shopsteward Shopsteward Boland Shopsteward Shopsteward Shopsteward</p>
<p>CEPPWAWU Gugu Gafane Moses Kunene Eunice Vuthela Gift Sithole Simon Mofolo Meshack Mokoena Daniel Makhubeka Mathew Mabine Steven Dyani Mpaseka Motaung Mosia Enos Chiloane Sipho Ntshaba Elias Gumede Phumzile Mshumi Godfrey Nelani Vuyani Vena Rose Deku</p>	
<p>NUM – KIMBERLEY D. Binang S. Molaolwa J. Lerekwang M. Letsema</p>	<p>NESCO – Deputy Secretary Finsch Mine Branch Chairperson – Finsch Mine Branch Educator- Finsch Mine Shopsteward – Finsch Mine</p>

B. Belang

C. Dike

J. Veldtman

L. Zikali

C Mocumi

T. Lukas

C. Mokapilo

S. Selikoe

NUM – FREE STATE

Elvis Kokoana

Nthonyana Rasekepe

Mpho Rapoho

Monde Tisane

Melmet Mngazi

Ishmael Mokhethi

Christopher Nelani

Zimamele Mtya

Zakuthini Zalayo

Mthokozisi Somi

Tebello Rametsi

Matsoso Namoli

Nkosinathi Mandla

Duma Mofubelu

Michael Rapeane

Thamsanqa Xakatha

Xolile Qayisa

Thembinkosi Nxulwa

Maria Shuping

Albert Sehlako

Zandisile Jam-Jam

Henry Mdleleni

Mzukisi Ngantweni

Tladi Khethisa

NUM – DURBAN

Mabomvini Sibisi

Kwakhlakomuzi Mwandla

Ephriam Bhesu Lushaba

Simon Dumisani Njapha

Petrus Thabiso Khohoa

Mbhekwa Vincent Mtshali

Manadlakhe Nojeza

Menzi Zulu

Shopsteward – Finsch Mine

Shopsteward – Branch Educator Kimberly Mine

Shopsteward- Kimberly Mines

Steward – Kimberly Mines

Branch Treasurer – Rex Mining

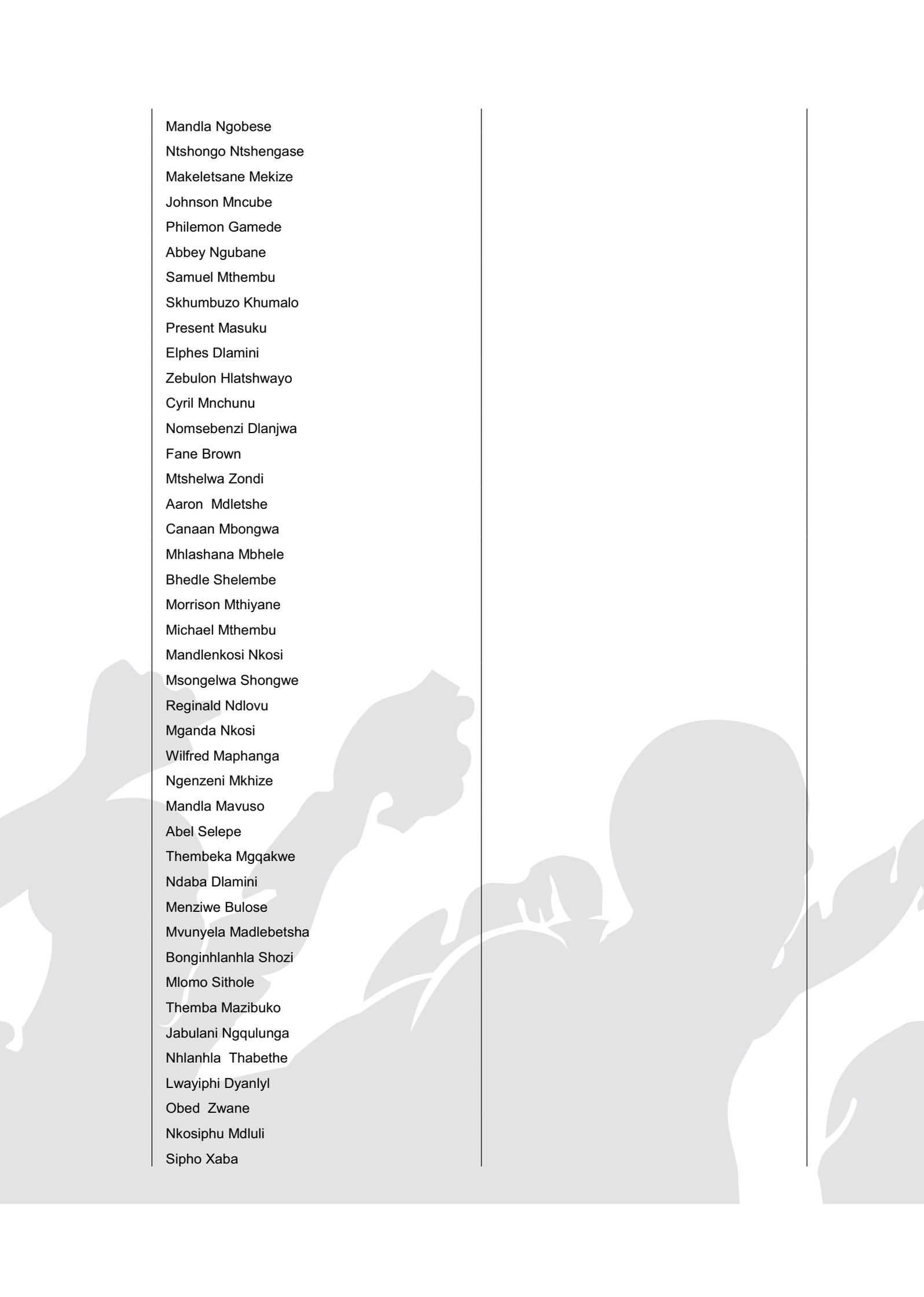
Health & Safety Secretary Rex Mining

Health & Safety Vice Chairperson Rex Mining

Branch Secretary – Rex Mining



Nonhlanhla Sibisi
Mthokozisi Magubane
Sipho Thusi
Boyi Magwaza
Ruben Nxumalo
Leonard Shangase
Mthungwa Nzame
Molojoa Pitso
Potibha Mhlongo
Sipho Mleka
Ndaba Noziba
Nomula Mbulawa
Bongani Mawala
Bonginkosi Ngidi
Maqina Ndlovu
Michael Mncube
Velaphi Mkhwanazi
Mcengeni Mchunu
Doris Mbatha
Kholisiwe Msibi
Lazarus Ncube
Mboneni Thabede
Simon Dlamini
Mdayisi Shelembe
Promise Mbatha
Nkawu Nkonyane
Manzima Zulu
Ndukukayise Mkhize
Magwaza Tenza
Musa Dludlu
Alfred Luthuli
Zweliyabuka Zondo
Johannes Mathonsi
Doctor Mthembu
Antony Dlamini
July Ngabese
Velenkosini Mazibuko
Patric Memela
Thembinkosi Mbhele
Tuze Nyembe
Thembisile Ndlovu
Musawenkosi Gumede



Mandla Ngobese
Ntshongo Ntshengase
Makeletsane Mekize
Johnson Mncube
Philemon Gamede
Abbey Ngubane
Samuel Mthembu
Skhumbuzo Khumalo
Present Masuku
Elphes Dlamini
Zebulon Hlatshwayo
Cyril Mchunu
Nomsebenzi Dlanjwa
Fane Brown
Mtshelwa Zondi
Aaron Mdletshe
Canaan Mbongwa
Mhlahana Mbhele
Bhedle Shelembe
Morrison Mthiyane
Michael Mthembu
Mandlenkosi Nkosi
Msongelwa Shongwe
Reginald Ndlovu
Mganda Nkosi
Wilfred Maphanga
Ngenzeni Mkhize
Mandla Mavuso
Abel Selepe
Thembeke Mgqakwe
Ndaba Dlamini
Menziwe Bulose
Mvunyela Madlebetsha
Bonginhlanhla Shozi
Mlomo Sithole
Themba Mazibuko
Jabulani Ngqulunga
Nhlanhla Thabethe
Lwayiphi Dyanlyl
Obed Zwane
Nkosiphu Mdluli
Sipho Xaba



Mzingeleni Khumalo
Sibangani Gumbi
Mzwakhe Kondile
Mabele Makabane
Siphiwe Zulu
Muziwamandla Shozi
Joseph Cebekhulu
Siphiwe Nkuna
Nio Timothy Muthwa
Gilbert Lugqoza
Palokwake Mvembe
Bhekithemba Msilhing
Bahlule Ngcongco
Buli Shongwe
Zeblon Manqele
Jabulani Mahlaba
Kensington Magabula
Bhekokwakhe Chiya
Mphikwa Nxumalo
Japhet Kunene
Mzikayise Khumalo
Thembi Zulu
Nomzamo Vimba
Mabhuti Mamba
Sipho Cele
Nkosiyethu Dumakude
Mbhekiseni Khanyi
Mzombanzi Mdletshe
Mshukeni Ngidi
Paul Moeketsane
Bhekeni Mnguni
Dumezweni Zwane
Buti Shongwe
Willford Ndongyela
Zandile Radebe
Thembelihle Nkwanyana
Manene Dzanibe
Mdlavuzza Gumede
Gqobha Ntuli
Mhlayefile Nxumalo
Zibokwakhe Ngubane
Sibongile Khomo

Mmangaliso Nsibande

Bheki Nkosi

Alson Mazibuko

Zwelicwengile Matshoba

Mthandeni Alex Mthethwa

Gundu Alson Gumede

December Mdluli

Emmanuel Mpanza

Manuel Solomon Dlamini

Justice Msibi

NUM – CARLETONVILLE REGION

Elias Nomvmoratwe

Noah Lingoniso

NUM – RUSTENBURG

Eric Rixi

Cliffort Metsing

Levi Moleofi

Lucas Sethekga

Lucas Madibela

Ernest Mashila

Edward Ditira

Sivester More

N. Chawe

Nicholus Zonele

Thembisile Njumba

Nthethileli Lungoma

Magadla

Mametho Mduwa

Frans Sicoe

Gideon Gandiwe

Ben Majalefa

Victor Monopole

Lucky Matshaba

T. Tloya

Mxolisi Maqhubela

C. Madyaka

Walithoba Mapei

Moses Ntente

Siphakamele Boyce

Trevor Mbibene

NUM – KLERKSDORP VAAL REEFS

V. Ngayiyana

J. Khambule

C. Zulu

J.Mathola

L. Ntekoa

M. Qaba

B. Qamba

M. Msaseni

K. Lefato

S. Dlamini

B. Mathibela

N. Mzuphela

C. Jeku

M.L Sithela

T. Xaba

C. Tshidi

B. Lehema

N. Morena

D. Qobongoshe

J. Mathula

L. Thilane

J. Molebatsi

NUM - HARTIES

P. Nxaki

N. Masupha

F.Poflpi

V. Hilizile

R. Moiloa

R. Vena

W. Botman

Z. Ngoyo

M. Ralekwa

L. Makhalisa

NUM - ARM

E. Mokgethi

L. Xhabendini

NUM - WEST VAAL

R. Motswane

NUM HIGHVELD

Martin Nelufule

Lwana Khuzwayo

Elliot Mdingi

Veli Kili

Samuel Zamalek Shabangu

NUM NORTHERN NATAL

Jimmy Motlokoa

Loius Manana

Branch Deputy Secretary

Branch Secretary



MAY DAY DISASTER

Vincent Badenshorst

David Banda

Sarah Bloem

Josaph Davids

William Fortune

Johannes Gal

George Hendriks

Raymond Jabetla

Reuben Jacobs

Andries Kelebogile

Charles Mane Kesebaketse

Lindie Hobbart Kgatlane

Johanson Kgotlatsile

Norman Obakeng Khakhane

Clement Koadi

Boitumelo Joseph Kombe

Keletsamaile Kwenane

Moses Lecwidi

C.J Legobate

Dan Letshabo

Jane Mpho Majosi

Prince Pogisho Makoloi

Emmanuel Malegobo

Willie Oupa Malgas

Jim Malinga

Motoloki Manyetsa

Ronald Zolile Manzana

Philip Meyer

James Pico Moitse

Percival Moseki

Israel Buti Mosiane

Mononi Jan

Thapelo Bennet Motsage

Joseph Msobantu Mrubata

Mnutunzima Jeffrey Ncike

Learnald Ndlovu

Elizabeth Ngwato

Julius Nzuzza

David Pienaar

Zacharia Poha

Nerven Raadt

Steven Rens
Sannah Segami
Itumeleng Senyatso
Elvis Sesedi
Justice Thys
Michael Tonyane
Kelepile Tshotelo
Koos Vaaltyn
Vuso Zamba
Saul Sebeela
SADTU
David Shongwe
Steve Rakolote
Sipho Sibeko
David Mohai
Amos Ndlovu
N.C. Mabaso
Hezekiel Phiri
Trevor Mkhonza
Bhozi Mkhize
V.K. Mbili
J. Mofokeng
S.J. Phafane
M. Mchoba
M. Lebodi
P.M. Mokgwe
M. Moloto
P. Raseleka
T. Madlala
Gideon Koloane
Mzwandile Dyantyi
Henrich Botha
Vara Mpayipheli
Mangena Mbuqu
Titi Mvume

Deputy Chair – Gauteng
Education Convenor – Gauteng
Branch Treasurer – Mpumalanga
Branch –SAC Convenor Mpumalanga
Branch SAC Convenor Mpumalanga
Branch Treasurer – Mpumalanga
Branch Secretary – Mpumalanga
Provincial Treasurer – KZN
Provincial Organiser KZN
REC Member-Free State
REC Member-Free State
REC Member-Free State
Chairperson North West
Chairperson North West
Branch Secretary
Regional Secretary – North West
Regional Chairperson North West
Regional Deputy Secretary North West
Provincial Assistant Secretary N/Cape
Regional Secretary – N/Cape
Regional SAC Convenor
Provincial Assistant Secretary E/Cape
REC Member E/Cape
REC Member E/Cape

ANNEXURE 3.

SPEECH BY COSATU PRESIDENT WILLIE MADISHA AT THE 8TH COSATU NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT GALLAGHER ESTATE 15 TO 18 SEPTEMBER 2003

National Chairperson of the ANC comrade Mosioa Lekota,
The General Secretary of the SACP, Comrade Blade Nzimande
Members of the ANC NEC and the CEC of the SACP

Cabinet Ministers and Premiers

Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors here present

Friends of COSATU from national organisations and institutions

International Guests

Members of the media

Leaders of COSATU gathered here in your capacity as delegates to this Congress

I am honoured, on my behalf and on behalf of the leadership of the giant federation COSATU, to greet you delegates and millions of workers across the length and breadth of our country watching and listening to the opening of this congress.

It is 30 years since those gallant fighters of Durban went onto an unprecedented strike. The 1973 strikes, which helped us to revive the democratic and militant trade unions, laid the foundation for the formation of this monumental federation – COSATU. At this crucial moment of our history, we salute the heroes and heroines of the 1973 strikes.

Last month, comrades, we celebrated 20th anniversary of the United Democratic Front. The UDF brought together hundreds of organisations and moulded them into machinery that, working with the ANC, brought the apartheid regime to its knees.

Now, we are seven months away from celebrating the first decade of our freedom. Around the same time we shall be going to the polls only for the third occasion in our lives.

Over the period under review we lost some of the finest revolutionaries and leaders whom our struggle for democracy has produced. We dip our flags to mourn the passing of these giants of our struggle, such as Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Steve Tshwete, Curnich Ndlovu and many others.

We also mourn and salute all the members and leaders of COSATU who died during this period. They include Comrades Pinki Ntsangani and Magwaza Maphalala. As we were preparing for this congress, comrade Sphelele Zuma, the former regional secretary of KwaZulu Natal, died. In May this year we lost 51 of our members, mostly from SAMWU and NEHAWU, in a month that also saw the tragic death of NUM stewards and farm workers. We have just learned that Patrick Cokocho, a shopsteward for 22 years from SACTWU's NEC died last night. Our condolences go to his family and to the members and leadership of SACTWU. Comrades,

The worker's parliament now is in session. Our task is to evaluate the programmes of the federation enshrined in the resolutions of the last congress held in 2000. The Secretariat will present reports that analyse the transformation of our society from a workers' perspective, explore ways to strengthen our organisation, and propose strategies to advance our interests.

We must use this Congress to evaluate our progress as a labour movement and a country in this first decade of freedom, and plot our way forward to our 30th anniversary in 2015. We must be able to look back at this Congress and say: this was a turning point in our work, where we set the strategies that ensured the success of our movement and our country.

To meet these demands, we must ask concisely: What central challenges do we face as a Federation? What must we do here to judge this Congress a success?

To understand the challenges, let us briefly characterise developments in the past three years. I will just go into the key areas, since they are covered in depth in the Secretariat report.

The international context has certainly become more interesting and complex in the past three years. The events of September 11, 2001 have been used by the U.S. to move to direct aggression to protect its dominant position. At the same time, we have seen growing resistance to international capital around the world.

This resistance just won a major success with the refusal to continue the WTO talks at Cancun as long as the concerns of the developing countries are not met. That signals the rising confidence of progressive forces, including the working class, in meeting the challenges of globalisation.

We are proud that as COSATU, through our consistent engagement with the government on trade and development policy as well as by working with the ICFTU, we have made a major contribution to this outcome. At the same time, we recognise the need to work harder to ensure unity of progressive forces and governments internationally, and especially to strengthen the progressive direction of the global labour movement.

The new environment certainly opens some scope for countries like South Africa to adopt stronger development strategies. The fact is that the Washington Consensus, which forced neo-liberal policies as the only solution for all countries, is in disarray. Even the World Bank has raised questions about a pure free-market approach. We must discuss here how we can use this space in our struggle for economic and social policies for working people here in South Africa.

In South Africa itself, the past three years have seen a consolidation of democracy. At the same time, workers have continued to suffer job losses and high prices for basic services and food. In this context, we welcome the government's renewed commitment, as expressed in the Growth and Development Summit, to dealing with unemployment, poverty and HIV as key challenges facing our people.

It is appropriate for us to thank you as members of all our affiliates for making sure the Growth and Development Summit was held. It was a result of the struggles we undertook, the sacrifice of wages by workers that led to the Summit. It was your struggle and achievement, and your victory.

The transition to democracy ended legal racism, sexism and other forms of unfair discrimination, and gave us, as workers, the chance to influence government through the vote and through engagement on policies at a variety of levels. We must never take these gains for granted.

But we cannot ignore the problems we face – rising joblessness, growing poverty, HIV/AIDS and high food prices. The fact is that unemployment is now higher than in any other comparable country – which five million South Africans now go without

jobs. We believe this is a scandal. The unemployment crisis hits Africans, women and young people hardest. It goes hand in hand with falling pay and rising informalisation, casualisation and contracting out.

Unemployment is a problem for workers as a class. But it is also a problem for our organisation, since it undermines our traditional centres of strength, particularly in the big manufacturing companies and parastatals. It poses organisational and managerial challenges for all of us.

The decisions of big business underlie rising unemployment. Their strategies to deal with the globalisation of the economy have largely involved capital flight, low investment and unstable growth. This was made possible in part by the adoption of GEAR policies in 1996.

Like much of post-colonial Africa, we face the dilemma that, while we have transformed political power and government, the economy remains in the hands of a few big white companies, which as a whole do not show sufficient dedication to transforming our economy to benefit all our people and bring about sustainable growth.

The current programmes of BEE are too narrow to address this problem. They seek above all to enrich a small minority, without ensuring broader overall ownership or empowerment for workers. We must emphasise that our understanding of BEE is not fighting over government tenders, but a situation where the majority of our people can engage with and benefit from the economy. We don't believe the few must be enriched at the cost of the majority.

In this context, COSATU has called for a far-reaching transformation of the economy, based on improved basic services for all our people, broader ownership of productive assets and improved education and skills development, and sector strategies that can restructure the economy toward job-creating growth.

Government's failure to carry out these policies vigorously, in part because of spending cuts imposed by the GEAR, mean we have failed to meet many of our expectations from democracy. Still, we have to welcome the slow shift in government policies over the past three years away from the free-market approach endorsed in GEAR.

We need to ask about the argument that the fundamentals are in place and that there is a turnaround in the economy. If this is true, why do we see a growing gap between those in the first world and in the third world economy within our country? Why do we see worse poverty and unemployment?

The shift in government policy today appears in rising government spending, pressure to hold down interest rates, and a renewed commitment to sector strategies. From this standpoint, the outcomes of the Growth and Development Summit, while by no means meeting all our expectations, still signalled a major victory for workers. In the Growth and Development Summit, we concentrated on what we can do using our own resources to create jobs and meet our people's needs, where GEAR focused only on foreign investment and growing exports.

But the change in government policy is only tentative. We will only see social and economic policies in favour of the working class and the poor in general if we continue to engage systematically. As always, that means we have to think about how we combine negotiations and power, technical inputs and our members' actions. We

must emphasise that we as the working class must take leadership. No matter what others say, in South Africa and overseas, it is only when the working class leads that we can make progress. It is only pressure from workers that can drive the national democratic revolution.

The Seventh Congress reaffirmed our commitment to the Alliance, and no major COSATU meeting has ever questioned this far-reaching decision. We need the Alliance as the historic bloc that brings together the progressive forces in our society, and as the only realistic way to mobilise our people for transformation.

Nonetheless, in the past three years, we have seen deep tensions in the Alliance over these policy issues. The reaction of our Alliance partner to our national strikes in 2001 and 2002 for jobs and against privatisation can only be described as venomous. I have never seen such a reaction. We saw attacks on individual leaders, ridiculing our demands, and labelling our organisation.

We have to thank the workers, both members of COSATU and non-members, for remaining united and standing firm in protection of our leaders and our resolutions. In large part as a result of this united and consistent stance, the worst tensions in the Alliance have been somewhat resolved in the past six months. Still, the underlying problems have certainly not disappeared.

In our 2015 programme, we make proposals for a more strategic approach to dealing with the challenge of building the Alliance. We must talk about how to take the national democratic revolution forward as the working class. We cannot talk about leaving the Alliance. But we must talk about how we mobilise when our Alliance partner is in power.

But this Congress must also bear constantly in mind that in the next few months we face another national election. The task is clear: we must ensure an overwhelming victory for the ANC, not just overall, but especially in KwaZulu Natal and the Western Cape.

We cannot let apathy or disappointed expectations lead us to ignore the importance of the elections, which would undermine the very base of popular power in our country. Those elections must be won by the ANC in all provinces of our country.

We want to emphasise that as workers, we have been disappointed by job losses, privatisation and so on. But we must not let apathy take over. We call on you as workers to get your family members, communities and comrades to go vote. And after the elections, we will go to the ANC and engage, and if they refuse we can still take to the streets.

Comrades,

These political and economic developments pose great challenges for the labour movement. We find ourselves in a state of change, which requires that we consciously analyse our circumstances and develop strategies to address them. Otherwise we risk being left behind, and gradually losing our ability to give workers a voice and to defend the working class as a whole.

For this reason, the Seventh Congress resolved on a systematic organisational review process, building on the September Commission reports. We report here on the results of this review, in the Secretariat Report, the Organisational Review Report and the 2015 programme.

This is the core of our work here at this Congress: to build our organisation. We must leave here with a programme of action that not only points to key areas for political

and economic engagement, but even more important defines how we can build our organisation in the face of the loss of jobs, which can undermine the working class as a whole.

Above all, in the past three years, for the first time COSATU experienced a loss of membership. The losses are not large – they come to 34 000 members, or less than 2% of our total membership. Still, they constitute a warning signal. Moreover, the levelling out of growth has introduced new strains on our financial and management systems.

The financial problems emerged strongly in the problems at NEHAWU. But, in part thanks to solidarity shown by all our affiliates through the COSATU CEC Commission, the union has now turned the corner and is making huge progress. Again, we want to rise and thank the affiliates of COSATU for their support, and we are sure that in the coming months NEHAWU will fully recover.

Our analysis in the Organisational Review Report shows that the main source of membership losses for COSATU were job losses in manufacturing, construction and the parastatals. As a result, some unions have lost many members. In contrast, the public service unions have continued to grow slowly, somewhat offsetting the loss in other sectors.

The analysis also shows that there is considerable scope for growth in the formal as well as the informal sector, especially in the private sector. COSATU unions now represent a third of formal private-sector workers outside of domestic labour and agriculture, and two thirds of those in the public sector.

That points to huge space for recruitment. We have to ask why we have failed to organise the unorganised in every industry where we operate.

We can pinpoint the areas that we are particularly weak. In particular, many unions remain comfortable with domination in a few big companies, and have not managed to penetrate smaller ones. Thus, organisation in smaller firms is only about half as high as in large ones.

Moreover, we have not managed to organise younger workers. Only about a fifth of workers aged under 30 belong to unions – far lower than for older ones. We need to talk about this and come up with ways and means for dealing with it. In the elections campaigns, we also see that young people are outside our political organisations, although they belong to other organisations like churches. You as shopstewards must find ways to go into these organisations and get young people to vote.

In addition, union density varies greatly by sector. We have long had only a toehold in domestic labour and agriculture – sectors that are particularly important for women. In addition, in manufacturing we are weak in chemical, and we must find ways to penetrate retail, private services and tourism, all of which are growing sectors.

We cannot organise the unorganised unless we can also ensure good service for members. We recognise that the challenges facing our shopstewards and organisers have intensified. Both the public and private sectors have seen far-reaching restructuring processes, which place huge technical and organisational burdens on unions trying to defend the workers affected. Moreover, while the new labour laws brought us great benefits, they also mean we have to understand complex legal issues to manage grievances and disputes.

These developments mean that we have to vastly increase our support for shopstewards. We need to ensure that they have access to education and organisational support and resourcing. COSATU in particular must help by developing guidelines and education for dealing with complex restructuring and dispute processes.

Finally, all of us face a context of political scepticism and demobilisation outside of COSATU itself. That increases the burdens on us all. As the strongest organisation in civil society, we have a responsibility to give the working class a voice.

Comrades,

This situation points to the key task facing this conference – to move our organisational development process from analysis to action. We must act. It was easy to run the labour movement when we could assume huge growth in membership. Now we have to grapple with the challenge of ensuring more efficient and effective organisation while maintaining our traditions of worker control, service to members, and organising the unorganised.

A key element in this process is to improve support for shopstewards. That means we have to strengthen our organisational support for shopstewards and our education processes. We must emphasise this point.

At the same time, we must ensure that improved service goes hand in hand with organising the unorganised. The Second Central Committee in April this year adopted a comprehensive resolution on recruitment, which targeted 10% growth a year. That is an ambitious aim. We must use this Congress to mobilise all our shopstewards and members to achieve it.

In short, comrades, the challenges we face as a labour movement set the theme for this Congress. The theme unites our two challenges: to ensure employment creation based on a stronger labour movement by the time of our 30th Anniversary. If we do not achieve these aims, the worst-case scenario painted by the September Commission, where we as workers are increasingly powerless and isolated, will become a reality.

As the 2015 programme points out, we cannot rely on sloganeering or short-term solutions. Rather, we need here to develop systematic strategies and programmes to transform our organisation and our society.

The 2015 programme as it stands now represents mostly a list of priorities. We must come out of this Congress with more concrete strategies and benchmarks in a realistic programme of action.

The key priorities in the 2015 programme are:

- To build our organisation, based on improved education, service to members and recruitment. COSATU as a Federation, in particular, must do more to link policy engagement, job creation and defending workers on the shop floor.
- To build the Alliance, above all by ensuring that every COSATU activist is also an activist in the ANC and the SACP
- To focus our social and political actions on protecting and expanding quality jobs in the context of deepening democracy. That in turn requires greater engagement with workplace and sectoral restructuring by both the Federation and our affiliates.

All of these measures must build the confidence and organisation of the working class, not only to withstand the current economic and political attacks, but also to continue to take a leading role in transforming our society. Comrades,

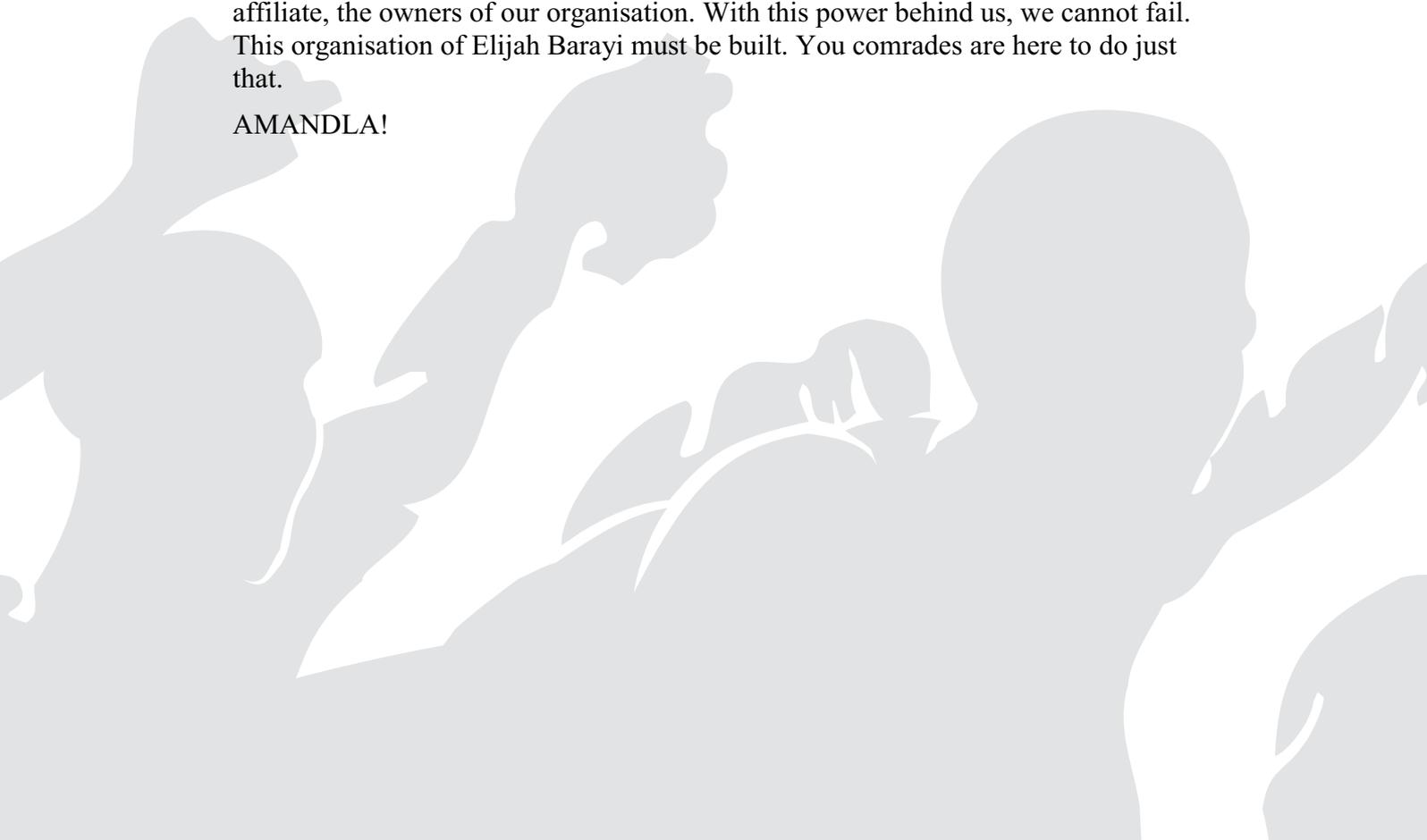
We expect this Congress, above all, to review the Organisational Review proposals and the programme to 2015 and to improve them. On that basis, we must discuss consistently how we can take these strategies forward in a programme of action, in particular over the next three years to our Ninth Congress. Our programme of action must take into account the lessons we learned over years of struggle against apartheid and in the past nine years of democratic rule.

In developing our programme of action, we need to find ways to integrate the resolutions from affiliates consistently into our 2015 programme. Moreover, we must ensure that COSATU's programme of action, arising out of this Congress, is systematically included in the plans and programmes of every affiliate. We cannot afford any longer to take resolutions that should bind us all, without thinking consistently about how they affect our own unions.

When we leave here, we must have a programme to guide us consistently in the years ahead. Every Congress from now must use the programme to assess our progress systematically and make corrections as needed.

Comrades, this Congress must not shirk the hard questions. But we must also recognise and build on our strengths. We remain the strongest labour movement in South Africa, one of the strongest in the world – united, dynamic and democratic. Our strength comes from you, seated there, and all our members in the workplace. It comes from our shopstewards and activists, NOBs and, again, the members of each affiliate, the owners of our organisation. With this power behind us, we cannot fail. This organisation of Elijah Barayi must be built. You comrades are here to do just that.

AMANDLA!



ANNEXURE 4

Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Thabo Mbeki, at the opening of the 8th National Congress of COSATU: Gallagher Estate, September 15, 2003.

Chairperson,

Comrade Willie Madisha, President of COSATU, Comrade Zwelinzima Vavi,
General Secretary of COSATU, Comrades leaders and members of COSATU,
Comrades delegates, Other members of the alliance and guests.

I am very pleased to convey to you all the warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes of your comrades, the leaders and members of the ANC, as well as those of the Youth and Women's Leagues. We also thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to speak at the opening of this important 8th National Congress of Cosatu.

As has been the case in the past, we look forward to the outcome of your deliberations. We do so not only because we value our alliance with Cosatu. We look forward to the decisions are of critical importance to the solutions we must find to the problems that face our country and people.

Gathered here is delegates who are leaders and representatives of millions of the working people pf our country. The workers you lead produce the wealth our country needs to address the legacy of poverty and underdeveloped we inherited from the apartheid system.

The workers you lead occupied the front ranks of the mass army that fought and defeated this system. The workers you represent muss continue to occupy the front ranks in the new struggle we have to wage and are waging together, as a united force for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

They stand in the vanguard of the movement that must free our people from unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. Necessarily, therefore, the builders of the new South Africa that you represent and lead, the workers, must make their voices heard.

This 8th National Congress provides the opportunity for a major section of our country's organized working class to make its voice heard. It provides all of us, including the political leader of our alliance, the ANC, with the important possibility to hear this voice and having heard it, to respond to it further to advance our forward march towards the reconstruction and development of our country, in the interest of the masses of our people.

That is why this 8th National Congress is important not just for Cosatu not just for your allies, the ANC and the SACP, but also for our country as a whole.

But comrades, this also indicates the serious responsibility that rests on your shoulders, to ensure that this Congress contributes the ideas our country needs, to take us from where we are today to the better life for all to which our Alliance is firmly committed. I have no doubt that you will carry out this task with the revolutionary dedication you have demonstrated in the past.

As we would expect, those who have something to gain from a weak and divided Alliance, have been speculating that this Congress will focus, among other things, on driving a wedge between the ANC and COSATU.

For some strange reason, these forces always convince themselves that their wishes represent reality. Because they want to see the ANC and COSATU fighting each other, they convince themselves that because this is what they desire, we ourselves will make their dream come true, by launching a destructive war between the ANC and COSATU. However, like the delegates gathered here, we know that their dreams will come to nothing.

There are a number of things that the opponents of our Alliance seem never to understand. One of these is that the progressive workers of our country, who fight to advance their interests as workers, are the same workers who fight and have fought for the emancipation of the masses of our people from oppression.

Accordingly, these workers have, for many decades, been members and activists of both the progressive trade union movement and the movement for national liberation, led by the ANC. This is as true today as it was 50 years ago.

In the same way that this trade union movement and national liberation movement engaged in struggle together 50 years ago, so will they continue to engage together in the common struggle to advance the common agenda.

This is not a marriage of convenience. It represents the strategic unity of which the late President of the ANC, Albert Luthuli, spoke of, when he said that the relationship between the ANC and SACTU, the predecessor of COSATU, was that between a spear and a shield.

I am convinced that the organized progressive workers of our country, organized in, and led by COSATU, will not abandon the spear they need to win their battles. Similarly, I am convinced that the revolutionary masses of our country, organized in, and led by the ANC, will not abandon the shield they need to win their battles.

Those who are fond of speculating about splits in our Alliance seem incapable of understanding this simple truth. We would like to say to them – continue dreaming! We know that the continuing offensive of our Alliance to eradicate the legacy of the racist past and to meet the needs of the masses of our people, will turn their dreams into nightmares!

So blinded are the speculators by their desires, that they fail to recognize other factors that define our reality and our future. One of these factors is that there is no political force outside our Alliance that is committed, in theory and in practice, to the advancement of the interests of the workers of our country.

Because there are other people outside this conference hall who may not understand what I have just said, let me repeat it: there is no political force outside our Alliance that is committed, in theory and in practice, to the advancement of the interests of the workers of our country.

Anybody who wants to check the truth of this statement should look at what has happened in our country in the last nine years of liberation. For the first time in 300 years the masses of our people have been able to say they face a future of hope. They make this statement because of their direct experience, because they can see with their own eyes that, however slowly, their lives are changing for the better.

Over the last nine years, the Alliance of which COSATU is an important part, has made certain that the rights of workers are respected. It has enacted legislation to prohibit discrimination in the workplace on the basis of race, gender and disability.

It has ensured that all the elderly get pensions without discrimination. It has sought to make sure that children of destitute families access some means to ensure that they have something to eat.

It has adopted policies and instituted programmes to ensure the empowerment and upliftment of people with disabilities, among other things breaking with the practice of treating them as welfare cases, rather than human beings and citizens entitled to treatment in a manner that, practically, respected the fact that they are human beings and citizen equal to any other South African citizen.

It said the matter of the emancipation of women is central to our character as a revolutionary movement. It has therefore acted to ensure the empowerment and upliftment of the women our country, driven by its determination to ensure that we build a non-sexist society.

The Alliance of which COSATU is an important part, took the decision that those who were deliberately denied access to clean water, modern sanitation, health facilities, electricity, modern communications, education, and so on, must have access to all these, and has acted on all these matters.

It decided that a comprehensive programme should be implemented to address the urgent matter of poverty alleviation, among other things, by strengthening the social security net and implementing an expanded public works programme.

It resolved that we should end the situation according to the majority of the African workers in our country would be condemned to the status of badly paid, unskilled and cheap labour, and is acting on this critical issue.

It said that government, labour, business and civil society must act together as social partners to confront the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment that continue to afflict millions of our people. It therefore ensured the establishment of NEDLAC and acted together for the convening of the recent Growth and Development Summit, whose programme of action we are all obliged to implement.

The Alliance of which COSATU is an important part, has said that we must play our role among the progressive forces of Africa to contribute to the renewal of our continent. It said we have to work to overcome the legacy of slavery, imperialism colonialism, neo-colonialism and white minority rule in Africa, transforming ours into a continent of peace, stability, democracy and prosperity, and is acting to implement this decision.

It said that we have to join forces with the rest of the poor of the world to change the situation produced by globalisation according to which the rich get richer, while the poor become poorer.

The collapse of the WTO negotiations in Cancun, Mexico yesterday, which were supposed to produce a result in favour of developing countries such as ours, confirms the fact that we have a difficult struggle ahead of us to secure a better life for all. Nevertheless, we will continue to engage this struggle, convinced that victory is certain.

We all know the reality that faces the masses of our people and the challenges to our national democratic movement that derive from this reality.

We know that millions of our people, including, the youth, are unemployed and needs jobs. We know that of these do not have the skills that are required by a modern economy.

We know that millions of our people are poor and lead lives of misery. We know that many of our people still do not have access to adequate food, clean water, modern sanitation, health services, electricity, and so on.

We know that our country continues to be characterized by the racial and gender imbalances imposed on our country and people by many centuries of white minority domination. In short, we know that, despite the important gains we have made over the last nine years, we still have a long way to go before we can say we have eradicated the legacy of colonialism and apartheid.

All this means that we have a common revolutionary duty to the masses of our people to continue to act together in a people's contract to push back the frontiers of poverty and expand access to a better life for all.

It means we have to continue to do everything we can to ensure that we strengthen the unity of the Alliance behind a common programme of action focused on improving the lives of the working people

It means that whatever the occasional differences among ourselves on any particular matter, we must never lose sight of the fact that we share a common vision for our country and people, and are united around a common strategic goal to ensure that we liberate the masses of our people from poverty, underdevelopment and all forms of discrimination.

Steadily, we are progressing towards the celebration of the Decade of Liberation. Those celebrations also mean that next year, we will also hold our third General Elections. Already, it is clear that some political formations in our country have begun their election campaigns. Very recently, we heard some of these pledging to work together to pursue the hopeless task of defeating the ANC.

Our obligations to the masses of our people demand that we, for our part, should work hard to secure a decisive victory in the forthcoming elections. Immediately, we have to go out to ensure that our people have Identity Cards and are registered to vote. In particular, we must ensure that the youth are registered to vote.

And next year we will also have to intensify our work among the people to ensure that they return their tried and tested movement to power, with a decisive majority.

This is the clarion call that must emerge from this 8th National Congress, that we have to register a new political victory over the political forces in our country that offer no hope to the masses of our people, the political forces that define themselves as our opposition, the opponents of our programme for the reconstruction and development of our country.

We must, once again, defeat these forces and will defeat them. I am honoured to address the Congress on behalf of the ANC and to wish you success in your important work.

Thank you.

ANNEXURE 5.

Extracts from SACP address to COSATU 8th National Congress by Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary, 16 September 2003

THIS OCCASION might go down in history as one of the most important congresses in the history of this Federation, this, the 8th Congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Why?

Coming just 7 months before the end of the first decade of our freedom, this Congress comes at a time in which our revolution stands at the crossroads. Since 1994 there have been many advances for the working class and poor of our country, there have also been defeats and persisting crises for workers and the poor - one million formal sector jobs have been lost in five years, workers have been casualised and informalised, household income inequality and mass poverty have worsened.

Everyday, on the TV, radio and in the print media, there are multiple signs of distress, of creeping bourgeois values, of a sharpening factionalism within our own liberation movement. For the past 10 years we have moved forward collectively, we have notched up victories, we have made significant resource transfers to the poor, but still we remain locked into a ravenous, barbaric capitalist accumulation path. We have to go forward, but we cannot just go forward with hope and good intentions. We have to systematically, consciously, militantly rescue our national democratic revolution from its present imprisonment within a persisting capitalist accumulation path.

Unless, the working class leads, working programmatically and in action with the widest range of the mass of the urban and rural poor, unless this is done, the promise of 1994 will collapse into agendas of narrow self-enrichment, and general confusion. The SACP is prepared to work with all potentially patriotic and progressive forces - but one thing is clear, the bourgeoisie, the emergent bourgeoisie and the emergent bourgeoisies, separately and together are incapable of charting a way out of our persisting crisis of underdevelopment. The working class must lead!

THE STRATEGIC NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SACP AND COSATU

This is a relationship we need to continue to deliberately foster, deepen and consolidate. It is a relationship forged in struggle, and must continue to be fostered through common struggles.

In the first instance in order to understand this relationship properly it is important to locate it within the context of what the relationship should be between communists and the labour movement. The most definitive guideline and approach still remains that enunciated by Lenin in 1900. Allow me to quote from this:

"Social democracy is a combination of the labour movement with socialism. Its task is not passively to serve the labour movement at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aims and its political tasks, and to protect its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social-Democracy, the labour movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois: in conducting only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and

runs counter to the great slogan: 'The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves'. In every country there has been a period in which the labour movement existed separately from the socialist movement, each going its own road; and in every country this state of isolation weakened both the socialist movement and the labour movement. Only the combination of socialism with the labour movement in each country created a durable basis for both the one and the other" (Lenin, 1900)

The above approach is as relevant today as it was relevant then. The enemies of the working class everywhere know this, that is why one of their strategies will always be an attempt to drive a wedge between communists and the labour movement, thus aiming to weaken both and strengthen the capitalist character of society. That is where the highly sectarian left works to the agenda of the bourgeoisie when they call for COSATU to split from the Communist Party and the Alliance, and transforms itself into a workers' party. The bourgeoisie would love this as it would isolate organised workers from the Party and the masses and drive it into a cocoon!

Cde President I would like to submit to this Congress that we should consciously see the relationship between our two formations as of a strategic nature. The South African Communist Party is the only credible political voice of the working class, with a proud history of struggle and a clear political theory of the NDR and its relationship to the struggle for socialism. We have a programmatic perspective grounded in advancing the interests of the workers and the poor. COSATU is the largest trade union federation, progressive in its orientation, with a proud history of militant struggle for the workers and embracing the NDR and the struggle for socialism.

What do we mean when we say that we should see our relationship as a strategic relationship? Put simply, the future and fate of South Africa's working class lies with this relationship. The struggle for socialism is entirely dependent on this relationship. Without understanding the strategic nature of this relationship and consciously giving it this strategic purpose and thrust, the future of the working class, the NDR and indeed socialism is at stake.

Were Lenin writing in South Africa in 2003 what he said in 1900, he would have added that for South Africa, the primary strategic relationship for the future of the working class lies in deepening and consolidating the strategic relationship between the SACP and COSATU.

How should the strategic nature of this relationship manifest itself?

The foundation for the strategic nature of this relationship must derive from a proper grasp and concrete campaigns around the programmatic slogan of socialism is the future build it now

The public sector as the basis of our growth and development strategies, and a programmatic platform from which to engage private capital

An overarching state led industrial strategy, driving an accumulation regime beneficial to the overwhelming majority of our people

Harmonising and co-ordinating existing working class campaigns on jobs and poverty eradication, transformation of the financial sector in favour of the workers and the poor, a comprehensive social security system, building a progressive working class led women's movement, fighting against HIV/AIDS and effective worker participation in ANC and SACP structures

The strategy and tactics of the working class in the NDR and transition to socialism

must emerge from the programmes and the strategic thrust of the relationship between our two formations!

To pose our relationship in this way is not to elevate it above that of the ANC as the leader of the Alliance. Part of the strategic purpose of our relationship is precisely aimed at strengthening the working class bias of the ANC as the leader of the Alliance and government.

There is also a dialectical relationship between the strategic nature of our two formations and the leading role of the ANC in this period. It is only under an ANC led Alliance, an ANC which safeguards its working class bias, that creates the most favourable conditions for a working class led NDR and the struggle for socialism. Conversely, it is the strategic relationship of the SACP and COSATU that provides the locomotive for the NDR and an ANC with a working class bias. However what holds together this dialectic and the Alliance as a whole is an independent, politically conscious working class capable of acting as a motive force.

LET US TAKE THIS RELATIONSHIP ONTO EVEN A HIGHER STRATEGIC UNITY!

THE SIX KEY PRIORITIES FACING THE WORKING CLASS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

Within the context of consolidating and deepening the national democratic revolution, and the emerging medium term vision for the working class, the following are the six key priorities for the working class in the immediate future:

Implementation of the Growth and Development Summit resolutions

Whilst the GDS resolutions do not meet the working class objective of an overarching state led industrial strategy, it nevertheless is an important advance in the following manner:

It marks an important shift from a growth and development strategy premised on privatisation, liberalisation and attraction of FDI as the principal locomotive for a growth path

Instead it is premised on mobilisation of domestic resources from the financial sector, domestic investible income, increased investment in infrastructure, expanded public works programmes and the building of co-operatives to harness the energies and economic creativity of the ordinary mass of our people. This is a very important shift from some of the GEAR assumptions.

It potentially rolls back the notion that there is only one corner that has all the wisdom about how to grow and develop our economy, and a recognition of the need to mobilise the wisdom and organisational muscle of all our people in order to achieve a radically different growth path. Most importantly recognition, even if on paper, of the importance of the working class and the resources under its control

In this way the GDS resolutions provides the most immediate platform to struggle for an accumulation regime in favour of the workers and the poor. However the working class needs to mobilise to ensure that it drives the implementation of these resolutions. In particular, focus should be on the following:

Driving convening of sectoral summits towards concrete measure for job creation

Building of a co-operative movement

The building of a progressive savings and credit co-operative movement to fight against the high indebtedness of the working class to amashonisa

Struggling for worker's control of retirement funds

Deepening the struggles in the financial sector, and building on the achievements made thus far

Campaigning for labour intensive approaches in the formal sector

Driving a public works programme through infrastructure investment

Energetically taking up BEE to ensure that concrete measures are developed for the benefit of the mass of our people, rather than an elite. This also calls for an intense and conscious ideological offensive against attempts to hijack BEE only to benefit a small elite

Building a caring South African nation based on social solidarity and upliftment of the majority of our people

It is important that the working class be in the forefront of the struggles to address the national question. The national question cannot be effectively addressed unless its class content is properly understood and addressed, just as we need to address the national content of the class question. There is a very real danger that as our transition unfolds, emphasis tends to be placed on the national question devoid of its class content. It is only a politically conscious working class, with independent power that is best capable to lead the struggle to address the national question.

In this respect the working class needs to contest and seek to give direction to the moral values upon which the emerging new South African nation is based. This concretely means rolling back the capitalist market, unflinchingly promoting non-racialism and non-sexism, fight corruption and elitism and the "dog-eat-dog" mentality of capitalism and promote values of social solidarity and upliftment of the overwhelming majority of our people. These values need to be reflected in all sectors of society and is the only platform on which to address the national question. This means the working class being in the forefront of protecting our national sovereignty and in the moral regeneration movement.

New forms of working class organisation

In the light of informalisation, casualisation and stratification of the working class, we need to creatively think about new forms of organising workers. This means new strategies to organise informal sector workers, casual workers, hawkers and a whole range of the new layers of the working class created by the neo-liberal restructuring of the economy. Amongst other things this means creating advice offices, building a co-operative movement, organising new workers through their sites of struggles for sustainable livelihoods - in stokvels, burial societies and other arenas where the informalised, retrenched and casualised working class is to be found. This is where we should concretely seek to merge struggles for jobs with some of the areas that our Party has been organising in.

We feel that whilst the labour movement is acutely aware of these challenges there has not been adequate discussion of new ways to organise the vulnerable and peripheralised workers in our country.

Deepening and systematising internationalist and solidarity work

This is a critical area that needs to be addressed as outlined above, prioritising solidarity in the African continent and the South.

ANC victory in the 2004 elections

This constitutes the most immediate priority for the working class and the national democratic revolution as a whole. Workers of our country in general need to ensure

an overwhelming majority for the ANC in the elections next year. As workers, it is in our deepest interest to return the ANC government overwhelmingly. The ANC is the best-placed organisation to take forward transformation in our country, and the only government best capable of addressing the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people.

It is also important that as a matter of urgency we ensure that workers fully participate in all the ANC election structures. We must also ensure that we participate in the drafting of the election manifesto and ensure that the interests of workers are prominent. The immediate task however is to throw our weight behind the ID campaign. It would be crucial that this Congress adopts specific resolutions on how COSATU is going to be part of this important electoral effort.

There are additional challenges facing our unions in relation to the election campaign. We need to ensure that we reach out to the millions of workers to ensure that they come out and vote. Particular attention needs to be paid to the urban African working class, particularly in areas like Durban and Pietermaritzburg in order to ensure that we win that province. Part of the problem is that our people in these areas have in the past not come out in the numbers we need. What is the role of COSATU in this regard?

Another key challenge is that of focusing on the Coloured working class in the Western Cape. If COSATU and its affiliates throw their full weight behind this effort, our job will be half done in the Western Cape.

An important challenge however is that as we draw up the ANC election manifesto we need to ensure that we begin to draw up a joint Alliance programme to make sure that the implementation of the manifesto is driven collectively. We should see the election campaign itself as part of building the Alliance. This will overcome the problem of tensions that sometimes arise out of the interpretation of the implementation of the manifesto. This is also important in order to ensure that joint Alliance work does not only happen during the election campaign and not after it.

Let us get down to work to ensure a convincing victory for the ANC next year!

Forward to Workers' Co-operative Bank and Worker-Controlled Retirement Funds!

When the SACP spoke at your last Congress, it was a few weeks before we launched the Campaign to Make Banks Serve the People. Since then we have witnessed the holding of the NEDLAC Financial Sector Summit in August 2002, the publication of draft regulations to govern Credit Bureaus, the discussion by cabinet of a new Co-operatives' Bill and Community Reinvestment Legislation, initiatives by some banks to introduce a charge-free banking card for recipients of welfare grants, the Financial Services Charter, the AVBOB announcement to remove HIV/AIDS discrimination in its funeral insurance policies, and other important developments. But these developments are not about to change the capitalist character of the financial sector in our country.

The campaign has reached a stage where workers must use their organisational and financial muscle to create worker-owned and worker-controlled financial institutions. We are calling for the formation of savings and credit co-operatives as an important step towards a workers' co-operative bank, providing savings and affordable credit and other services to the workers of our country. As the SACP we are launching the Dora Tamana Savings and Credit Co-operative in October this year.

As the working class, we are already controlling billions of rands through our stokvels, burial societies and retirement funds. Let us ensure that this 8th COSATU Congress passes resolutions to ensure worker control of all retirement funds as part of defeating the mashonisas, private commercial banks, and rolling back business unionism and unilateral control of workers' funds by un-elected and unaccountable asset managers. We call upon all COSATU affiliates to encourage members to form their own savings and credit co-operatives as part of this overall offensive to build the financial muscle of the working class. We are also calling on this COSATU Congress to resolve to build a vibrant, democratic, popular, progressive and independent co-operative movement.

Further, the struggle for workers' control of retirement funds, for the building of SACCOS and a Workers' Co-operative Bank is a clear rejection of the call by sections of business for workers' pension, provident and other savings to be used to promote narrow black elite economic empowerment and to incentivise narrow transformation for the benefit of the Brenthurst group and their cronies.

Finally, we call on COSATU to join us in taking the banks campaign to a higher level by paying attention to the following:

- Mass pressure on banks against continuing redlining and for the enactment of community reinvestment legislation
- Ensuring that the boardroom-negotiated Financial Services Charter does not promote narrow black elite economic empowerment
- Mobilising for a People's Financial Charter
- Implementation of Regulations to govern Credit Bureaux
- Mobilisation against HIV/AIDS discrimination in the financial sector as a whole



ANNEXURE 6

Speech by, *Guy Ryder,*

COSATU 8th National Congress

17 September 2003 in Gallagher Estate, Midrand

President, Sisters and Brothers

Thank you for this opportunity to bring the fraternal greetings of the ICFTU to the 8th National COSATU Congress. On behalf of our worldwide membership of 158 million let me convey a message of solidarity and wishes for the success of this congress and the further strengthening of COSATU and its work.

You meet on the eve of your decade of liberation, the 10th Anniversary of the historic achievement that was the fall of apartheid and the establishment of multiracial democracy here in South Africa. And you do so to lay the foundations of a programme up to 2015 to consolidate working class power and quality jobs.

So as we honour your achievements and look to the future, it is a good moment to recall what forces here and elsewhere really do change society and change history and how they do it. Because although apartheid was a unique evil, trade unionists on all continents have brought the end of repressive regimes and opened roads to liberty.

The virtue of free markets for human freedom is wildly proclaimed these days. But there is not a shred of evidence that capital ever brought down a brutal regime or that freedom has come from unleashing the forces of the market. In fact the opposite is often true. Markets know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Capital can quite happily co-exist with nearly any form of government. Not so trade unions. We need the air of democracy to breathe. And where it does not exist it falls inevitable to trade unions to build it. That is what happened here. It is the legacy of your movement.

The struggle for democracy has been fought and won in many countries. The ICFTU was part of the liberation struggle in Africa from the beginning. It joined the struggle against colonialism from the 1950s, just as it spearheaded the resistance to, and ultimate removal of, the military dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. International solidarity was needed and it was provided.

But we know that democracy has not prevailed everywhere. The political independence has not been a permanent guarantee of democracy, or of trade union freedom. Indeed, trade unions which fought against colonialism were on many occasions seen by new governments as a threat rather than as allies. Trade unions though, are just as essential in maintaining democracy as they are in creating it. We are not to be thanked and dismissed.

Sisters and brothers

The ICFTU is committed to worker rights as universal rights. We make no distinctions between those – still too numerous – who violate them. We do not close our eyes when we see injustice or keep our mouths shut when political leaders, regardless of their past achievements, turn against their working people. It would be wrong to do so. There are no apologies to offer, just greater efforts to be made.

Beyond the commitment to democracy lies the linked challenge, facing even more ICFTU affiliates today, of making democracy work for working people, to improve their lives, and the lives of their families and their communities.

The reports to this congress show just how profoundly COSATU is addressing that challenge and how it goes to the very core of political as well as social and economic life in South Africa. You will make your decisions and find your path forwards with a very clear vision of the responsibilities and potential of organized labour.

And it is desperately important that you do so, because there is a dangerous notion in the world, born of everyday life experiences, that democracy can do many things – except improve the daily lives of workers. The idea is dangerous because it can alienate so many people – especially the young – and distance them from trade unions and political process.

So our democracies do need to deliver. Unlike politicians, market and forces do not run for office. They cannot be elected or unelected but we cannot leave them alone.

We all know that national governments feel and are constrained by the largely unregulated global economy. And it is true that international capital and the financial markets are a coercive force acting on elected politicians. But they do not justify abdication or resignation on the part of national government. It has been said that the biggest problem with globalisation is not so much that it has rendered governments powerless, but rather that it has induced in them a political paralysis which they need to shake off.

And that paralysis has nowhere been more evident than in the international community's failure to get seriously to grips with the task of governance of the global economy. And until it manages to do this, governments are continuously going to be treating symptoms, not the causes of global injustices. Globalisation today is breeding inequality, injustice and insecurity and it is doing so because of the failure to date to impose on it the type of regulation and standards which all recognize as essential to national markets.

The 150 or more trade unions who were in Cancun, Mexico, these last few days – including representatives of the South African movement - were witness to another episode of such failure. The WTO talks collapsed on Sunday and the recriminations and finger pointing has begun. No doubt the post-mortems will go on for some time. But I think that as trade unionists we can draw some clear conclusions already.

Cancun failed because many, particularly developing, countries are no longer ready to tolerate the injustice at the heart of the system and procedures over which the WTO presides.

Governments which have to frequently had their arms twisted in closed meetings stood together and said they would no longer settle for imposed deals they knew to be unfair. For the Doha Trade Round to be a Development Round it sells itself as meaning that a new deal on agriculture had to be struck. Well, the world's major powers were not going to let that happen.

The WTO stands on the edge of implosion. It can implode because of the vacuum that stands at the heart of its work, the empty space where human beings, social justice, sustainable development and labour rights need to be. The dramatic political realignments of Cancun, with South Africa to the fore, offer hope of a new start – but no certainty. And while that is positive I think we have to be very careful about claiming the Cancun collapse as a victory for workers.

Better no deal than a bad deal – maybe. But ‘no deal’ means a continuing status quo that we cannot accept and need to change. Consider this. Had the deal on access to life saving medicines not been reached before Cancun it could have gone down with all the rest. That deal may not be perfect. But it is certainly better than no deal. It has to be made to work to help turn back the HIV/AIDS pandemic. One medical authority reckons that on it depends whether 5m or 30m will die in the next five years.

And what comfort is Cancun to the 10 million cotton producers in West Africa being deprived of a livelihood by the heavily subsidized dumped exports of 25 000 producers in the US?

We need effective multilateral institutions to put globalisation on a new orbit. After Cancun, the US is threatening to retreat into unilateralism on trade as it has on other issues, and nobody should have any doubt about what that would mean in a unipolar world.

The ICFTU has been very clear that the resort to unilateral military action in Iraq was unacceptable and wrong. In addition to the consequences for the Iraqi people themselves - already victims of decades of tyranny – the Iraqi war has been a blow to the authority of the United Nations and the rule of international law.

We live in an age of global insecurity – a crisis which is social and economic as much as it is military. The way forward lies in more and strengthened international co-operation – not less. Retreat into isolationism or crude anti-globalisation is not the right one for the working people even if it may seem to have the attraction of a quick fix.

But we do need radically new thinking and new and progressive policies on globalisation. COSATU’s General Secretary serves on the ILO World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation which, reporting before year’s end, offers one opportunity. We believe that the South African government too can and must play a key role.

And no approach can claim legitimacy, or our support if it does not address the specific and urgent development challenges on this continent. Africa’s needs have been more frequently acknowledged theoretically than they have been acted upon in practice.

Today NEPAD stands as the international community’s mechanism to help move Africa forward. Its basic approach contains much that is good: emphasis on African ownership, on partnership, on good governance, on human rights. But the ICFTU, and particularly our regional organization, AFRO have had to work hard to make good some of NEPAD’S defects. To win space for real popular participation and trade union involvement, guarantees these against a slipping back into the failed orthodoxy of structural adjustment. While I know NEPAD remains an object of debate inside COSATU, and has yet to bear real fruit, I do welcome the renewed assurances won by the AFRO General Secretary from the NEPAD Secretariat last month about the trade unions’ role in the partnership.

Sisters and Brothers,

We have enormous challenges ahead – but also the determination and the self-belief to meet them. I have told you that I believe that many of these challenges have to be met at the international level. And so it is logical that just as this Congress is rising to the task of consolidating working class

power, so the ICFTU and its Global Union partners have been, and are continuing to work on consolidating the role, structures, and capacities of the international trade union movement. We received a mandate from the last ICFTU Congress in Durban in 2000 to push ahead with an ambitious millennium review. It has taken us a quite a long way – but not far enough. Our international movement is not equal to the power of those ranged against us in the global economy, and making it so is unfinished business.

This is why the 2004 ICFTU World Congress in Japan will be closely focused on further strengthening our movement and 'Globalising Solidarity'. It is an important moment in our history and development and an opportunity that we can take if we show the courage and the vision. We can build a new unity in the international trade union movement, and I am committed to bringing about that and a greater proximity and engagement between the ICFTU and its affiliates.

We need COSATU to continue to bring its strength, its commitment, its authority to these efforts. Our success, our futures, are inextricably bound – by common values and by global processes which are, more and more driving national and international trade union action together.

Opposition to us and to our goals is powerful and entrenched. But together, we will show them that there is no force on earth more powerful than workers determined and united in their trade unions.

We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old.



ANNEXURE 7

SPEECH BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF OATUU, Cde HASSAN SUNMONU

Chairperson, Distinguished Invitees, Esteemed Comrade Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to express my appreciation and thanks for the kind invitation extended to the **Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU)** to this very important 8th National Congress of Cosatu. I bring to you, esteemed Comrade delegates and distinguished invitees, the warm greetings of 25 million African Workers from OATUU affiliates in all African countries, representing all trade union tendencies.

The COSATU is held in very high esteem by the **OATUU** and **African Workers** for its militancy and dynamism in defending the trade union rights of South African Workers, as well as the socio-economic, and democratic rights of the South African people.

This important 8th National Congress will naturally evaluate the socio-economic changes that have taken place since the destruction of apartheid and the restoration of Multi-Party, non-racial democracy in South Africa. A lot of progress has been made, although some problems still remain.

COSATU

Before concluding my speech, let me reiterate the support of OATUU and African Workers to the Palestinian workers and peoples for their heroic struggle against occupation, and their inalienable right to nationhood with Jerusalem as capital. We remain convinced that there can be no peace in the Middle-East until there is justice for the Palestinian people.

We extend our solidarity to the Iraqi people who have been subjected American and British occupation, for the restoration of their country's sovereignty, under United Nations supervision. The oil and gas wealth of Iraq belong to the Iraqi peoples and nation.

We call for the lifting of U.S blockade against Cuba and the respect of Cuba's sovereignty.

The fight against terror should start with the fight against hunger, debt, poverty, HIV/AIDS and other endemic diseases, injustice in international economic relations, joblessness and social exclusion.

As this COSATU Congress plans for its activities up to the year 2015, please, accept OATUU'S best wishes for greater dynamism, progress and success.

With COSATU, Another South Africa is Possible.

Long Live COSATU!

Long Live COSATU!

Long Live International Solidarity!

Long Live the African Union!