

11th COSATU Congress Secretariat Report

PART TWO: ORGANISATIONAL

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 In 2003 COSATU adopted the 2015 Plan, which set out organisation-building targets and objectives to be reached by 2015. This is the last opportunity that we have before the 2015 Congress to assess the extent to which we are reaching these targets. We are at a critical stage to make a thorough assessment so that we can use the

remaining three years to address outstanding tasks and weaknesses. In doing so we need to recall the words of the great Amilcar Cabral "*Tell no lies, claim no easy victories*".

- 1.2 The need for a critical assessment is not just because we have a Plan against which to judge ourselves. We need a critical assessment because we are meeting at a time when we are facing serious organisational challenges on many fronts:-
- Our biggest affiliate the NUM is under attack in the platinum belt from its former members and other forces
 - SATAWU has just experienced the formation of a breakaway union under the leadership of its former President
 - The nine year old divisions within CEPPWAWU remain unresolved
 - SADNU has been deregistered
 - CWU is facing the threat of deregistration as well as the bleeding of members to rival unions
 - Our Provinces report serious flaws in membership service across the board, and it is clear that our organisers are not receiving the training and mentoring that they require to do their job
 - We are lagging in the delivery of quality trade union education
 - Service Providers are being allowed to manipulate and divide membership
 - While our membership has grown considerably in the period under review, we have made insignificant inroads into recruiting and organising the most vulnerable workers
 - Our hard-fought wage settlements have been above inflation, but we are not succeeding either in denting the scourge of poverty wages amongst the lowest paid of our members or in reversing income inequalities, even within our own ranks
 - Our ability to exercise power through using our primary weapon - the withholding of labour power through strike action - has been systematically undermined by capital's unfettered reliance on the ever-growing and desperate ranks of the unemployed to break strikes
- 1.3 We ignore these challenges at the peril of the working class. Confronting the challenges honestly is not about protecting and defending our movement for its own sake. It is about doing what we are supposed to do better. It is about identifying our weaknesses and collectively finding ways to resolve them.
- 1.4 Meeting the challenges that we face is also about identifying our strengths and building on those. Amongst our strengths are the following:-
- Sixteen out of COSATU's nineteen affiliates have grown over the past three years, with an overall membership growth of 11%. 2.2 million workers are prepared to voluntarily pay monthly union subscriptions out of their meagre salaries, making us the biggest membership based organisation in the country by far
 - Most of our Local Shop Stewards Councils, despite being under-resourced, are responding vigorously to local issues

- Our COSATU Provincial and National structures meet on a regular basis and generally function well in decision making
 - There is clear concrete evidence that union members have better working conditions than unorganised workers
 - We are capable of representing the poor and mobilising on key issues, as demonstrated by the fact that on 7th March 2012 we lead the biggest national strike in South Africa's history, against labour broking and e tolling
 - We stand as a beacon of hope for our members and the most marginalised sections of our society in our ability to articulate an alternative economic vision AND to act on that vision
 - Our members and large sections of society appreciate our ability to speak truth to power, without fear or favour, on issues troubling our nation such as continuing unemployment, poverty and inequality, as well as corruption and greed, and issues of transparency.
- 1.5 These strengths provide a strong platform from which we can address our organisational challenges.
- 1.6 Using the 2015 Plan as a reference for our self-assessment should not turn our task into a technical number-crunching process. The data in this Organisational report is there to be analysed and used in answering the basic question of how do we make the Federation stronger, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the working class.
- 1.7 The basic pillars of the 2015 Plan were agreed as
- Building the power of the working class - nationally, regionally, continentally and internationally
 - Making our relationship with the Alliance work
 - Intervening on socio economic policy to reverse the bloodbath of job losses, and to create quality jobs
- 1.8 The four programmes of implementation were a Political programme, an Organisational programme (building COSATU engines), a Socio-economic programme, and an International programme. This section of the Secretariat Report to Congress focuses on the Organisational programme, with elements of the International programme integrated into the report.
- 1.9 The 2015 Plan recognised that we will never affect the balance of forces if our organisation is weak. The Plan incorporated the key elements of the report on Organisational Review that the 8th Congress adopted. The elements were:-
- Targeting a 10% membership growth per year, and achieving a Federation membership of 4 million by 2009
 - Providing greater educational support to union members in general and shop stewards in particular, through building the educational capacity of the Federation, its affiliates, and allied worker educational institutions
 - Ensuring better financial and personnel management of affiliates
 - Achieving our vision of one-country-one-Federation by 2009, through the unification of the three Federations

- Promoting women leadership and achieving real gains in women's representation at all levels
 - Achieving real material improvements in the lives of our members, including the provision of quality benefits
 - Better management of deployment processes
- 1.10 The 2015 Plan recognised that the shifting composition of the working class requires new strategies and organisational targets. It identified the need to target specific groupings of workers for recruitment and organisation, including the young workers, women workers, migrant workers, casualised workers, part-time workers, and unorganised farm and domestic and construction workers.
- 1.11 The 2015 Plan recognised that our local struggles are intertwined with international working class struggles. The international programme argued that the consolidation of working class international power and solidarity should start in our Continent, with actions to build a vibrant African trade union movement that is linked to the global trade union movement. To this end, our solidarity actions should include a strong focus on our immediate neighbours in Swaziland and Zimbabwe, and we should aim to build a common platform of worker rights across the Southern African region.
- 1.12 The programme also recognised that we need a strong international trade union movement to enforce worker rights globally.
- 1.13 The 2015 Plan argued for engagement in the struggle for a Just World Order which challenges the power and anti-working class agendas of the transnational corporations and a handful of developed nations and financial institutions. Our activities must include advancing fair trade, transforming the international financial institutions, and promoting international peace and stability.
- 1.14 This Organisational section of the Secretariat Report to the 11th COSATU Congress reports on progress in all of the above areas, and makes recommendations for accelerating the achievement of the goals set out in our 2015 Plan and in meeting the challenges we face. Delegates are invited to engage in the assessment and the recommendations.
- 1.15 The major sources of information for this section of the report are:-
- Provincial Reports
 - Reports from head office Units
 - The results of the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey. The full results will be published and distributed separately.
 - The results of the 2012 Worker Household Survey conducted by CASE and managed by NALEDI. This was a properly sampled door to door survey of 3030 workers in 37 districts. The full results will also be published and distributed separately. The report is referred to as the 2012 Workers' Survey throughout the report.
 - Additional information was obtained from the Department of Labour, the CCMA, and COSATU's attorneys.

2. MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

2.1 Membership statistics

- 2.1.1 The 2015 Plan adopted by the 8th National Congress in 2003 set a target for increasing membership by 10% every year, working towards the target of 4 million in 2009.
- 2.1.2 By the 10th Congress in 2009, COSATU had a membership of 1.97 million, a far cry from the 4 million member target. While not achieving the target, COSATU had nevertheless grown by 200,000 members in the period since the adoption of the 2015 Plan in 2003 – a growth of 11% over the period.
- 2.1.3 Declared membership for 2012 stands at 2.2 million (2,191,016). Whilst still not achieving the 4 million member target, this nevertheless represents a growth of a further 230,000 since 2009. This is an increase of 11.7% between Congresses. The growth between 2009 and 2012 is the highest rate of growth for an inter-Congress period since 1997.
- 2.1.4 Since the 10th Congress in 2009 there has been growth in every affiliate except CWU, SADNU and SASAWU. The following affiliates grew by 15,000 or more members: - CEPPWAWU, NEHAWU, NUM, NUMSA, POPCRU, SADTU, SAMWU and SATAWU. None of the affiliates however met the 2015 Plan target of 10% annual growth.

Affiliate membership 1991 - 2012

	1991	1994	1997	2000	2003	2006	2009	2012
CEPPWA WU	88000	78000	94000	74000	65000	62000	64182	80658
CWU	21000	23000	40000	35000	32000	25000	29699	18666
CWUSA	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	370	
DENOSA	n.a	n.a.	73000	70000	71000	64000	68450	74883
FAWU	12900 0	12100 0	14000 0	11900 0	11900 0	11500 0	11897 4	12693 0
NEHAWU	18000	64000	16300 0	23500 0	23500 0	20400 0	23044 5	26073 8
NUM	27000 0	31100 0	31100 0	29000 0	27900 0	26200 0	27200 0	31038 2
NUMSA	27300 0	17000 0	22000 0	20000 0	17300 0	21700 0	23690 9	29102 5
PAWUSA	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	17000	16169	17146
POPCRU	n.a	n.a	45000	71000	67000	96000	12573 2	14933 9
SACCAWU	97000	10200 0	10200 0	10200 0	10200 0	10800 0	11548 8	12035 2
SACTWU	18600 0	15000 0	15000 0	12000 0	10500 0	11000 0	85000	85025
SADNU	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	8000	8000	9000	9093	8655
SADTU	n.a	59000	14600 0	21900 0	21500 0	22400 0	23684 3	25127 6
SAFPU	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1000	472	593
SAMA	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5000	7246	7759
SAMWU	60000	10000 0	11700 0	12000 0	12000 0	11800 0	13590 6	15348 7
SASAWU	n.a	n.a.	n.a.	18000	18000	9000	7804	7074
SASBO	n.a	n.a	70000	63000	63000	61000	66093	67402
SATAWU	70000	74000	91000	10300 0	74000	13300 0	14039 2	15962 6
GRAND TOTAL	12120 00	12520 00	17910 00	18690 00	17680 00	18414 00	19740 84	21910 16

The proportion of public to private sector membership has shifted from 7% public sector in 1991 to 39% in 2012.

2.2 Membership gains and losses

2.2.1 Of course absolute growth or shrinkage does not tell us immediately how many new members a union has recruited, and how many members the union has actually lost. At any one time a union will be signing up new members and members will be leaving the union

through dismissal, resignation from work, retirement, and resignation from the union. To really make sense of membership data, we have to know more about these movements.

2.2.2 The NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey asked affiliates to indicate numbers of new recruits, and numbers of member losses and the reasons for these losses. Only nine affiliates were able to give any such data, and even then, it was incomplete. Broadly speaking, from the data that was provided, membership gains are twice as big as membership losses. However, worryingly, most losses were due to resignation from the union, followed by retrenchments. “Resignation from the union” indicates a voluntary act driven by dissatisfaction with service.

2.3 Trade union density

2.3.1 In order to assess its potential for growth, any affiliate needs to know what proportion of the workforce in the sector it has recruited at any one time. This is what is referred to as trade union density.

2.3.2 According to StatsSA, the current overall trade union density in South Africa is 32%. By international standards this is reasonable, but by our own standards it is not good enough. In order to make a significant difference to the lives of all workers, we need to do much better than that.

2.3.3 The sectoral categories provided by StatsSA do not completely coincide with our own categories of sector and union. In addition, the percentages of unionisation reflect membership across all unions in the particular sector. For some of our sectors however, the figures give us a very clear indication of the penetration of our affiliates. The table below shows us clearly that:-

- Union density is highest in the mining and quarrying sector, at 78%
- Second place in terms of union density is in the public sector – 60% in community, social and personal services and 56% in electricity, gas and water supply
- Union density in manufacturing (all sectors) is just above average, at 36%
- Union density is lowest in domestic service (0.3%) followed by the agriculture sector (4.3%)

Trade Union Density by Industry¹

2.4 Demographics of membership

It is critical to monitor the demographics of membership in a union. Data on age, gender, income bracket, skill level, educational level, and race, type of employment and size of employer begins to tell us something about what our members’ needs and interests might be, and also where we need to put more effort into recruitment and servicing.

¹ Statssa Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Q1, 2012 <http://interactive.statssa.gov.za:8282/webview/>

Unfortunately most affiliates do not have systems of producing data on demographics. Only nine affiliates were able to provide age and gender demographic data for the NALEDI State of Affiliate Survey.

2.4.1 Age of union members in COSATU Affiliates

Where age data was provided in the NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey it shows that young workers are under-represented in COSATU, with most of the affiliates that responded having less than 20% young members. SAMA was the exception, however, with 60% of its membership under 30 years of age.

The data from the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey confirms this worrying under-representation of young workers. According to this data, SACCAWU and SATAWU had 30% young workers, NUMSA had around 20% young workers, and the majority of COSATU affiliates had between 10-20% young members. SADTU had less than 5% young members. Overall the survey found that only one in seven COSATU members were under the age of 30, whereas 1 in 3 of the unorganised workers was under the age of 30 years. The survey also found that the average age of members to be 40.

These statistics on age should be a real wake-up call for us. We are clearly not doing enough to attract young workers.

2.4.2 Women members in COSATU Affiliates

Affiliates' collection of gender data is even worse than our collection of age data. In 2010 fifteen affiliates supplied gender data, but in 2012 only eight affiliates were able to supply a gender breakdown for their 2012 membership. The table below gives the 2010 and 2012 data provided.

Affiliates that do not feature in the table did not supply data in 2010 or 2012.

The membership gender data only truly begins to make sense when we look at it together with data on women employed in the sectors. The data on the sectors is taken from Stats SA 2012. The correlation between the Stats SA sectors and our union sectors is not identical, so the comparisons are indicative rather than exact. The comparisons are useful nevertheless. They show us that women are still under-represented in terms of union membership in the manufacturing, mining, and construction sectors. The only sectors where women membership matches women's employment are the wholesale and retail sector and the social services sector.

Percentage Women Union Membership 2010 and 2012 compared to women employed in the sector

Union	% Women Members 2010	% women members 2012	Proportion of women in the sector
CEPPWAWU	21%	22%	Manufacturing 30%
CWU	41%	56%	Transportation, storage & communication 26%
DENOSA	85%	91%	Social and personal services 59%
NEHAWU	54%		Social and personal services 59%
NUM	9%		Construction 16% Mining 13%
NUMSA	16%		Manufacturing 30%
PAWUSA	60%		Social and personal services 59%
POPCRU	30%	37%	Social and personal services 59%
SACCAWU	61%	55%	Wholesale and retail 47%
SACTWU	85%		Manufacturing 30%
SADTU	65%		Social and personal services 59%
SAMA	48%	51%	Social and personal services 59%
SAMWU	35%		Social and personal services 59% Electricity, gas and water 16%
SASAWU	53%	54%	Social and personal services 59%
SASBO	68%	68%	Finance & insurance 45%

The gender data tells us that we have to re-double our efforts to recruit women workers, and it also tells us that we have a long way to go in achieving gender equity in employment itself.

Knowing that membership data on income bracket, skill level, educational level and race would be even more difficult to extract directly from affiliates than data on gender and race, the NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey did not ask for this. However the COSATU Workers' Survey results do give us some useful information.

2.4.3 Skill level of COSATU members (self-categorisation) Workers' Survey 2012

Skill level	Percentage of COSATU members
Elementary workers or labourers	38%
Skilled production workers	28%
Clerical or sales workers	13%
Professionals /teachers/nurses	19%
Management	2%

These figures tell us that while the bulk of our membership is labourers, skilled workers and clerical or sales workers, we have a significant number of members (21%) who are professionals or management. We have to think about whether our organising strategies take this skills range into account. NUMSA and NUM have both reported that they have developed strategies to address the needs of artisans and technical workers.

2.4.4 Income level of COSATU members (self-categorisation) Workers' Survey 2012

Monthly earnings	COSATU members	Non-Unionised workers
Less than R1500	4%	18%
R1500 - R2500	18%	24%
R2500 - R5000	24%	34%
Above R5000	52%	22%

These figures tell us two things in combination:-

- A significant number of our members - approximately half a million - earn less than R2500 a month
- Joining a COSATU union is likely to result in better pay. We would hope so, given that collective bargaining is a core function of affiliates!
- We are not reaching out sufficiently to recruit low paid workers, even amongst those with formal employment

Drilling down to the sectors, the COSATU Workers' Survey confirms that the worst paid union members are in retail, private services (including security) and light industry. The best paid are in the public services, where the majority of members are in the big public-service professions – education, health and policing.

2.4.5 Education levels of COSATU members: Workers' Survey 2012

Education level	COSATU members	Non-Unionised workers
No education, some primary, or completed primary	9%	13%
Some secondary	30%	37%
Completed matric	36%	34%
Diploma after matric or FET diploma	19%	9%
University or technikon degree	10%	6%

These figures tell us a number of things:-

- We have a significant number of members who have low levels of education. 39% of our members have not completed secondary school. We need to seriously take this into account in our communications with members - language used, literacy levels, numeracy levels etc
- A disproportionate number of formal workers with low levels of education are still not unionised. 50% of workers who have not completed secondary school are not organised. We need to do more to attract and service these workers.

2.4.6 Race of COSATU members: Workers' Survey 2012

Race of COSATU members	Percent age COSATU members by race	Percent age members of non COSATU unions by race	Percent age South African workforce by race
African (South African)	80%	62%	70%
Coloured	14%	19%	11%
Asian or Indian	4%	9%	4%
White	1%	8%	15%
Not South African	1%	1%	

The data shows us that relative to the demographics of the South African workforce, and relative to trade unions that are not affiliated to COSATU, we are doing poorly in achieving our ambition of a non-racial trade union movement. The only race group where our membership matches the demographics of the workforce as a whole is Asian/Indian. We have made almost no inroads into recruiting White workers. We need to pay urgent attention to the recruitment of white and coloured workers.

2.4.7 Type of employment of members: Workers' Survey 2012

According to Stats SA's Quarterly Labour Force Survey (1st Quarter 2012), 95% of union members have permanent positions compared to half of non members. This figure is confirmed by the COSATU Workers' Survey which indicates that 92% of COSATU members have permanent positions. However in some unions such as SACCAWU, SATAWU and FAWU the share of members in non-permanent positions is much higher.

Affiliate	% of members not permanent	% employed through 3rd party
Non unionised workers	39%	11.5%
Total COSATU	8%	3.5%
SACCAWU	17%	4%
SACTWU	16%	4%
SATAWU	11%	12%
FAWU	11%	5.5%
SAMWU	10%	0%
NUM	9%	1%
NUMSA	8%	3.5%
NEHAWU	5%	2%

The data shows that we are failing to make significant inroads into recruiting and organising contract workers and those employed through a third party (labour brokers and/or outsourced). This is despite the strategies reported by affiliates in the NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey. NUM, NEHAWU, SAMWU, SATAWU, SACCAWU, FAWU, DENOSA and SACTWU all report that they have adopted conscious strategies to recruit casual, contract and part-time workers.

2.5 Rival unions

2.51 According to the Department of Labour's published statistics, there were 193 registered unions in South Africa in July 2012. 117 of these are independent of any registered trade union Federation.

- 2.5.2 There is no available published data on the size of each registered union. Affiliates are usually aware of who their significant rivals are, but what is often not analysed or taken into account in developing organising and servicing strategies is the combined competition from a multiplicity of small unions.
- 2.5.3 The table below categorises registered unions per sector, based on their registered names. Some unions may be registered for more sectors than their name suggests however.
- 2.5.4. It should be noted that there are 45 general unions, the largest of which are UASA and Solidarity. Most of the other general unions are fairly small and locally based, with names such as Workers Against Regression (WAR), Westcoast Workers' Union, United Workers Front, Togetherness Amalgamated Workers' Union of SA (TAWUSA), Ubuntu Labour Organisation of SA (ULOSA), National Democratic Change and Allied Workers Union (NDCAWU), and Labour Equity General Workers Union of SA (LEWUSA). Most of these unions focus their recruitment in the low paid sectors.
- 2.5.5 It should also be noted that sectors where there is a significant multiplicity of registered unions are: - Retail/hospitality, cleaning, security, construction, food/fishing, transport, and tertiary education. Apart from tertiary education, all these sectors have a predominance of low paid and vulnerable workers. Apart from tertiary education and food/fishing, they are also very large sectors. We know already that union density is low in these sectors. But this tells us that the huge space that exists for recruitment is currently being taken up, in significant part, by small local independent unions. We are clearly not being responsive enough in these vulnerable sectors, either as affiliates or as COSATU as a whole.

Numbers of registered unions per sector, identified rivals to COSATU affiliates, and their declared membership (Department of Labour figures 2010 or 2011 depending on which are most recent)

Sector	Total registered trade unions	Rivals to COSATU affiliate/s - for reasons of size, public profile, and/or because they are a splinter union	Rival union membership
Banking	3	IBSA (Fedusa)	7963
Chemical, Paper, Wood, Printing	13	SACWU (Nactu)	16055
		GIWUSA (Indep)	13581
		SATU (Fedusa)	11344
Cleaning	8	SACSAAWU (Indep)	3291
Communication	2	SACU (Fedusa)	5136
Construction	12	AUBTW (Indep)	3519
		BAMCWU (Indep)	3450
Creative arts	2		
Education (Teachers)	9	NATU (Fedusa)	52864
		PEU (Consawu & Nactu)	15780
		NAPTOSA (Indep)	52920
		Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie (Fedusa)	32029
Farms	4	Sikhula Sonke (Indep)	5050
		BAWSI Agricultural Workers Union (Indep)	3514
Food², fishing	12	Food & General Workers Union (Indep)	6010
		NUFWBSAW -FoodBev (Nactu)	10214
Health	5	HOSPERSA (Fedusa)	64742
Media, Communications, Postal	5	MWASA (Nactu)	2347
		SACU (Fedusa)	5136
		SA Post Workers Union SAPWU(Indep)	4730
Metal, Electrical, motor	6	MEWUSA (Nactu)	17180
		Motor Ind Staff Assoc MISA (Fedusa)	30039
Mining	4	AMCU	9489
		Solidarity/MWU (Consawu)	
		UASA (Fedusa)	
Municipal	3	IMATU (Indep)	
Police, correctional services	3	SAPU (Indep)	68424
Public sector	8	PSA (Indep)	
		NUPSAW (Consawu)	31482
		NPSWU (Nactu)	7142
Retail, catering, hospitality	13	HOTELLICA (Nactu)	6098
		FEDCRAW (Nactu)	4829
Security	15	ICAWU (Nactu)	3213
		SAPSWU (Indep)	2426
		Kungwini Amalgamated KAWU (Indep)	19528
		SOCRAWU	3494
		NASUWU (Fedusa)	9534
		PROWU (Indep)	16975
		DUSWO (Indep)	6002
Sports	4		
Tertiary staff³	13	National Tertiary Education Union	5155

2 Some of these "Food" unions might more accurately fall into the catering sector

3 Many of these are specific to a particular tertiary institution

	Total registered trade unions	(Indep) NULAW (Fedusa)	Rivals to COSATU affiliate/s - for reasons of size, public profile, and/or because they are a splinter union	Rival union membership
Textile, clothing Sector	4			7824
Transport	12		UTATU (Fedusa) PTAWU (Fedusa) TOWU (Nactu) TAWU (Nactu) Aviation Union of SA (Indep) Air Line Pilots Assoc (Indep)	27000 17600 2580 13085 1424 1591
Domestic Ministers of Religion	1			
Trade Union Officials	1			
Jewellers	1			
Laundry	1			
Emergency Personnel	1			
Call Centres	1			
Legal	1			
Museums	1			
General unions	45		UASA - The Union (Fedusa) Solidarity/MWU (Consawu)	74138 117053

2.6 Affiliate Recruitment Strategies

2.6.1 The NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey has surfaced some interesting recruitment strategies. These include:-

- Recruitment drives during strikes (NUMSA and SATAWU)
- Paying retrenched workers a stipend to recruit (NUMSA)
- Targeting sectors with most growth potential (NEHAWU)
- Providing cash incentives to members to recruit (POPCRU)
- A national team of recruiters who operate from a branded vehicle (SATAWU)
- Ad-hoc teams to target identified national companies (SACCAWU)
- Use of shopping mall committees to recruit across companies (SACCAWU)
- A call centre to follow up resigned members (SASBO)
- Incentive scheme for “Best organiser” (SASBO)
- Door-to-door recruitment at learning institutions (DENOSA and SAMA)
- Regional “growth organisers” (SACTWU)
- Contract recruiters (SACTWU)
- Weekly recruitment tele-conferences to track progress and strategise (SACTWU)

2.6.2 What this tells us is that there is no shortage of ideas and experiments in new ways of recruiting. However, despite the attempts of most Provinces to facilitate the sharing of these ideas, strategies remain largely confined to individual unions. There is an urgent need for cross-affiliate sharing of ideas on recruitment at national, provincial and local level if we are to reach the 4 million target. Such sharing should also extend to the sharing of material and human resources, especially in rural areas where worker density is low.

2.6.3 The starting point for developing shared strategies is the regular updating and sharing of membership data. The Federation adopted a recruitment framework that amongst other things required unions to provide membership data every two months. This was frustrated by the lack of compliance by affiliates, which in turn led to the framework being abandoned.

2.7 Summary and recommendations: Membership recruitment

1. Even the biggest and most stable affiliates are unable to produce detailed membership data. With modern information technology we should be able to produce data which at the very least gives us ages and gender (based on ID numbers), but this is not the case

There is an urgent need to convene a forum of those people who are familiar with their union's membership system. At minimum we should share best practice and ideas on systems. The first prize would be to work towards a common system.

2. We are only half way to achieving our 4 million target.
We need to convene a forum of national affiliate organisers and COSATU provincial organiser/educators to
 - **Share ideas on recruitment strategies**
 - **Develop a national recruitment plan based on data collected by the two NALEDI surveys. Such a plan must take into account the identified issues of gender, age, skill, education level, type of employment, and race.**

3. AFFILIATE ORGANISING AND SERVICING

3.1 Affiliate Service to members

3.1.1 Successful organising is much more than recruitment. It requires developing appropriate structures to deliver service, represent in collective bargaining, educate, and politicise. In a NALEDI Survey of Organisers (2001) organisers defined organising as the process of “inspiring, educating and uniting workers...to build workers who can sustain organisation”.

3.1.2 The 2012 COSATU Workers Survey shows very clearly that workers join unions, whether COSATU or other unions, to protect them at work and improve their pay and conditions. COSATU members indicated the following as the most important reason for belonging to the union:-

Most important reason for belonging to the union	
Protection against dismissal and unfair discipline	38%
Improve wages, benefits and working conditions	33%
End discrimination and ensure fair treatment	8%
Solidarity and to change society	9%
Close shop or peer pressure	5%
Benefits from the union	3%

3.1.3 The Provincial reports are consistent in their complaint that affiliates across the board are not servicing their members adequately.

3.1.4 The COSATU provincial staff, as well as the Organising Unit at head office, are often confronted by workers who have been left stranded in disciplinary cases, whose grievances have not been processed, who have been unfairly retrenched, or have been lead into unprotected strike action and have been abandoned at the point of dismissal.

3.1.5 Common complaints and challenges identified by the Provinces and the Organising Unit are as follows:-

- Poor planning, monitoring and evaluation of union servicing
- Lack of response in providing basic organising and servicing information to the Federation
- Shortage of financial resources and facilities to service e.g. no e-mail connections for organisers, squalid offices, and small or no allocations for basic servicing work. This is especially (but not only) in the case of smaller unions.
- Organisers are not trained, supervised or mentored in their work.

3.1.6 The reports from Provinces are borne out by the results of the 2012 COSATU Workers Survey. The level of member satisfaction with their union in dealing with specific issues is the following:-

Issue	Percentage COSATU members interviewed who are satisfied
Wages	40%
Disciplinary cases	63%
Health and safety	62%
Skills development	51%
Preventing retrenchments	61%
Fighting racism at work	61%
Support for temporary and casual workers	50%
Fighting discrimination and harassment of women	70%
Support for people with HIV & AIDS	70%
Fighting for better public transport	31%
Fighting for better child care	48%

3.1.7 We can debate the meaning of “satisfied” in the above context, but it should nevertheless worry us that 60% of COSATU members are less than satisfied with the delivery by their union of better wages, and 37% are less than satisfied with their union’s handling of disciplinary cases. We should regard anything less than 100% satisfaction indicating room for improvement. Dissatisfaction with service is recipe for break-aways and splits.

3.1.8 When asked what their union could do to improve support, COSATU members in the Worker Survey had the following to say:-

- A third said they should communicate better
- A quarter said unions should listen more
- Most wanted improved services, including more success in negotiations as well as better work on individual cases

3.1.9 The picture is not altogether bleak however. 95% of COSATU members reported that when they had made contact with the union with a problem (through a shop steward or organiser), the union had responded in some way. 70% reported that the contact had resulted in receiving help.

3.1.10 Importantly, the Workers’ Survey results also confirm the centrality of the shop stewards and democracy in our Federation. 87% of COSATU members reported that they were aware of the presence of shop stewards in their workplace, and 75% said they

had direct influence on how their shop stewards act on their behalf. Two thirds of COSATU members said there had been a shop steward election in the past four years.

3.1.11 The feedback on membership participation was also encouraging. Two thirds of COSATU members said they had attended a union meeting in the past year, compared to under half the members of other unions. Two thirds also reported that their union held a general meeting in their workplace at least once a quarter. On the down side, one in five said they did not remember any general meetings or did not know how often they took place.

3.1.12 The general meeting remains the primary means of reporting to membership, with four out of five citing this method. Another one in five got written reports. Few were informed by e mail or text messages, and almost none by face book or twitter. 86% of the COSATU members surveyed said their union held mandating and report back meetings often or sometimes during negotiations. This is encouraging, although clearly there is still room for improvement.

3.1.13 Eastern Cape Province has proposed in its report that each Province should have a “Programme to interact with the affiliates at a bilateral level on a regular basis.....and the Federation nationally should speed up the process of merger of unions in the same sector as some unions exist without the basics.....All unions should submit to the Federation their annual plans and quarterly plans on campaigns, education, structures, organising, and bargaining”.

3.2 Solidarity: the strong supporting the weak

3.2.1 COSATU was founded on the principle of solidarity. In our context this means encouraging and supporting the recruitment and organisation of the following categories of workers:-

- informal sector workers
- domestic workers
- farm workers
- casual workers
- labour broker workers
- All low paid workers, especially workers in these sectors: - construction, cleaning, security, retail, and taxi.

3.2.2 COSATU affiliates have been reasonably effective in ensuring solidarity within unions, for example NUM organising construction workers alongside mine workers, SATAWU organising cleaning and security workers alongside transport workers, and NUMSA organising petrol attendants alongside manufacturing workers. Not all solidarity organising within affiliates has been effective however. FAWU’s efforts at organising farm workers alongside food

manufacturing workers, for example, have met with considerable challenges. Even bigger challenges exist in our efforts at providing solidarity with vulnerable workers who stand alone as a sector e.g. domestic workers, and informal sector workers.

3.2.3 We document the Federation's efforts at building organisational solidarity between those workers who are in more secure employment and those who are most vulnerable.

3.2.4 Organising Farm Workers

3.2.4.1 COSATU has through various congress resolutions committed itself to organise farm workers into FAWU. Despite many campaigns to recruit farm workers the penetration of the union remains very low, with less than 5% of farm workers belonging to any union.

3.2.4.2 As a result of lobbying by COSATU, the ANC's election manifesto in 2009 included a commitment strengthening protection against abuse of farm workers, as well as assistance with strengthening farm workers' unions.

3.2.4.3 COSATU together with FAWU and CEPPWAWU participated in a forum with the Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (DAFF) to convene a national summit under the theme "Towards a Better Life for Vulnerable Workers on Farms and in Forestry and Fisheries". The summit was held in the Western Cape in July 2010 and focused on;

- Social Determinants of health for vulnerable workers on farms,
- Working Conditions of vulnerable workers on farms,
- Security of tenure for vulnerable workers on farms and Empowerment and training for vulnerable workers on farms.

3.2.4.4 The decisions of the 2010 Summit included:-

- The establishment of a Steering Committee
- Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry to establish a unit for vulnerable workers within 3 months, and to convene local summits by November 2010
- A Trust Fund to be established to assist farm workers in taking up legal cases against victimisation

3.2.4.5 Very little appears to have been implemented from this national Summit. The COSATU Organising Department and FAWU, supported by NALEDI, have therefore jointly gone back to the basics. On 22 June 2012 a workshop was convened to discuss NALEDI's research findings into the obstacles to union organising in farms. Various government departments, the CCMA, and non affiliates organising in the sector were invited to participate. The workshop identified the obstacles to union organising in the sector as the history and politics of land ownership in South Africa, difficulties in

accessing farm workers, low wages, and the psychological sense of fear and dependency among farm workers.

3.2.4.6 The workshop resolved that the successful unionisation of farm workers depends on:-

- Moving away from a 'recruitment' to a 'servicing' model of organizing
- Building sufficient organizing capacity within unions
- Paying greater attention to recruitment activities outside of farms
- Setting up a fund by DOL to support union organisational work.

3.2.5 Organising Domestic workers

3.2.5.1 According to the latest Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) there are 876 000 domestic workers in South Africa, with 647 126 registered with the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF).

3.2.5.2 South Africa is celebrated for having one of the most advanced constitutions in the world and a system of labour laws for protecting the domestic employment sector. However enforcement remains almost non-existent.

3.2.5.3 COSATU 5th Congress resolved that research be commissioned by the CEC to look into the viability of establishing advice centres for servicing and assisting domestic workers. The resolution indicated that COSATU should consider finding a viable home for domestic workers.

3.2.5.4 The South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) which was formed in 1986 from the merger of several locally based organisations found that it could not sustain itself financially. Through the support of foreign donors, a new union was formed in 2000 - South African Domestic Services and Allied Workers (SADSAWU). SADSAWU has been plagued by the same financial challenges as its predecessor, and has therefore not been able to formally affiliate to COSATU and was deregistered by the Department of Labour in March 2011. Relations with COSATU are however close. SAMWU has indicated it would seriously consider housing SADSAWU, given the link between domestic and municipal services.

3.2.5.5 SADSAWU has been particularly successful in playing a lobbying role, both nationally and internationally. SADSAWU, with the support of COSATU, made a significant contribution to the adoption of the first ever Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers C189 and its Recommendation (R201), by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Following the adoption, the ITUC launched a ratification campaign, targeting 12 countries in 2012 to ratify. South Africa has not yet ratified the Convention, but negotiations have concluded at NEDLAC, and a recommendation has been made to Parliament that the Convention should be ratified.

3.2.5.6 COSATU hosted a two day summit on the Convention in August 2011, in order to educate and mobilise domestic workers on

their national and international rights. A Declaration and Programme of Action were adopted and a task team was set up to take the organisation of domestic workers forward.

3.2.6 Informal economy workers

3.2.6.1 With our high levels of unemployment, many workers are faced with no alternative but to eke out a living through informal trading. Collectively they make a massive contribution to retail turnover in the country. But they go largely unrecognised, and far from being supported by local government, they are often harassed and excluded. They are also a highly fragmented grouping, with many competing interests. The organisations that are trying to organise street vendors therefore face huge challenges.

3.2.6.2 During the period under review COSATU's Organising Department has been working closely with Street Net International and Street Vendors' Associations. Some of the Provinces are working together on informal economy campaigns and others have extended strategic support to street vendors at municipal level.

3.2.6.3 The most significant practical involvement of COSATU has been participation in workshops to take forward a National Street Vendors Alliance, followed by a national meeting in Mangaung in March 2012. The meeting included representatives of street vendors from Lesotho, and discussion included the issues of xenophobia and cross-border immigration constraints to trading. A six person steering committee was appointed to prepare for a conference to take place in late 2012 or early 2013. The formal establishment of a national Street Vendors' Alliance is critical if the fragmentation of the sector is to be redressed.

3.2.7.4 Other activities have included the following

- Participation in an anti-xenophobia workshop with Street Net
- Participation in a Street Net / COSATU / SAMWU 2010 world class cities for all campaign before and during the 2010 World Cup
- Participation in City of Johannesburg workshops with hawker organisations in 2011 and 2012 to discuss local government policy and planning matters
- Participated in a stakeholder's workshop and made a joint submission with Street Net to the framework and the direct sector boundary partners with the three major cities
- Participation in an ILO seminar on women in the informal economy as part of the decent work campaign
- Participation by the General Secretary and Organising Dept in an International Conference on an Informal economy took place in Cape Town on 2nd December 2011. A follow up conference on the informal economy and precarious work was agreed

3.2.7.5 Without the explicit material and organisational support of COSATU provinces and linked affiliates, organising the informal sector will remain an uphill battle.

3.2.8 Migrant workers

- 3.2.81 The 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey reveals that at least two affiliates have conscious policies and strategies for recruiting and organising migrant workers. These are:-
- NUM has a policy to recruit and treat all workers equally, and the union has engaged companies and government on policies to remove obstacles to employment for migrant workers
 - FAWU organises migrant workers on farms and restaurants

3.2.9 Labour Broker Workers

- 3.2.9.1 The national campaign to change the law and to ban the practice of labour broking has not been conducted in isolation of struggles being fought on the ground by individual affiliates. The 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey surfaced the following:-
- NUMSA has limited and regulated labour broking through the Metal and Engineering Bargaining Council (MEIBC) and SATAWU has done likewise through the Road Freight Bargaining Council.
 - SACTWU has won the banning of labour broking in two of its sectors through bargaining council agreements.
 - Almost all affiliates report that they recruit workers employed through labour brokers, but the following unions report specific campaigns or organising efforts: - NUM, NEHAWU, SAMWU, SACCAWU, FAWU, NUMSA, SATAWU, DENOSA and SACTWU.

3.2.10 Workers in other “atypical” forms of employment

- 3.2.10.1 There are vast numbers of part-time, fixed term contract, seasonal, temporary and casual workers who have historically been largely unorganised. These forms of employment are often referred to collectively as “atypical” forms of employment. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey for the 1st quarter of 2012, 95% of trade union members had permanent positions compared to only 50% of workers who are not members of trade unions. 3% of trade union members said they were employed on fixed term contracts compared to 18% of workers who were not members. This tells us that we are not doing very well in recruiting workers who are not permanent.
- 3.2.10.2 Sectors that employ large numbers of part-time workers (that is working less than 30 hours a week) include the Retail, Catering, and Contract Cleaning sectors. SACCAWU as the affiliate in Retail and Catering has campaigned on their behalf and has won the payment of a premium for part time work in the Retail sector. SATAWU has won agreement in the Contract Cleaning sector for

a limitation on reduced hours through the introduction of an agreed minimum number of hours which is progressively increased over a period of three years. At the time of writing this was still to be written into law through a Sectoral Determination for the sector.

3.2.10.3 The Civil Engineering and Construction sectors employ largely through the practice of fixed term contracts. NUM's organising strategies in the construction sector takes this into account. In 2009 SATAWU has reached agreement with Transnet that the employment status of 1000 rail engineering workers be converted from fixed term to permanent.

3.2.10.4 Seasonal workers predominate in the farming sector. FAWU is taking this into account in its recruitment and organising strategies (see above on organising farm workers).

3.2.11 Workers employed by small companies

3.2.11.1 Workers employed in very small companies could also be described as vulnerable. Again, we are not doing very well in our recruitment and organising of such workers. According to the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey

- 82% of COSATU members work for companies with over 50 workers, compared to only 50% of those workers who are not a member of any trade union
- Only 1% of COSATU members work for companies with less than ten workers, compared to 12% of workers who were not a member of any trade union.
- 46% of COSATU members are employed in work places of 500 or more, compared to 30% of workers who are not members of any trade union.

3.2.11.2 These figures tell us that workers who work for small companies are likely not to have been recruited by a union. The figures also tell us that almost half of COSATU members work for companies of 500 workers or more.

3.2.11.3 Where we have centralised bargaining, the wages and conditions of employment of workers in smaller work places are often advanced and protected by agreements that cover all employers. However, even here, there are limitations, as many small employers seek, and get, exemption from these conditions. Over and above this, as long as workers employed by small companies remain outside of unions, they remain vulnerable to daily abuse and unfair dismissals.

3.2.11.4 According to the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey, the affiliates that currently have the largest share of members employed by companies which employ less than 100 workers are SACTWU (30% of members), NUMSA (22%), and FAWU (25%). It would be worth looking into the experience of these affiliates in more detail, and finding a way to share their approaches across the Federation.

3.3 Dispute referrals to CCMA

3.3.1 According to statistics supplied by the CCMA, COSATU affiliates referred 34073 cases in 2011. This constituted 7% of total referrals. 85% of referrals to the CCMA are made by individuals, not unions. The statistics do not include referrals made to sector Bargaining Councils, where they exist.

3.3.2 45% of COSATU affiliate referrals were settled by agreement, and 28% were settled by an arbitrator's award. Where awards were made, 53% were made in favour of the employer and 46% in favour of the employee. This suggests that over half the cases referred and taken to the award stage are lost. This is worrying.

3.3.3 Of the referrals made by COSATU affiliates, significant numbers were in the following sectors:-

Sector	Number of Disputes referred by Cosatu unions/members to CCMA
Agriculture/farming	1412
Building/construction	1921
Business/Professional services	4071
Chemical	589
Clothing/textile	480
Contract cleaning	1217
Distribution/warehousing	833
Entertainment/leisure	333
Food manufacturing	2668
Mining	3658
Paper/printing/packaging	503
Retail	6871
Private security	3211
Transport	881

3.3.4 It would be useful to add statistics from bargaining councils to the CCMA statistics, and to investigate the nature of cases as well as the reasons for settlements and awards. This will help us to identify where our weaknesses in case handling lie. Collection of such statistics will require co-operation and co-ordination with affiliates.

3.4 Significant Legal Cases

3.4.1 There have been a number of significant labour court and constitutional court judgements during the period under review. In sum the cases relate to the following issues:-

- The right of non union members to participate in a union-led strike.
- The right of a trade union to sue for damages.
- The protection of employment rights in the second and subsequent rounds of sub-contracting
- The right of members of the public to sue organisations for damages incurred during strikes and protests

3.4.2 Non members' right to strike: Equity Aviation Services v SATAWU and others

3.4.2.1 After referral of a wage dispute to the CCMA, SATAWU embarked on a wage strike in Equity Aviation Services which lasted over four months. Towards the end of the strike, a number of employees who were not members of SATAWU joined the strike action. Management dismissed the non members for unauthorised absence from work.

3.4.2.2 The main issue was whether SATAWU's referral of the dispute covered both its members and non-members at the workplace. The Labour Court held that as long as the dispute has been properly referred, all employees regardless of union membership are entitled to join the strike at any stage.

3.4.2.3 The Labour Court ruling was referred to the Supreme Court of Appeal by the employer. The SCA ruled that a new strike notice should have been issued by the non union members prior to them joining the strike. The union has taken the issue to the Constitutional Court. Judgement is awaited. It will be highly problematic if the Supreme Court of Appeal judgement is not overturned.

3.4.3 The right of a trade union to sue for damages: SANDU vs Minister of Defence

3.4.3.1 The SA National Defence Union brought an action for damages against the Department arising out of the publication of an article in the Department's monthly magazine *The South African Soldier*, in which it was stated that the union had unlawfully deducted union dues from its members. The union argued that the article was defamatory.

3.4.3.2 The High Court held that a trade union has a reputation which it is entitled to protect, and that it can therefore sue for damages under appropriate circumstances. The High Court further held that the ordinary reader of the article would question the legality of the union's conduct and operations. The court held that the statement was defamatory and awarded the union compensation of R40 000.

3.4.4 The right of members of the public to sue organisations for damages incurred during strikes and protests: Cosatu & Satawu vs Garvis & others

3.4.4.1 This Constitutional Court case dealt with the liability of organisers and conveners of marches and demonstrations for any damage that emanates from the events. The case arose from a march which took place in Cape Town during the SATAWU security guards strike in May 2006. SATAWU sought and got permission for the march and appointed about 500 marshals to manage the crowd. It advised its members to refrain from any unlawful or violent behaviour and negotiated with the local authority to clear the roads of vehicles and erect barricades along the route of the march.

3.4.4.2 In spite of the precautions, damage to property was done to the tune of an estimated R1.5m. An action for damages was instituted against SATAWU in terms of the Gatherings Act of 1993. Sections 11(1) and 11(2) of the Act put the onus of proof of having taken steps to prevent violence on the organiser/s of a march. SATAWU's legal defence hinged, in part, on contradictions in the law between taking reasonable steps to prevent, and liability where damage was foreseeable – the point being that as soon as organisers of a gathering take steps to prevent damage, they become liable because they can see that damage is possible!

3.4.4.3 SATAWU lost its defence, as the Constitutional Court applied the law as it stands. The struggle now will need to be elevated to a demand for changes to the Gatherings Act, on the basis that the contradictions in the law undermine the very right to assemble.

3.5 Summary and Recommendations: Organising and Servicing

4.

1. Improving the quality of union service to members needs urgent attention. While education and training of organisers is critical in this process (see the section on trade union education), this is not enough.

It is recommended that a National Organisers Forum be established, as per resolution of the 2011 Central Committee, and that this Forum addresses the following

- **Best practice for case management**
- **Developing guidelines for organiser mentoring, drawing on experienced trade unionists (including past and retired leaders)**
- **Methods of data collection on cases**
- **Organising strategies**
- **Reporting of significant legal cases**

It is also recommended that the National Organisers Forum be replicated at provincial and local level.

2. There are common challenges in organising low paid and vulnerable workers, including domestic workers, farm workers, informal economy workers, those employed through atypical forms of employment (labour brokers, part-time workers and fixed term contract workers), and those employed by small enterprises.

It is recommended that

- **We establish a Task Team representing those unions organising low paid and vulnerable workers to share ideas about organising and servicing these sectors and atypical workers.**
- **This Task Team also to investigate the viability of**
 - **A COSATU solidarity fund to support the organising work of vulnerable workers**
 - **Cross-union sharing of resources especially in small towns**
 - **The establishment of COSATU advice offices.**
- **The Task Team to prepare a report with recommendations on the above for the CEC**

3. Street vendors and other informal economy workers are increasingly becoming organised and need our continued support

It is recommended that we continue to develop our relationship with organisations of street vendors, and that we fully support the planned establishment of a National

GENDER STRUCTURES AND ORGANISING WOMEN

4.1 National Gender Committee (NGC) and Affiliate structures and activities

4.1.1 The National Gender Committee (NGC) meets on a regular basis and is reasonably well attended by affiliates.

4.1.2 As indicated in the section on membership demographics, most affiliates have not produced accurate statistics on women membership. Furthermore, few affiliates have organising strategies or campaigns specifically focused on organising women workers. Even those affiliates that have functioning gender structures do not necessarily take up organising in those structures. Exceptions do exist however. Based on the results of the NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey, as well as reports to the NGC, affiliates that have gender structures, a full time gender co-ordinator and/or an organising women focus are:-

Affiliate	Gender Structure/s	Full time gender co-ordinator	Women organising focus	Other activities
NUM	Branch, regional and national structures	Yes		Focused education courses for women members
NUMSA	Local, regional and national structures		One week dedicated to recruitment of women during annual recruitment campaign	Focus on gender in the workplace through s/s committees and Employment Equity and Skills Development structures
SAMWU	National gender committee	Yes	Project to organise women in private sub-contracting companies	
POPCRU		Yes	Annual recruitment campaign targeting women in August	
SACCAWU	Provincial and national structures	Yes	Gender structures take responsibility for recruitment	Negotiates Parental Rights Agreements & Sexual harassment policies in the work place Engaging with SAFA on the professionalization of women's football
SAFPU				Budge for a range of activities
DENOSA		Yes	Yes, at learning institutions	
CWU		Yes		
SATAWU	Provincial and national structures	Yes		

4.1.3 In addition, NUMSA, SACCAWU, CEPPWAWU, CWU, SATAWU and SASBO have participated in the 'Decisions for Life' (DFL) Campaign initiated by the International Trade Union Confederation(ITUC) in

2008 in cooperation with UNI Global Union, the University of Amsterdam and the NGO Wage Indicator. The international campaign targets women between the ages of 15-29 in the service sector. The South African Chapter is coordinated by the Labour Research Services (LRS), and participating unions are affiliates of UNI and come from all three South African trade union Federations. The focus has been to assist young women make decisions in their private, public, work, and trade union lives.

4.1.4 The participating unions reviewed the DFL Campaign at the end of 2011 and resolved to extend it beyond the service sector to young women and men working in all sectors, as well as to young unemployed.

4.2 Women leadership

4.2.1 In the 9th COSATU National Congress, the Federation adopted a resolution on a quota system. This was after the COSATU CEC and affiliates had failed to implement a 2003 National Congress resolution which required the CEC to set a quota for the Federation, and for affiliates to set quotas for themselves. Clause three of the 9th Congress resolution states that “By 2015, where applicable, all affiliates should have a 50% quota of women at all leadership levels”. The resolution went on to state that the Federation and its affiliates should do an annual audit of women leadership.

4.2.1 Two of the six national office bearers are women, namely the Treasurer (Freda Oosthuizen) and the Second Deputy Vice President (Zingiswa Losi).

4.2.2 According to the results of the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey, at an affiliate level, since 2010 there has been a slight improvement in the average proportion of national office bearers, but there has been a decline in the proportion of women at National Executive Committee level. The current proportion of women national leadership for those unions that submitted data is as follows:-

Proportions of Women Members and Leaders in Unions

Union	% Women Members 2012	% Women in NEC 2012	% Women NOBs 2012
CEPPW	22%	20%	17%
AWU			
CWUSA		4%	0%
DENOS	91%	54%	71%

A			
FAWU		33%	17%
NEHAWU	Over 50%	22%	33%
NUM⁴		9%	43%
NUMSA		13%	17%
PAWUSA		27%	50%
POPCRU	37%		29%
SACCAWU	55%	16%	33%
SADTU		15%	50%
SAFPU		1%	0%
SAMA	51%	25%	25%
SAMWU	35%	37%	33%
SASAWU	54%		33%
SASBO	68%	41%	20%
Affiliate Aggregate		24%	32%

- 4.2.3 The above figures tell us that the only affiliate where women leadership proportions match the membership ratio is SAMWU. This is worrying. The 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey shows that ordinary members share this worry. 83% of the COSATU members who were sampled said they thought there were too few women leaders in their union.
- 4.2.4 Another concern is that where women are elected as national leaders, they tend to be stereotyped into the positions of Treasurer or 2nd Deputy President. This trend needs to be challenged.
- 4.2.5 The reasons given by COSATU members, by gender, for few women leaders are interesting because men and women provided slightly different answers. In particular, men clearly see women's family responsibilities as much less of a barrier to leadership than women do. Overall, members were most likely to say that women did not have the capabilities or confidence needed for leadership roles, followed by lack of partner support. This gives us an idea of the sort of programmes we need to adopt in order to develop women leaders. It confirms that the Decisions for Life programme reported on above are on the right track.

Reasons given for too few women leaders	% of COSATU	% of COSATU
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4 NUM has an expanded NOB committee of 14, 6 of whom are women

(2010 COSATU Workers' Survey)	women interviewed	men interviewed
There are too few women in the union	5%	15%
Discrimination and/or sexual harassment puts women off	5%	3%
Lack of support from members	7%	3%
Partners do not support women leaders	12%	11%
Family responsibilities	22%	12%
Women don't have enough power	2%	2%
Women are not interested in being leaders	2%	3%
Women are not competent	18%	21%
Women are not confident	31%	34%

4.3 The COSATU National Gender Conference 2012

4.3.1 The 3rd National Gender Conference was held in March 2012 and was hosted under the theme *Fight Inequalities, promote decent work and build economic alternatives for the emancipation of women.*

4.3.2 The main outcomes of the Conference were

- A decision to actively support the South African Domestic Services Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) in its organising and recruitment campaigns, and to lobby government for the urgent ratification of ILO Convention C189 (Decent Work for Domestic Workers).
- A decision to continue collaborating with other progressive organisations like Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), SWEAT, Sisonke, Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA) and African Sex Workers Alliance (ASWA) in their fight for the full recognition of sex work and to advocate for the decriminalisation of sex work.
- The delegates emphasised more on intensifying the campaigns for greater access to maternity protection for all classes of working women and the establishment of a separate maternity fund from the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). We need to take forward the campaigns for the ratification of International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions C183 (maternity protection).
- As wage gaps are widening, the conference resolved to revive the *'Equal pay for work of equal value'* demand, and to continue to insist on the greater involvement of women in negotiating processes and to provide them with training and support.
- The delegates pledged that women must be at the forefront of fighting HIV and AIDS, while in the process encouraging advocacy programmes for men.

- In order to promote women leadership, the conference agreed that women should be actively recruited to participate in the political schools programmes, that mentorship programmes should build a second layer of leadership, and that the 50/50 principle of women leadership should be constitutionalised.
- Networking and solidarity also to be promoted
- Strengthen our relations with Alliance partners, other Federations, progressive non-governmental organisations including community based organisations, and join hands with rights-based organisations in our quest for equality and improvement of the conditions of women.
- Document women's stories (past and present) for future generations as a source of learning and inspiration

4.3.3 The fifteen resolutions adopted by the Conference are included in the Annexures at the end of this report.

4.4 Gender and Trade Unions Research

Research on Gender and Trade Unions is currently being conducted by a partnership of Ruskin College in the UK, the Global Labour University (GLU) and NALEDI. The outcomes of the research will be presented to the NGC later this year.

4.5 COSATU Gender Policy Review

4.5.1 The Federation's gender policy was developed twelve years ago and there is a need for review in the light of changes in labour force and advances in our unions. Affiliates were assigned to engage internally in their structures about areas of concern and those that need revision or updating. The NGCC will drive the review process and eventually consolidate all the input into a revised document.

4.5.2 We have requested the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) to assist with the review. The major points raised under the gender policy review are as follows:

- The target constituency of the policy is not clear; if it is meant to address internal gender issues and be implemented by COSATU and its affiliates or it is including employers and other institutions of the entire South African society.
- The policy is seriously outdated in its reference to facts and statistics
- It does not adequately address the issue of Human Resource capacity of the gender departments.
- Sexual Harassment should be independent and have its own specific policy document
- There are no clear mechanisms for monitoring & evaluation of Federation and affiliate gender work

4.6 Issues of National Interest

4.6.1 Commission for Gender Equality

4.6.1.1. The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) is an independent statutory body and one of the six state institutions established in terms of Chapter 9 of the South African Constitution to promote democracy and human rights in the country. The commission's functions and roles are guided by the Commission for Gender Equality Act No. 39 of 1996 and it has been charged with a mandate to promote and advance gender equality in all spheres of the society and to make recommendations on any legislation affecting the status of women and men.

4.6.1.2 In the last round of appointments of Commissioners, COSATU forwarded its nominee who was not selected, while names each from SANCO, SACP and ANCWL were appointed. The Gender Coordinator is pursuing the matter on behalf of the NGC.

4.6.1.3 The NGC has worked collaboratively with the CGE on the following:-

- Employment Equity Act public hearings
- Maternity Benefit Dialogues and commissioned a research on the inclusion of informal workers on maternity protection.
- Sex Workers Dialogues and advocacy work
- CGE assisted in the preparation for Gender Conference documents and assisted throughout the conference
- Assisting with the review of the COSATU gender policy

4.6.2 Department Of Women, Children and People Living With Disability (DWCPD)

4.6.2.1 After the ANC's Polokwane conference, a Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities was finally established, with the first Minister being the former President of NEHAWU, Noluthanda Mayende-Sibiya, subsequently replaced by Lulu Xingwana. The activities, program and processes that the Department has embarked upon amongst other are the following:-

- Formation of the National Council against gender based violence proposed and approved by the Cabinet in December 2011
- Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development
- A review of the current national Government policy framework on Gender Equality, including the introduction of a Women Empowerment and Equality Bill to NEDLAC. A NEDLAC task team has been established to engage on the Bill.
- Institutionalisation of National Gender Machineries within departments

4.6.3 Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa (PWMSA)

4.6.3.1 COSATU 9th Congress adopted a resolution in support for the formation of the big giant The Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa was launched officially in 2006 in Bloemfontein. The vision of it being an organic organisation and not a formal structure has not been realized. A national steering committee (2 delegates

from each organisation) has been established led by Baleka Mbethe and Noluthando Mayende Sibiyi.

4.6.3.2 To this end PWMSA has embarked on several issues but priority being to establish structures from bottom (district/provinces), in order for the movement to effectively touch the ordinary women as prescribed by its founding document. The movement has been able to set up offices and staff, commissioned a research on the impact of Skills development on women in S.A, training women on basic mediation skills, peace and security and assisted with the preparation of the country's report in the 56th Session of the United Nation on Commission on the status of women.

4.6.3.3. The PWMSA held its 2nd conference in July 2012 under the theme "The Involvement of Women in the Economy". Discussion focused on Women and the Economy, the Skills Revolution, Gender Based Violence, and Building the Movement. Zingiswa Losi, 2nd Deputy President of COSATU, was elected as Co-Convener of the PWMSA, together with the Hlengiwe Mkhize, national Treasurer of the ANC Women's League.

4.6.4 Child Labour

4.6.4.1 In June 2011, COSATU's North West Province exposed the case of a 14 year old boy, Molefe Mogale, who lost his hand while operating a machine on a farm in the Province. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) forbids the employment of any child under the age of 15. It is also illegal for children under the age of 18 to be employed to do dangerous work or work meant for an adult. The farmer for whom Molefe Mogale worked was therefore breaking the law on two counts. Sadly however, Molefe's situation is all too common. According to government statistics, there are an estimated 821,000 children who are employed in South Africa⁵.

4.6.4.2 The increasing rates of poverty drive families to force their children to paid work, and children are therefore deprived of their rights to education and to be a child. Therefore COSATU has a responsibility to fight this scourge through member, public education and awareness campaigns. The affiliates are requested to come out with strategies of including the issue of child labour in the bargaining agenda. But also COSATU to build up on the work which already has been done by the Department of Labour (research) and

⁵ Quoted by the Minister of Labour, Mildred Olifant, in a speech on National Child Labour Day 19 July 2012, in Tzaneen

International Labour Organisation in tackling eradication of child labour.

4.6.5 Gender Participatory Audit

4.6.5.1 Gender Participatory Audit is a method aimed to assist organisations to promote gender mainstreaming in their policies, programmes, structures and also assess other activities undertaken and implemented by the organisation, individually, units and departments to promote gender equality. Through gender participatory audit, problem areas and barriers in achieving gender equality are identified in order to inform the planning of strategic campaigns, programmes and education on gender equality and women empowerment.

4.6.5.2 The International Labour Organisation (ILO) in collaboration with International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) is running workshops with organisations to explain the method in details. As COSATU we anticipating holding one before the end of the year, so as everybody fully understand the objectives of the Gender Participatory Audit and hopefully this method will assist affiliates and the Federation to measure progress in implementing action plans.

4.6.6 Traditional Courts Bill

4.6.6.1 The Traditional Courts Bill was introduced in 2008, and subsequently was opened for public hearing and input. COSATU's input in the National Assembly was that the proposed system would be open for abuse and result in forced labour. The Bill did not get support from the public and was withdrawn from Parliament for further engagement. The Bill does not represent the grassroots and more especially rural women. They were not consulted before the drafting. It further opens up for abuse of women and continuation of discrimination in the rural communities.

4.6.6.2 The Department of Justice has returned the Bill after 4yrs without amendments. The May 2012 CEC urged COSATU to oppose the Bill, reason being it presents a serious threat to the rights of women in the rural areas. The Gender structure of COSATU and SACP held a half day briefing session on the Bill by Department of Justice. The DOJ has committed to producing a revised draft in August 2012, where after it will return back to the National Assembly and NCOP.

4.6.7 Gender Equality Bill

4.6.7.1 The Gender Equality Bill was submitted by government to Nedlac for consultation in July 2012. At the time of writing the Bill was still under discussion. While welcoming the Bill, COSATU has expressed some concerns about some seemingly coercive elements of it.

4.7 Conclusions and recommendations: Gender structures and organising women

1. Not all of our affiliates have gender structures and programmes
We need to ensure that such gender structures and programmes are implemented in all affiliates.
2. Women continue to be under-represented in leadership, in collective bargaining, and in political education. In addition, data collection by affiliates on women membership and representation is poor,
Urgent action is needed to improve women's representation at all levels, and data collection must improve.
3. **Our existing campaigns such as childcare facilities, equal pay for work of equal value, parental leave, against gender based violence, against homophobia, and against child labour need to be strengthened.**
4. **We need to continue our engagement with our political allies, NGOs, and organs of government and other institutions to promote women's emancipation.**
5. **Further issues for decision making are reflected in the Resolutions submitted by the Gender**

5. YOUTH STRUCTURES AND ORGANISING YOUNG WORKERS

- 5.1 As indicated in the section on membership demographics, young workers (30 years and under) are under-represented in COSATU, and the average age of union members is 40 years old. We therefore have a huge amount of work to do to attract young workers.
- 5.2 A seminar on Organising Young Workers was jointly hosted by COSATU and NALEDI on 9th June 2011. The seminar was a great success – it was extremely well attended, with over 80 mostly young workers present. The discussions were vibrant and dynamic as can be expected from young workers.
- 5.3 The 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey Results indicates good progress on the part of affiliates in setting up structures and strategies to redress the under-representation of young workers.

	Youth Desk	Youth Forum or Network	Programme focused on youth
NUM	Yes	Yes	Yes
NUMSA	Yes	Yes	Yes
SAMWU	No	Yes	Yes
DENOSA	No	Yes, in colleges and unis	Yes
PAWUSA	No	Yes	Yes
FAWU	No	No	Yes
SATAWU	No	No, but Conference '09	Yes
CWU	No	No	Yes
SAMA	No	No	Yes, recruit students
NEHAWU	No	No	Yes
SACCAWU	No	No	Yes, including DFL
SASBO	No	No	Yes, Decisions for Life
CWU	No	No	Yes, Decisions for Life
CEPPWAWU	No	No	Yes, Decisions for Life
SACTWU	No	No	Yes

5.4 Recommendations: Youth Structures and Organising Young Workers

- **COSATU to speed up the implementation of**

6. THE ENGINE OF OUR MOVEMENT: COSATU PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL STRUCTURES

6.1 The COSATU Local Shop Stewards Councils (the “Locals”)

- 6.1.1 COSATU’s Locals, which are forums of shop stewards from different affiliates across the Federation, and which are set up in industrial, rural or residential areas according to need, are what makes us unique as a Federation. In the words of the COSATU Mpumalanga Provincial report: “locals remain the backbone of the Federation because they are the delivery point of the Federation’s campaigns”. And as Free State Province has put it: “Our stewards who comprise the local committees are doing everything to ensure the vibrancy of the Federation”. And in Gauteng’s words: “Our locals are the most basic structures of the Federation and they have been the pillar and strength in a number of matters and in particular in the execution of campaigns”.
- 6.1.2 The Locals meet on a regular basis – weekly, fortnightly or monthly, depending on the decision of the participating shop stewards. The COSATU Constitution requires them to meet at least once a month. Their powers and duties are set out in the COSATU Constitution and include coordinating and implementing Federation activities determined at a national and/or provincial level, raising the level of understanding of all Federation members amongst members in the area, and ensuring the smooth running of affiliates at a local level. Each Local elects office bearers from amongst its members to coordinate its affairs. The Locals are represented in the Provincial Executive Committees. They use the facilities of affiliates (meeting places, telephones etc) and do not have their own budgets or staff. They are administratively supported by local affiliates and the COSATU Provincial offices.
- 6.1.3 Challenges faced by many Locals have been well captured by all Provinces. The challenges include:-
- Failure by the Local office bearers to meet in order to plan, and failure to convene shop stewards councils and general meetings
 - An imbalance of responsibility between Local office bearers
 - Lack of understanding of roles and responsibilities of Local office bearers
 - Failure of Local office bearers to visit affiliates
 - Poor attendance at Local meetings of shop stewards of some affiliates, and no monitoring by affiliates to correct this, or reflection by the LOBs on the content of the Local meetings with a view to making them more interesting/relevant
 - High attendance at the time of election of office bearers, suggesting that many shop stewards see the structure as a vehicle for personal advancement
 - Poor attendance by most affiliate officials (organisers)
 - Lack of assistance from the PEC leadership

- Dominance of one or two unions in the Local
- No funds allocated to Locals
- No available office where there are no affiliates having an office – especially in small rural towns and on farming areas
- No full time officials to follow up decisions

6.1.4 Free State reports that it has in fact had a Locals training programme in place. The Province has partnered with DITSELA, CCMA, ODAC (Open Democracy Advocacy Campaign), and FIX (Freedom of Expression Institute) to deliver the training.

6.1.5 In the words of Limpopo Province, the Locals must be reinvigorated to become vehicles for *“combating the divisions amongst workers of South Africa and to unite them into strong and confident working class formations.”* And in the words of Gauteng Province *“We are making a special appeal to all delegates to take a serious political decision and resolve to start by being part of the locals from today and ensure that they build strong locals which will build strong affiliates.”*

6.1.6 Of course the strength of COSATU Locals depends totally on the strength and effectiveness of affiliate shop stewards. It is worrying therefore that 35% of workers surveyed in the 2012 Workers’ Survey reported that there had been no shop steward election in their work place for the past four years. Where there were elections however, participation in the elections was high – on average 90%.

6.1.7 Eastern Cape Province has put forward a number of concrete proposals to meet the challenges. These are:

- A drastic ramping up of capacity building of shop stewards
- Induction of Local office bearers
- A requirement of Local office bearers to submit copies of meeting notices, minutes and reports of activities to the provincial office
- An annual Revolutionary Service Excellence Award for the best performing Local to be made by the PEC, and announced in the last PEC of the year or at the May Day Rally

6.1.8 There are a total of 236 COSATU Locals nationally. 176 have been self-categorised as functioning, 35 as weak, and 25 as not functioning. It should be noted that status has been self-described by the Provinces, with no standard measurement of functionality.

6.1.9 A number of Provinces have clustered Locals into Districts, for the purposes of joint actions and campaigns as well as for easier convening of meetings of Provincial Office Bearers and Local Office Bearers. This appears to be working well.

Province	Total Locals	Functioning	Weak	Not functioning
Free State	30	18	7	5
N Cape	24	13	2	9
Mpumalanga	25	20	2	3
E Cape	22	22	0	0
North West	25	15	7	3
W Cape	32	32	0	0
Gauteng	23	10	12	1
KZN	30	27	0	3
Limpopo	25	19	5	1
Totals	236	176	35	25

6.1.10 Each Local, its status (functioning, weak or not functioning) is listed per Province in the table that follow. Key issues and campaigns that each local has taken up in the period under review are recorded. The record does not include participation in the dominant 2011/12 campaigns of anti labour broking and anti e tolls, and the standard activities of May Day, participation in elections, and the ANC Centenary, as it is assumed that all Locals played some part in these campaigns and activities.

6.1.11 The Local reports give us a rich idea of the range of local issues which the core of the Federation, our shop stewards, are responding to. It is a reminder of the vibrancy of our movement.

FREE STATE			
	Name of Local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Bloemfontein	Functioning	Campaign against racism at DIY in Bloemfontein in 2010, 2011
2	Botshabelo	Functioning	
4	Ladybrand	Functioning	Relaunched in 2012
5	Ficksburg	Functioning	Campaign for functioning schools, and participated in Madiba Day in 2010, 2011 which focused on the poor and the aged around Ficksburg.
6	Bethlehem	Functioning	Visited the poor and needy around Bethlehem as part of Madiba Day. Active in local Alliance structures and Local secretary elected to ANC region of Thabo Mofutsanyane in 2012.
7	QwaQwa	Functioning	Took on Talisman labour broking company. Working closely with community radio station to advance the work of the Federation.

8	Harrismith	Functioning	Active in Alliance structures but a challenge in ANC due to leadership divisions in run up to Mangaung
9	Welkom	Weak	The local has managed to coordinate the campaigns of the Federation including the march against labour Broking and e-tolling. Participation in the ANC and SACP is very encouraging
10	Kroonstad	Weak	
11	Wepenaar	Functioning	The Police Act is posing serious challenges for the Secretary who comes from Popcru.
12	Marquard	Functioning	
13	Virginia	Functioning	
14	Parys	Functioning	
15	Senekal	Functioning	Successful 25th Anniversary celebration. Using the community radio station to promote campaigns through a slot given to the local.
16	Koppies	Functioning	
17	Vrede	Functioning	Has a program to assist affiliates in servicing members especially those that do not have local offices.
18	Brandfort	Functioning	
19	Sasolburg	Weak	
20	Hoopstad	Weak	
21	Heilbron	Weak	
22	Viljoenskroon	Weak	
23	Theunessun	Weak	Controversial Mayor lead to SAMWU strike which met serious opposition from a section of the Community
24	Clocolan	Weak	The situation in this local is quite volatile on the ground because of factions and divisions in the ANC
25	Bultfontein	Weak	HIV and AIDS awareness campaign and well as Sex Education for the learners in the local High School.
26	Thaba Nchu	Not functioning	
27	Henneman	Not functioning	
28	Boshoff	Not functioning	
29	Trompsburg	Not functioning	
30	Odendaalsrus	Not functioning	
NORTHERN CAPE			
	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Hartswater/Pampier stad	Functioning	Anti -corruption march, Farm workers recruitment and fight against farm evictions Pickets against racism in the farms
2	Jan Kempdorp	Functioning	Local formed part of the Red October Campaign Had a Labour Brokers Picketing retail-Shoprite
3	Kimberley	Functioning	High electricity prices, Adopt a school, Back to

			school, Anti Privatisation, Health and safety, March to DOL and Pickets at FNB branches on Retrenchments and closure of branches in Rural Areas.
4	Kuruman	Functioning	LEGBO - killing of young gay man, crime prevention campaign, back to school, Labour Broking in municipalities
5	Kathu	Functioning	Homeless people in the mining area, health and safety in the mining sector, poverty alleviation.
6	Calvinia	Functioning	Recruitment in the Retail Sector and Farms, Picket at the Koporasie Retail, Women's Day Celebrations
7	Springbok	Functioning	Health And Safety, Pickets at FNB Branches, March against Racism, March to Dept Of Health-Service Delivery
8	De Aar	Functioning	NHI, Revitalisation of the Railway line in De Aar
9	Douglas	Functioning	Service delivery audit, FNB closures Pickets, release of Fawu strikers and Transformation of the Judiciary march
10	Colesberg	Functioning	Pickets around Land Reform Issues
11	Noupoort	Functioning	Service Delivery, Labour Brokers
12	Victoria West	Functioning	Back to school, pickets of non delivery of electricity at informal settlements , march on none delivery of medicine at local clinic
13	Upington	Functioning	Picketing- Labour Broking Community, Hospital, DOL
14	Danielskuil	Weak	Farm workers recruitment, service delivery audit
15	Kakamas	Weak	Farm workers recruitment, Men's March against Women and Children abuse
16	Dikgatlong	Not functioning	
17	Magareng	Not functioning	
18	Richtersveld	Not functioning	
19	Prieska	Not functioning	
20	Griekwastad	Not functioning	
21	Hopetown	Not functioning	
22	Petrusville	Not functioning	
23	Groblershoop	Not functioning	
24	Keimoes	Not functioning	
25	Carnarvon	Disbanded	

MPUMALAN GA

	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
	<i>Ehlanzeni region</i>		
1	Matibidi	Functioning	Vulnerable workers and Adopt a school
2	Hazyview	Functioning	Shoprite retrenchments
3	Lydenburg	Functioning	Back to school – Adopt a school
4	Barberton	Functioning	Living Wage
5	Nelspruit	Functioning	Adopt a school
6	Nkomazi	Functioning	Human Trafficking, Swazi solidarity
7	Bushbuckridge	Functioning	
	<i>Gert Sibande Region</i>		
8	Ermelo	Functioning	Quality Health Care (TAC)
9	Piet Retief	Functioning	Racism, Vulnerable workers (farm and retail), Swazi solidarity
10	Elukwatini	Functioning	Vulnerable workers, Swazi solidarity
11	Standerton	Functioning	Protection of farm workers
12	Secunda	Functioning	Renationalisation of Sasol
13	Bethal	Weak	50 th Commemoration of Potato Boycott
14	Volksrust	Not functioning	
15	Carolina	Not functioning	Swazi solidarity
16	Leandra	Not functioning	
	<i>Nkangala Region</i>		
17	Thembisile	Functioning	Kwaggafontien Shoprite retrenchments, Basic Conditions of Employment
18	Hendrina	Functioning	Vulnerable workers (farm and casual workers)
19	Moretele	Functioning	Corruption at Mmametlhake hospital, Service delivery
20	Siyabuswa	Functioning	Adopt a school, Violence against women and children
21	Witbank	Functioning	Labour broking, High toll fees
22	Middleburg	Functioning	Graspan protest, Casualisation and labour broking, High toll fees
23	Delmas	Functioning	Adopt a school, Farm workers
24	Ogies	Functioning	Building relations with community of Phola & Klipspruit mine, Education for Youth Employment
25	Belfast	Weak	Mine disaster in Machadadorp

EASTERN CAPE			
	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Aliwal North	Functioning	Campaign re contaminated water that killed babies in the area in 2009
2	Barkley East	Functioning	The Local has been recently launched
3	Butterworth	Functioning	
4	Centane	Functioning	
5	Cradock	Functioning	The local is involved in the campaign against fracking
6	Idutywa	Functioning	
7	Elliot	Functioning	
8	Flagstaff	Functioning	Involved in protest action on service delivery by the Local municipality, in march president Sidumo Dlamini led a march to the offices of the municipality on service delivery particularly lack of water and sewage
9	Graaf- Reinet	Functioning	
10	Indwe	Functioning	The local is in a campaign on the opening of the coal mine in the area - issues being raised is lack of consultation by the provincial government on issues of benefit for the community and environment issues
11	Lusikisiki	Functioning	The local share the same municipality with the Flagstaff local and experience the same issues as Flagstaff local
12	Middleburg Cape	Functioning	The local is involved in taking up issues of service of members particularly in the construction industry where workers are exploited on daily basis
13	Middledrift	Functioning	
14	Mt. Fletcher	Functioning	
15	Ngcobo	Functioning	Campaigns are around service to members and campaigns against foreign owned shops who do not respect labour legislation
16	Peddie	Functioning	
17	Queenstown	Functioning	The local is involved in the campaigns against corruption in the Lukhanji municipality against employment of cronies and fraud. The local has been consistent in organising the Socialists fora and memorial lectures
18	Tsolo	Functioning	
19	Tsomo	Functioning	
20	Uitenhage	Functioning	
21	Vuyisile Mini	Functioning	The local has been involved in the service delivery protest action including the campaign

			against the bucket system and corruption and the use of leadership status in the alliance to promote corruption
22	Willowvale	Functioning	

NORTH WEST

	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Matlosana	Functioning	Issues of workers at Game store, labour brokers,
2	Bloemhof	Functioning	Racism at the farm areas, exploitation of workers at all the shops.
3	Zeerust	Functioning	Dismissed farm workers,
4	Madibeng	Functioning	Service delivery, Anti-corruption
5	Vryburg	Functioning	Community issues
6	Schweizer-Reneke	Functioning	Workplace health and safety, Racism on farms
7	Rustenburg	Functioning	Anti-corruption, labour brokers
8	Ganyesa	Functioning	Community issues
9	Potchefstroom	Functioning	Anti corruption, Tolls, Women, children, Chubby Chicks workers
10	Tswaing (Delareyville)	Functioning	Anti racism, Substance abuse, Service delivery, Corruption & Nepotism
11	Taung	Functioning	Illegal mining, Service delivery, Corruption
12	Moses Kotane - (Bojanala)	Functioning	Community issues, labour brokers , racism and corruption both the municipality and Sun City
13	Maquassie Hills (Wolmaranstad)	Functioning	Service delivery
14	Swartruggens	Functioning	Nepotism of mayor, Tolls, racism and racial killing of farm workers
15	Sannieshof	Functioning	Racism, fight against farmers on child labour
16	Lichtenburg	Weak	Farm workers issues, racism in the farms.
17	Mafikeng	Weak	The case of amalgamated workers dismissed for exposing corruption, Fawu and Saccawu workers at chicken companies
18	Ventersdorp	Weak	Racism, Recruitment
19	Ottosdal	Weak	Racism and victimisation at work
20	Moretele	Weak	Community issues
21	Christiana	Weak	Nepotism in DOL, Exploitation on farms,
22	Klerksdorp	Weak	
23	Koster	Not functioning	
24	Tigane	Not functioning	
25	Ratlou	Not functioning	

WESTERN CAPE

	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Atlantis	Functioning	Save Atlantis campaign
2	Stellenbosch	Functioning	Academic recruitment @Stellenbosch university
3	Oudsthoorn	Functioning	Know your neighbour campaign with SACP
4	Saldanha/Vredenburg	Functioning	
5	Piketberg	Weak	
6	Plettenberg	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
7	Paarl	Functioning	School kids from Gouda to Paarl -improve transport
8	Worcester	Functioning	Community radio space for Labour
9	Bredasdorp	Functioning	GAP housing scheme
10	Riversdale	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
11	Beaufort West	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
12	Malmesbury	Functioning	
13	Knysna	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
14	Ladismith	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
15	Lambersbaai	Functioning	Small scale fishing
16	Citrusdal	Not Functioning	
17	Moreesburg	Not Functioning	
18	Hermanus	Not Functioning	
19	Khayelitsha	Functioning	Anti Crime March held on Sat 28 th April 2012
20	Mitchells Plain	Functioning	Anti-drug and youth skills development
21	Delft	Functioning	Housing & overcrowding in Blikkiesdorp
22	Retreat	Not Functioning	
23	Gugulethu	Not Functioning	
24	Grassy Park	Functioning	Save Princess Vlei campaign, Service delivery
25	Athlone	Not Functioning	
26	Porterville	Functioning	Campaign against school closures
27	Ceres	Not Functioning	
28	Robertson	Not Functioning	
29	Heidelberg	Not Functioning	
30	Du Noon	Not Functioning	
31	George	Functioning	National Health Insurance (NHI)
32	Laingsburg	Not	

33	Helderberg	Functioning Functioning	Farm and domestic workers campaign
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GAUTENG

	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Benoni	Functioning	None
2	Joburg	Functioning	Protea Glen issues together with the Alliance partners
3	Lenasia	Functioning	None
4	Midrand	Functioning	None
5	Mogale	Functioning	None
6	Springs	Functioning	Kwa -Thema service delivery protest
7	Tembisa	Functioning	Anti -xenophobia/1000 Men's march against abuse
8	Tshwane	Functioning	Tshwane Metrorail workers problems
9	Vanderbijlpark	Functioning	Sedibeng Bus Disaster Committee
10	Vereeniging	Functioning	Work with Vanderbijlpark as a cluster
11	Westonaria	Weak	None
12	Nigel/Duduza	Weak	None
13	Randfontein	Weak	None
14	Rosslyn	Weak	None
15	Merafong	Weak	None
16	Kungwini	Weak	None
17	Brakpan	Weak	None
18	Cullinan	Weak	None
19	Germiston	Weak	None
20	Heidelberg	Weak	Service protest around Rathanda
21	Alexandra	Weak	Anti -xenophobia Four Nations Soccer Tournament
22	Babelegi	Weak	None
23	Boksburg	To be established	None

LIMPOPO

	Name of local	State of local	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Aganang	Functioning	New local
2	Bela-Bela	Functioning	Murder of two women by a man , picketing court
3	Giyani	Functioning	None
4	Elias Motsoaledi	Functioning	Racism marches and court pickets
5	Fetakgomo	Functioning	Dispossession of communities by mining houses.
6	Lepelle-Nkumpi	Functioning	Poor quality service delivery.
7	Modimolle	Functioning	Court pickets in response to the Serial killings of children, and murder of two women
8	Makhado	Functioning	None
9	Makhuduthamaga	Functioning	Service delivery protests
10	Molemole	Functioning	Service delivery protests
11	Mookgophong	Functioning	Fight abuse of farm workers.
12	Mutale	Functioning	None
13	Musina	Functioning	Assisting Zimbabwean children and young women with sanitary towels, food health and shelter, xenophobia.
14	Polokwane	Functioning	Xenophobia, campaign against metre parking.
15	Phalaborwa	Functioning	Racism and corruption by FOSKOR mine.
16	Thulamela	Functioning	None
17	Tubatse	Functioning	Dispossession by mining houses, health and environmental issues, mine acid water spillage into rivers, service delivery.
18	Tzaneen	Functioning	None
19	Senwabarwana	Functioning	Racism , land for farm workers/dwellers
20	Ephraim Mogale	Weak	None
21	Mokopane	Weak	Dispossession by mining houses.
22	Thabazimbi	Weak	None
23	Lephalale	Weak	None
24	Letaba	Weak	None
25	Maruleng	Not functioning	None

KZN

	Name of local	Status	Notable campaigns/activities (besides labour broking, etolls, May Day & Elections & ANC Centenary)
1	Pinetown	Functioning	OHS Blitz, workplace visits
2	Inkandla	Functioning	Service delivery matters & Anti-corruption
3	Eshowe	Functioning	Random inspection, local government elections
4	Nquthu	Functioning	
5	Bergville	Functioning	Magwaza Maphalala lecture, Anti-racism
6	Durban Central	Functioning	Anti-corruption, Education, National May Day 2010
7	Isipingo	Functioning	Random inspection, Alliance Secretariat
8	Mzinto	Functioning	Thozamile Taki Case, Umzinto 13, Workers Parliament
9	Portshepstone	Functioning	Local Govt. elections, cluster locals
10	Harding	Functioning	Workplace visits, Anti racism
11	Kokstad	Functioning	Anti-exploitation of farm workers
12	UMzimkhulu	Functioning	Anti-corruption, Boxer Case, Maduna Murder Case
13	UMgungundlovu	Functioning	Anti-corruption, Reggie Radebe Lecture, Alliance
14	Howick	Functioning	Anti-corruption, SARMCOL matter, service delivery
15	Mooi River (Mpofana)	Functioning	Da Gama Case, Farm Killing, Service Delivery
16	Mnambithi	Functioning	Random Inspections, Jobs & Poverty, OHS Blitz
17	Dundee	Functioning	Cde Grishen Bujrams Murder Case, Random Inspections
18	Ulundi	Functioning	Anti-corruption, Political work, Zululand FM programmes
19	Newcastle	Functioning	Anti- privatisation, Public transport, super exploitation by Asian (Chinese) employers, OHS marches
20	Manguzi	Functioning	Random inspections, rural development work
21	Mtubatuba	Functioning	Political work, service delivery
22	Umhlathuze	Functioning	OHS Marches
23	Isithebe	Functioning	OHS & random inspections, Anti-corruption
24	Maphumulo	Functioning	Workplace service, rural development, Anti-corruption
25	Ingwavuma	Functioning	OHS-Random inspections
26	Ndwedwe	Functioning	Anti-Corruption, Farm workers Summit, Sexual Abuse Case
27	Vryheid	Functioning	Workers Imbizo, Human Right Abuse March
28	Kwa/Dukuza	Not functioning	
29	Dumbe	Not functioning	Worker's Imbizo with DOL Minister, worker exploitation
30	Estcourt	Not functioning	

6.2 COSATU Provincial Executive Committees (PECs) and Office Bearers (POBs)

6.2.1 If the Locals are the backbone of the Federation, then the Provinces are the engine. The Provincial Executive Committees are comprised of affiliate representatives (on a proportionate basis) and representatives of the Locals, and are constitutionally required to meet every two months. Provinces are required to elect four office bearers (POBs), including a full time Secretary, once every three years at a Provincial Congress. Provinces receive budget allocations from COSATU head office.

6.2.2 All Provinces report that their Provincial Office Bearers meet on a regular basis. A common challenge is the dual responsibility that many Provincial office bearers have in their union and in the Federation.

6.2.3 Almost all PEC meetings in all Provinces in the period under review have been quorate. The PECs are proving to be effective training grounds for national affiliate leadership.

6.2.4 Free State reports that PEC meetings have taken place regularly, with active participation of all affiliates except SADNU and SAFPU. The newly elected leadership of the Province is:-

Chairperson	Xolisile Qayiso	Male	NEHAW U
Deputy Chairperson	Nombulelo Bunukane	Female	SAMWU
Treasurer	Evodia Lenyatsa	Female	NUMSA
Provincial Secretary	Sam Mashinini	Male	NUM

6.2.5 Gauteng reports that a collective consensus-driven culture is in place amongst the Provincial Office Bearers, even where differences of opinion exist. Challenges encountered by the PEC include: - some affiliates don't send full delegations; many PEC members don't participate in Local structures; and many PEC members don't participate in the campaigns and other activities of the Province.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Mosanko Phutsase Tseli	Male	NUMSA
Deputy Chairperson	Meisie Sekaledi	Female	SAMWU
Treasurer	Pulane Mokgosi	Male	NEHAW U
Provincial Secretary	Dumisani Dakile	Male	SACCAW U

6.2.6 Northern Cape reports that the PEC has met consistently and that it operates cohesively. However the POBs have been destabilised by the exodus of three of the POBs due either to deployment to local government (the Provincial Treasurer) or due to internal affiliate dynamics (two successive Deputy Chairpersons). SADNU, SASAWU,

SAMA, PAWUSA and SAFPU do not participate in Provincial structures.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Mase Tilotjane	Male
Deputy Chairperson	Cornelius Manhe	Male
Treasurer	Maria Tshomagae	Female
Provincial Secretary	Anele Gxoyiya	Male

6.2.7 E Cape reports that all PEC meetings have been quorate and decisions have been arrived at with ease and enthusiasm. However implementation has not been met with the same enthusiasm. Meetings have been plagued with late starting due to late arrivals. POBs have provided effective leadership. The Province lost its Treasurer to the Nelson Mandela Metro Mayoral Committee.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Mpumelelo Saziwa	Male	SADTU
Deputy Chairperson	Ntomboxolo Maheneza	Female	CWU
Treasurer	Nonceba Kontsiwe	Female	NEHAWU
Provincial Secretary	Mandla Rayi	Male	CEPPWA WU

6.2.8 North West reports that the PEC has been very stable and has been consistently quorate throughout the period under review. There have been challenges in implementation of decisions however, especially campaigns.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Boingotlo Nthebe	Male
Deputy Chairperson	Nomsa Nong	Female
Treasurer	Kefiloe Leeuw	Male
Provincial Secretary	Solly Phetoe	Male

6.2.9 Kwa Zulu Natal reports that despite a change in chairperson due to the election of the chair as Mayor of Mzunduzi, the POBs maintained a stable collective which was characterised by openness and “issues are confronted with frankness, so as to close the space for gossip and rumour mongering”.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Beauty Zibula	Female
Deputy Chairperson	John Dlamini	Male
Treasurer	Cynthia Joyce	Female
Provincial Secretary	Zet Luzipo	Male

6.2.10 Mpumalanga reports that the PEC has functioned well over the period under review. The Provincial Office Bearers have provided

consistent leadership to all constitutional structures and sub-structures in the Province.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Solwako Mahlangu	Male
Deputy	Job Leshaba	Male
Chairperson		
Treasurer	Busi Masilela	Female
Provincial Secretary	Fana Vincent "Fidel" Mlombo	Male

6.2.11 Western Cape reports that the Provincial office bearers of all affiliates cooperate fully, with a great deal of political coherence. Media work is an area of improvement, with the Provincial Office Bearers having achieved broader exposure and coverage of Federation related issues. One challenge has been the loss of the Provincial chairperson and treasurer, both to full time employment in their own unions. Their departure was close to the Provincial Congress and so a decision was made not to fill the positions. The Province reports some inconsistencies in affiliate participation in some of the Federation's campaigns, but that on the question of confronting the political challenged posed by the DA in the Province, affiliates are at one.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Dan Melapi	Male	POPCR U
Deputy Chairperson	Jacqui Breda	Female	FAWU
Treasurer	Sharon Spandeele	Female	SAMW U
Provincial Secretary	Tony Ehrenreich	Male	

6.2.12 Limpopo reports that PECs and POBs have been functioning well.

The newly elected leadership of the Province is

Chairperson	Essop Mokgonyane	Male	NUM
Deputy Chairperson	Rangers Molapo	Male	NUM
Treasurer	Annah Mokgopa	Female	NUMSA
Provincial Secretary	Dan Sebabi	Male	NEHAW U

6.3 COSATU Provincial sub structures

PECs are free to establish sub structures in order to ensure the implementation of decisions. The effectiveness of these sub structures varies, with some working very effectively and others having inconsistent affiliate participation. In some Provinces there may be a case to be made for reducing the number of sub structures.

	Mpumalanga	N West	N Cape	E Cape	Gauteng	Free State	W Cape	Limpopo	KZN
Fincom	Functional, comprising Affiliate treasurers of Secretaries	Meeting every time before the PEC.	Meets infrequently	Meets regularly before PECs and when necessary. Some affiliates inconsistent or not attending.	Functioning	Meets regularly before PEC	Meets regularly before PEC.	Not functional.	Meets a week prior PEC's but attendance very poor
Secretaries Forum	Meetings are successfully coordinating PEC decisions	Meeting jointly with the political commission once per month.	Meets regularly although some affiliates inconsistent	Coordinates campaigns	Effective although Inconsistent participation by some affiliates	Meets when necessary between PECs	Meets regularly	Meets to prepare for forthcoming PEC , regularly	Meets once a month or when the need arises
Gender Committee	Functional since its launch in 2009, including active in Alliance gender activities	Functioning office bearers and active campaigns	Meets regularly but weak on programme of activities	Full complement of office bearers. Ongoing capacity building, and effective in supporting affiliate and Local gender structures	Effective	Active in campaigns	Meets every 2 nd month	Meets once every three months and frequently around campaigns. Effective , violence and abuse children / women and child labour	Growing in attendance and stature, with BOBs meeting monthly. 6 locals have gender structures.
Socialist Forums	Collaborating with SACP to run these	A number of forums exist.		Few held	Exist but not meeting regularly	11 in the Province	Locals arrange when	3 Locals	Not consistent but some

Chris Hani Brigade	Have used these to produce leadership at all levels and to develop a pool of educators to deliver to Locals	Attendance fair. Is part of the political commission	22 members. 2 blocks rolled out, with 1 outstanding	One Provincial Brigade with members from affiliates and locals. 6 coordinators	18 in the Province	Reading groups held. Will be reconvened.	A team of 23 for delivering membership education and deepening political consciousness	locals do meet
Health & Safety Committee	Not functioning – to be revived	Structure is weak, not functioning.	Deal with H&S in the organisers forum	Yet to be established	No affiliate activities so structure inactive	No formal structure but good working relationship with DoL and IHRG.	Not functional, campaigns led by COSATU Prov. Office and lead affiliates, event based.	No committee but work confined to organisers forum & secretariat
Educator Forum	Functional and delivers to Locals and Affiliates	The structure is meeting once after three months	Struggling to meet due to few unions having Provincial educators, budget, or political will	Ineffective as most affiliates don't have provincial educators or budgets		Meets monthly	Combined educator/organiser forum. Meets quarterly but affiliate participation inconsistent – some don't have educators.	Do convene but there's poor attendance but now focus is on education work than forums
Organiser Forum	Has met regularly over past 3 years, to facilitate	Is meeting jointly with campaigns committee and is	Functioning though not at full potential	Effective in coordinating major campaign actions		Meets monthly	As above	Do meet but very inconsistent and poorly attended

Administrators Forum	implementation of PEC decisions Not functioning. To be revived.	functioning. Not.	Not	Not		Meets monthly	Not functional	Not yet but it's in the pipeline
Affiliate Chairpersons Forum	Not	They form part of the secretariat and the political commission.	Not	Combined with Secretariat		Meets monthly	Not functional	They are part of our Extended Secretariat meetings.
Sector Forums		Public Sector forum exists	Active public sector forum. Have combined industrial and services	Have a public sector forum which meets when a need		Manufacturing, Public Services, & Services forums	Public sector, WFTU affiliate unions, health unions issue based.	Only public sector during wage strikes but this seemed to be divisive between public & provide sector unions Not yet as there are only two affiliates with youth desks
Youth Forum	Launched March 2012		Doing audit of affiliate youth forums. Plan to launch Prov forum by year end	Not yet established		Meets monthly	Meets once in a year around Youth Month activities.	
Pensioners Programme	Not		Not	Not		Monthly activities	Not functional	Social responsibility work

Campaigns Committee	Comprises affiliate organisers and Local office bearers – at regional/district level	Meets once every 2 months or when directed by the PEC or CEC	Mainly comprised of organisers who coordinate campaigns	Effective when it is part of Extended Secretariat	Combined with organisers forum		Meets quarterly	Active. Participation of affiliates. Alliance partners and MDM also invited.	Does meet through Organisers' Forum but also with hosting locals
Political Commission	The structure is functional. It sits before each PEC meeting to enrich the political report and discussions.	Is functioning well.	Functions but Inconsistent participation	Overhauling because of inconsistent participation & leadership changes	Not, Secretariat forum plays this role	Guides POBs on political matters		Meets quarterly and as per political developments.	Does meet and now we also have a political committee
Provincial Shop Stewards Council	Has had successful meetings to roll out Cosatu campaigns	6 meetings in the period, with up to 1200 attending.	Affiliate participation positive	Meeting in line with national programme. Well attended and successful.	Meet four times a year and additionally when needed. Over 1000.	Twice a year with up to 1000 shop stewards	Meets when campaign mobilisation is required. 1000 participants.	Meets as a campaigns machinery, 2x pa with high attendance	Very successful and never had less than 1500 attending

6.4 Conclusions and Recommendations: COSATU Provincial and Local Structures

1.

- 1. Induction training to be provided for all Local Office Bearers**
- 2. Affiliate organisers to attend Local meetings on a regular basis**
- 3. Provincial sub-structures, including Locals, to be audited for functionality on a regular basis.**
- 4. The auditing process of Locals to include content of issues being taken up. Where it is observed that there are common issues being taken up, a strategy to be developed to support and co-ordinate across Locals e.g. on community Service Delivery issues. Where issues are identified that link to national policy or campaign work, the Local to be linked by head office to that work e.g.**

7. TRADE UNION EDUCATION

7.1 Education Programme

7.1.1 The education programme adopted for the period under review was adjusted from time to time to make it more manageable. It was adjusted from a 15 point plan to an 8 point plan, and then a four point programme for 2011-2012:-

- Building mass based political and ideological consciousness through a mass education programme/campaign
- Leadership and staff development programme to support our political and organisational machinery
- Building Educator and Education Capacity
- Developing capacity and infrastructure, systems and support to effect successful implementation of the education programme

7.2 COSATU's Education structures and 2012 Education and Skills Conference

7.2.1 The following structures are tasked with planning and implementing COSATU's education programme: - the NEDCOM, a National Educators' Forum (NEF), and Provincial Educator Forums.

7.2.2 NEDCOM suffers from the non attendance of many affiliates, as well as the non attendance of worker leaders, at Federation and affiliate level. NEDCOM's task teams have also been inconsistent in their performance.

7.2.3 A successful Education and Skills Conference was held from 3-5 July 2012 in Benoni. This was a follow up to the 2009 Conference. The Conference dealt with education policy issues (basic education, higher education, and skills training), as well as worker education. The policy issues are reflected on in the Socio-Economic section of this report. On the question of worker education the Conference resolved the following:-

- Affiliates must apply the agreement that 10% of income must be allocated to education
- Learning through participation and the development of critical thinking must replace bourgeois methods of delivery
- The agreed mass education programme must be implemented
- Worker education must promote the principles of worker control, and processes of accountability.
- The debate on whether worker education should be subject to accreditation should be continued
- Affiliates must negotiate more time off for shop stewards for trade union education
- The Chris Hani Brigade must feature prominently in worker education, and SADTU members should also be encouraged to play a more active part in COSATU education
- COSATU should investigate establishing a Workers' Academy
- A reading campaign should be embarked on

- COSATU should develop a common worker training manual that can be used across affiliates

7.2.4 A full report of the 2012 Education and Skills Conference deliberations has been circulated to affiliates and provinces. Resolutions taken have been processed by the Resolutions Committee and composited where appropriate.

7.3 Building mass based political and ideological consciousness: Mass Education

7.3.1 We held a successful a national Mass Education conference in April 2010. The agreed components of the programme were as follows:-

- Provinces undertook to run 10 monthly socialist forums in each COSATU Local. The programme was based on the discussion series, with Locals adding their own issues if they decided. It was required that each forum should link the lesson with political activism, agitate for revolutionary changes and emerge with some concrete action plan. Implementation by Provinces has been partial, as indicated in the section of this report on Provincial sub-structures.
- A partnership with the Local Community Radio Forums (LCRF) and 40 local community radio stations.
- Developing the re-launched Chris Hani Brigades to assist in implementing mass education i.e. combining theoretical teachings on Marxist-Leninist theory and the advancement of socialist ideas with the practical task of delivering mass education.

7.3.2 NEDCOM has assessed the Mass Education Campaign and has concluded that:

- It should cease to be an “add on”, and should be integrated with other work of the including campaigns
- There needs to be a much stronger coordination from the centre to drive the programme
- Methods of deliver should be transformed from the old usual “school type” methods to a creative process
- The reality is that the strengths of the Locals are uneven, so delivery will be uneven. We need to be more flexible in taking Local conditions and interests into account, rather than expecting delivery on a set of predetermined topics only. National and local interests must be balanced, with creativity a necessity
- We need to agree measures for reporting and monitoring on mass education activity, including a common understanding of what constitutes “mass”
- We are not putting in the required human or financial resources to see the success of the campaign

7.3.3 While we may not have achieved everything we set out to achieve in the Mass Education Campaign, the possibilities remain endless.

We need to continue working on the paradigm shift required to address the challenges presented above.

Chris Hani Brigade (CHB)

- 7.3.4 The objective of the CHB is to develop a core cadre of trade union educators with a critical and creative ability to deepen the building blocks for and action Socialist principles and strategies across the Federation, in defence of working class power. Through mass education the objective is to develop consciousness, confidence and critical responses among working class formations around political issues.
- 7.3.5 The CHB was constituted first as a pilot, where each province was to recruit a total of 20 Brigadiers, 5 of which would be deployed to the national team for training. In addition specific seats have been allocated to the SACP and the YCL. Two blocks of learning were concluded in 2010, whilst one block was run in 2011. The fourth block is due to take place in August 2012. Four more blocks will follow.

7.4 Leadership and staff development programme to support our political and organisational machinery

Leadership Course:

- 7.4.1 A four block Leadership programme to support the development of our political and organisational machinery was agreed on in our Political School in 2010. The four blocks were designed to cover the State of the Movement (nationally and globally); A Socialist Movement (including the NDR and Socialism, Marxist political theory and tools of analysis, the 2015 Plan, and is Socialism possible); South Africa in the Global Economy; and the Collective Bargaining Agenda
- 7.4.2 Two first blocks ran successfully though participant numbers showed a marked decline from 45 in the first block to 17 in the second block. The third block was even less successful suffering both participant and leadership organisational problems. The fourth block is planned for August 2012.

New trade union Staff Foundation Course

- 7.4.3 A two block Foundation Course for new trade union staff was agreed on at the 2010 Political School. It was agreed this course would focus on building activists and what it means to work for a revolutionary trade union movement rooted in socialist. The objectives were to provide a systematic induction to COSATU principles, culture and practice, and to create a platform for staff from different affiliates to become part of a network of exchange of ideas and experiences.
- 7.4.4 19 comrades participated in the first block, which was run concurrently with CHB and Leadership course block 1. The first block focused on the context and history of the trade union and socialist movements. The second block, focusing on skills, is still to take place.

Provincial Schools

- 7.4.5 Nine Provincial 'political schools' were planned targeting provincial and local office bearers and focussing on a mass education delivery dimension.
- 7.4.6 Funding to run these Provincial political schools was not provided for in the Education budget, but was to be sourced from possible donors like ETDP SETA and or National Skills Fund (NSF). This was not forthcoming. Some provinces managed on their own to access some funding to run the schools.

Cosatu Staff Development Programme:

- 7.4.7 The Education Unit provides support to the Human Resource Department (HR) in its planning of COSATU staff skills development.
- 7.4.8 Internally, new staff are put through an induction programme. All staff are encouraged to participate in the Federation's political education programmes.
- 7.4.9 The Federation pays the 1% skills levy and produces an annual Workplace Skills Plan so that ETDP SETA funds can be accessed. Funding was granted for media training and leadership training.
- 7.4.10 The Federation also offers study loans, which become study grants when producing the results and have passed.
- 7.4.11 A number of staff members have attended the Public Management certificate course at Wits (see below).

Graduate and post graduate training courses

- 7.4.12 Education also continuously explores options for trade unionists to access higher education courses.
- 7.4.13 Since 2007 two programmes have been running at Wits University.
- A programme run by the Graduate School of Public and Development Management (P&DM) at NQF level 7 (Honours equivalent), which is based on an existing Professional Certificate in Public Management. In 2011, 20 participants completed the course.
 - A Masters programme run by the Global Labour University (GLU). This is offered as a full-time one year course or as a two year part-time course. There is a requirement to produce a dissertation. 2 COSATU comrades participated in 2011. GLU has now also agreed to introduce a 6 month Honours degree programme, in order to broaden access. There are no current COSATU participants in the programme.
- 7.4.14 Challenges in both courses include the absence of internal trade union support for their learners, as well as issues of access and Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL). There is also a need to ensure greater union involvement in developing the curriculum and in facilitating on the programme, and to ensure that dissertation topics link to movement needs. Another challenge is their location, as both are based in Gauteng.

7.4.15 The National Educators' Forum has established a task team to evaluate the impact of these programmes, whilst continuing to participate.

Building Educator and Education Capacity

7.4.16 Building the capacity of worker and full time educators is a priority. This includes materials development and training assessors and moderators.

7.4.17 DITSELA was to be the lead organisation to deliver the programme of capacity building, but there were delays due to challenges in securing National Skills Fund (NSF) funding to deliver the programme.

7.4.18 DITSELA has now launched the 5 block Advanced course for Trade Union Educators, with the 1st block running in May 2012. Participants are drawn from four Federations, COSATU has majority 20 of the total 28 participants (16 males and 12 females).

7.5 Affiliate trade union education delivery and support

7.5.1 Reports to NEDCOM, as well as the data provided by affiliates in the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey, make it clear that affiliates that are well resourced are able to budget for and deliver programmes, whereas those without resources cannot. The 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey results report that

- NEHAWU, NUMSA, SADTU and SACTWU are the biggest providers of education overall
- Most affiliates provided more education for their shop stewards than any other category, with the exception of DENOSA, SADTU, SAMA and SACTWU who educated more members and SADTU educated more leaders in 2012.
- A grand total of 183 473 members, shop stewards, leaders and officials received union education and training in 2011 (149 378) and 2012 (35 095)[according to the provided information]
- SACTWU contributed a massive 141 009 to the grand total.
- The key education focus areas in the period under review have been HIV & AIDS, Labour Law, Sector Specific topics, Pensions, Economics, and Induction in that order
- Health and safety, skills development, gender, and organising have received relatively less focus

7.5.2 The Survey results indicate an overall improvement in the provision of union education to members from 2010 to 2012. In 2010 only 5 affiliates reported the provision of some form of membership education. There are now nine affiliates (CEPPWAWU, DENOSA, SACCAWU, SADTU, SAMA, SACTWU, SASBO and SASAWU) providing some form of membership education.

7.5.3 Based on the reports from affiliates the numbers of shop stewards receiving training from affiliates appears to have declined from 2010 (15 634 shop stewards) to 2011 (10 686 shop stewards). An additional 5 000 shop stewards were trained in the first five months of 2012.

- 7.5.4 The numbers of leaders receiving training from affiliates appears to have increased marginally from 2010 (3 236 leaders) to 2011 (3 311). SADTU accounts for almost half of the leaders trained.
- 7.5.5 278 officials were trained by affiliates in 2011, compared to 412 in 2010, indicating a decline in numbers. This is worrying, given that officials are a key point of service delivery to members.
- 7.5.6 Additional information on affiliate membership education is reported in the results of the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey. 28% of COSATU members in the sample said they had participated in a union workshop or educational programme. This is encouraging. By topic the largest number of participants said they attended workshops or programmes on negotiations, labour law, employment equity and skills development. Around 10% said they attended induction or shop stewards' training or political economy programmes, and a similar percentage attended programmes on gender of HIV/AIDS.
- 7.5.7 The COSATU Education department has provided the following support and assistance to affiliates:-
- Support was provided to NEHAWU develop and run their own version of Chris Hani Brigade (CHB)
 - Work was started with SADTU CHB programme but left halfway
 - Assisted in the planning and facilitation of POPCRU political School.
- 7.5.8 The department's own lack of capacity has been a constraint in assisting affiliates. It is encouraging to note however that affiliate delivery of trade union education is growing.

7.6 Education Resource Centre

The Education department planned to establish an Education Resource Centre in the new building. The Centre was to include written materials, audiovisuals, and on-line materials. However no space was allocated in the building plans, so the project needs to be re-thought.

7.7 COSATU Training Centre

The entire 2nd floor of the new COSATU headquarters has been allocated to training and meeting rooms. There are six venues, with seating capacities ranging from six to 200.

7.8 Developing a data base of human resources

A plan to develop a database of Labour Service Organisations (LSOs), left academics, Marxist mentors, facilitators, learners past and present, and funders remains on the table.

7.9 DITSELA

- 7.9.1 During the period under review there were some major challenges regarding DITSELA. These included:-
- Issues around the delivery of programmes
 - The performance of the Director and his subsequent resignation
 - A series of subsequent staff conflicts and the departure of some staff members, including the Acting Director

- A distorted cost structure with expenditure on staff and infrastructure way exceeding programme delivery costs (80/20)
- 7.9.2 In response to the crisis, a task team was established by NEDCOM to work with the Board to devise a turnaround strategy. The strategy addressed the role of the Board, a review of the strategic direction of DITSELA, funding, staff matters, and the question of a Director.
- 7.9.2 A new Director was appointed by the Board and was due to start work in January 2011. The new Director, who was an experienced trade union educator, was an Australian citizen and therefore required a work permit. She was only able to start work in June 2011 when the Department of Home Affairs issued her with a temporary work permit. She set about producing a “*Review Report*” based on her observations and using the turnaround Strategy as a point of reference. She noted that DITSELA needed to re-build its close relationship with the trade union movement. Her Review Report confirmed that the crisis at DITSELA was in fact a lot worse than the Board members had been aware of.
- 7.9.3 The good progress in analysing the crisis and plotting a way forward was interrupted by the expiry of the Director’s temporary work permit in August, and further delays in the issuing of a permanent work permit. She had to stop work while waiting for the permit, and a Transition Task Team made up of both Federations had to be set up. Six months later the permit had still not been issued and the Board had no option but to negotiate a termination of the employment contract as of March 2012.
- 7.9.4 In the midst of the work permit crisis, the Fedusa Board members resigned. At the same time they sent a complaint to the Minister of Labour about the turn-around strategy which they had been party to agreeing, as well alleging COSATU domination of DITSELA. The Fedusa resignations did not stop the Board from functioning since Nactu had timeously joined in November 2011, and quorum of two Federations was achievable.
- 7.9.5 After intervention from the Minister, Fedusa reversed its decision and appointed new members of the Board (Fedusa President and General Secretary). A full and successful Board meeting was held in June 2012. By agreement Board meetings going forward will include a representative of the Department of Labour.
- 7.9.6 The Board has decided against appointing a caretaker Director or manager. Processes are underway to recruit a Director as soon as possible and preferably from our own experienced ranks.

7.10 Summary and Recommendations: Trade Union Education

1.

- 1. Our mass education programme, including the CHB, needs to be escalated so that we achieve the reality of membership education, not just shop steward education.**
 - 2. We need to develop our internal capacity to deliver quality trade union education. While affiliate provision of trade union education is growing, insufficient resources are still being allocated. The agreed 10% allocation of budget to education is still to be reached.**
 - 3. Where delivery of programmes is by external providers, such as Universities, we must ensure that we don't end up with all opportunities being centralised in Gauteng, but taken to the places where comrades have a need.**
 - 4. We need to monitor the effectiveness of external providers**
 - 5. Education materials are urgently needed by affiliates in order to enhance their capacity to deliver. In this regard the revival of DITSELA is critical.**
- in Nedcom, especially participation of worker leaders.**

8. CAMPAIGNS

8.1 Priority Campaigns

8.1.1 COSATU campaigns have given the Federation a profile and muscle which goes beyond that of the individual affiliates. Creative mass actions and large scale stay ways have helped make COSATU a force to be reckoned with.

8.1.2 The 5th Central Committee held in June 2011 identified eleven priority and the COC (Campaign Operation Command Centre) was established. The CEC later added the ANC Centenary Celebrations as a further campaign. All of these campaigns are integrated into a single mobilisation programme but are being staggered in their roll out. The Campaigns Committee has proposed that the twelve priorities be maintained going forward.

8.1.3 The twelve priority campaigns are:-

- Living Wage
- Labour Brokers
- Walmart
- Public Transport
- Climate Change
- Water
- New Growth Path
- Anti-privatisation
- Electricity
- Anti-corruption
- Public Service Ethos
- ANC Centenary

8.1.4 The 2012 COSATU Workers Survey produced interesting results in terms of worker support for various COSATU campaigns. The results are illustrated in the table below. Predictably workers who are members of COSATU affiliates are more in support of COSATU campaigns than workers who are not COSATU members. What is interesting however is that the difference is not very significant. This suggests that all of our campaigns are reaching beyond our own membership. The data also shows that our campaigns against e tolling, labour brokers, and rising electricity prices are most known about and supported, followed by our anti corruption campaign. Our international solidarity campaigns are least known about, but even so, 28% of COSATU members and 21% of workers in non COSATU trade unions support our international campaigns. These figures are

encouraging and give us a good platform upon which to deepen all of our campaigns.

COSATU Campaigns and worker support (2012 Workers' Survey)

8.2 May Day Celebrations

- 8.2.1 COSATU continues to hold May Day rallies throughout the country every year with the main (national rally) rotated through the provinces and addressed by ANC and COSATU Presidents, SACP and SANCO. Each year we deploy CEC delegates together with our Alliance leadership to address workers and communities mobilised to attend the rallies. Entertainment by national artists, community and worker groups is organised for the crowds.
- 8.2.2 Affiliates are expected to transport workers to the rallies. This is a challenge in rural areas where each affiliate has a relatively small presence. Consistent complaints are received from these areas about workers being unable to travel to their nearest rally. We need to find a collective solution to this problem.
- 8.2.3 While there were fewer rallies held in 2012 than in the previous two years, attendance at each was considerably bigger. Workers were still highly mobilised after the national strike of 7th March. However, a challenge is that in all rallies large numbers of workers congregate outside the stadium rather than inside. This may indicate that we need to review the content and format of our rallies to make them more participative. Our practice has been to expect workers to sit passively listening to speeches and watching performances. The Campaigns Committee needs to review this.

MAY DAY	No. of rallies	Theme	National Rally	Other activities
2010	32	Deepening Working Class Power to Advance the Struggle for Decent Work – Ban Labour Brokers!	Durban	Memorial lectures in PE, EL, Queenstown, and Nkangala Commemoration of the 1860 arrival of Indian workers in KZN
2011	25	Consolidate Peoples Power! Mobilise for ANC local elections victory! Advance	Cape Town	

2012

15

the New Growth Path for
full employment!

Celebrating Workers'
Contribution in the Struggle
for Liberation

Botshabelo

8.3 Jobs and Poverty Campaign

8.3.1 The Federation's broad Jobs and Poverty campaign was launched in 1999. In the period under review the campaign has focused on Decent Work and the fight against Labour Brokering, as well against the Gauteng e-Tolling (as part of the campaign for improved Public Transport).

Labour Brokering

8.3.2 The campaign against Labour Brokering kicked off in early 2010 and activities included mobilizing members, workers employed by Labour Brokers and communities to attend Parliamentary Public Hearings on a review of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) held in the provinces. The key issue for consultation in the hearings was whether labour brokering should be REGULATED or BANNED. COSATU Provinces made presentations in line with our submissions to NEDLAC and to Parliament on why labour brokers must be banned.

8.3.2 Other activities that followed included marches, demonstrations / pickets at targeted workplaces and government institutions. Memorandums were handed over and workers employed by labour brokers explained their plight and severe, inhuman conditions they were forced to work under. They also gave their stories of why labour brokering was slavery and likened to human trafficking.

8.3.3 Mobilisation continued as a build-up with rolling mass action that led to the successful National Strike on the 7th March 2012. Our members and the public remain mobilise as we have not yet succeeded to get a total ban of Labour Brokering.

8.3.4 COSATU's rationale for demanding the banning of labour brokering is as follows:-

- Labour Brokers do not create jobs but merely act as intermediaries to access jobs that already exist
- Labour brokering destroys job security, and often results in a downward variation of wages and conditions of employment
- Labour Broking is tantamount to slavery, with human beings being traded as commodities.
- Labour Broking undermines collective bargaining rights and the enforcement of rights, as the true employer is one step removed
- Labour brokers are often called upon to provide scab labour during strikes

- Irregularity of employment associated with labour broking is undermining efforts to train workers

8.3.5 COSATU is of the view that increased regulation of labour brokers will not work because capacity constraints within the DOL to enforce existing legislation.

World Day for Decent Work - 07 October

8.3.6 On 7th October 2010, we joined millions of workers across the world to mark the “World Day for Decent Work” - to tackle the global economic and employment crisis and demand fundamental reform of the world economy. ITUC’s adoption and leading of this campaign is a mark of our success in injecting more militancy into the international trade union movement.

8.3.7 In 2011 the 7 October World Day for Decent Work activities were built on an already existing COSATU campaign on labour law review. The rolling mass action that was used in building up to the National Strike Action that we planned to have on 7th October 2011 included;

- Meetings in workplaces, with communities and all sectors
- Pickets and demonstrations at targeted companies, government departments and embassies

8.3.8 We were not been able to secure a S77 Notice at NEDLAC for a protected strike, but actions by affiliates and provinces went ahead throughout the country. The strike eventually took place in March 2012, with a focus on labour brokers and Gauteng road tolls.

Campaign for decent Public Transport

8.3.9 Despite resolutions adopted at successive Cosatu Congresses, we have not succeeded in building a mass campaign for improved public transport, except in the Western Cape, where the province has run a consistent campaign for improved service by Metrorail. This campaign has included litigation on over-crowding and open doors, as well as direct negotiations with Metrorail. There is currently no national mass voice for commuters. We are ideally placed to provide this, as most commuters are workers.

8.3.10 The current state of public transport demands that we urgently implement our standing decision to lead such a national campaign. The commitments made by government to reduce greenhouse gases, and Cosatu’s own commitments in this area, make the campaign all the more urgent. Expansion of mass public transport, particularly buses and trains, could help significantly reduce the emissions produced by private single occupancy vehicles, and could at the same time create large numbers of new jobs, in transport operating, and infrastructure as well as manufacture.

8.3.11 Another reason for urgency is that it has become increasingly clear that the national Department of Transport is paralysed by its loyalty to various competing operating “stakeholders”, as well as by

Treasury's tight fist. Cosatu's engagement with government on public transport via the Nedlac Development Chamber has yielded nothing except a talking Summit in 2010, as well as a successful intervention to stop a crisis in the provision of bus services created by the withholding of bus subsidy payments to Provinces by Treasury in 2010. Public pressure is required to move government at all levels from talking to action on public transport.

8.3.12 The place to start in building a worker campaign for expanded and improved public transport is in our Cosatu locals. Shop stewards in the locals should identify local problems, and then target the relevant authorities and operators for both protest and negotiation. Provincial leadership structures should provide guidelines and coordination of local activities. The Cosatu National Campaigns Committee will need to receive reports from Provinces, and to provide backup information and media.

8.3.13 The issues to be highlighted in the campaign include, but will not be limited to, the following:-

- Approval by Provincial Governments of new subsidised bus routes (no new routes have been approved for over 10 years)
- An end to the privatisation and fragmentation of bus services – including the current attempts by the Joburg Metro to break up its service in readiness for privatisation
- Appeals to the Rail Safety Regulator to enforce adherence by Metrorail to safety requirements, including keeping coach doors closed when the train is moving
- An end to overcrowding of all public transport through the provision of additional services and the negotiation of flexible and staggered working times
- The provision of proper public transport infrastructure by Provinces and local authorities (bus shelters, taxi stops, safe and well-lit walkways for pedestrians on their way to and from public transport etc)
- Enforcement of safety and employment laws in the taxi industry
- In the absence of sufficient safe, affordable and accessible public transport, absolutely no tolling of urban freeways

Campaign against e Tolls

8.3.14 The campaign against the road tolling system in Gauteng is part of our broader campaign for safe, reliable, integrated, and affordable public transport. At the time of writing the dispute with government over its intention to permit the tolling of the urban motorways around Gauteng remained unresolved.

8.3.15 COSATU has made firm proposals for the debt that has already been incurred in improving the Gauteng freeways to be paid off through 14c per litre to be added to the fuel levy, while longer term solutions are sought. COSATU has proposed that the long term solution to the current and future debt for freeway improvement and construction should be met through a combination of prescribed investments and/or an increase in company tax and the income tax of high earners. At the time of writing COSATU was waiting for

further engagement with both the ANC and the Presidential Task Team.

8.3.16 COSATU's campaign against the so-called "eTolls", with the high point being the mass strike of 7th March 2012, has succeeded in building solidarity with sections of society that have not previously identified with COSATU.

Anti- Wal-Mart campaign

8.3.17 The announcement of Walmart's intended takeover of Massmart in 2011 precipitated the creation of the anti Walmart coalition led by SACCAWU. The reasons for opposing the takeover included Walmart's union bashing history in other countries, and a view that Walmart's presence and its low-price strategies would undermine local manufacturing.

8.3.18 The campaign has taken the form of shareholder activism, direct action in the form of marches, petitions to the Competition Commission and legal action via the Competition Tribunal. The campaign is not only about direct employment and trade union rights, but also about the impact that a company with such capital weight will have on all sectors of our economy:- manufacturing, logistics, small and medium enterprises, and the food chain. The argument put forward to both the Competition Commission and the Competition Tribunal was that the merger was not in the public interest.

8.3.19 SACCAWU is the lead affiliate in the campaign and has reported its disappointment that only three affiliates (SACTWU, FAWU and NUMSA), joined them in their legal action. This is despite the fact that the chemical and transport sectors will also be impacted on if Walmart entrenches itself into our economy.

8.3.20 The Competition Tribunal ultimately ruled in favour of the merger, but with certain conditions based on the public interest arguments raised. The important victories won in the process were:-

- The reinstatement of 503 workers retrenched in the run-up to the deal as Massmart were making itself more attractive to Walmart.
- No retrenchments as a result of the merger for two years.
- All SACCAWU agreements must be honoured including not to challenge levels of representivity to represent bargaining units for three years.
- The merged entities must commission a study constituted of three experts from the merging entities, SACCAWU and Government to establish the most effective manner to empower suppliers, in particular small and medium, to respond to the challenges posed by the merger and how they can benefit from this deal.

8.3.21 The campaign is by no means over. The Competition Tribunal's decision has been referred to the Competition Appeal Court, and even if this court upholds the merger, there will still be work to do to restrict Walmart's expansion in South Africa and the continent as a

whole. In this regard, SACCAWU has been instrumental in establishing an African anti-Walmart trade union alliance with 16 unions participating. Congress and the COSATU Campaigns Committee going forward, needs to reflect on how to ensure that the campaign gets wider support from affiliates.

8.4 2011 Local Government Elections Campaign

- 8.4.1 Work during elections remains the main campaign that brings together the Alliance partners where the organising departments are able to coordinate and run joint Alliance programmes.
- 8.4.2 The 2011 Local Government elections campaign was the most difficult and contested election ever held.
- 8.4.3 Apart from developing a local government manifesto, deploying cadres into local government and campaigning to win local government elections, we agreed that the Alliance needs to do more to confront the glaring constitutional, legislative, political, administrative and service delivery crisis of our emerging local government system and turn the tide in order to build a developmental local government.
- 8.4.4 COSATU called on government to spell out plans to improve service delivery, to assure us that there was going to be no more scandals of underspending of budgets, and to allocate more resources for employment in government.
- 8.4.5 The February 2011 CEC approved plans for COSATU's intervention in the local government elections. The areas identified by the CEC as priority areas for its work in support of the ANC, were the Western and Northern Cape, the Nelson Mandela Municipality, Sedibeng and Ekurhuleni in Gauteng.
- 8.4.6 COSATU participated in the ANC candidate selection process and implemented our decision to oppose any candidates who are corrupt, lazy or incompetent. This vetting of candidates however led to some attempts by 'gate-keepers' to manipulate the list process, and this caused disputes within the ANC over the candidate lists.
- 8.4.7 COSATU strove to support the reinstatement of comrades unfairly excluded from lists by 'gate-keepers', but once the selection process had been completed, COSATU only supported official ANC candidates and oppose any rejected candidates who decide to stand as 'independents'.
- 8.4.8 We also expressed anger at deteriorating levels of discipline in some localities with comrades completely damaging the image of the movement to advance their narrow interests. In some areas we witnessed assaults on leaders and violent behaviour, which was foreign to what we stand for as a broader movement. We called on the ANC and the Alliance to enforce iron discipline and expel any members involved.
- 8.4.9 Resources proved to be a challenge in fronting a more high profile campaign. Affiliates only contributed around R800 000 to the campaign and to complicate matters more, some unions paid the levy very late.

8.5 Mobilising Civil Society

- 8.5.1 Successive COSATU National Congresses have called on the Federation to work more closely with other civil society formations. Informed by this, COSATU convened a Civil Society Conference on 27-28 October 2010. Close to 60 community based organisations, NGOs and the mass democratic movement, including SANCO, attended. The Conference focused on three main areas: Social Justice, Economic Development and the New Growth Path, and Advancing rights to health and education.
- 8.5.2 COSATU Organising has continued work with these civil society organisations and others at various fronts and implementing joint campaigns on the fight against HIV and AIDS, Education, Anti-Corruption and International Solidarity.

8.6 COSATU 25th Anniversary Celebrations

- 8.6.1 On the 4th and 5th December 2010 COSATU celebrated 25 years of unbroken struggle on our commitment to the ideals and values of the working class struggle. The 25th Anniversary was celebrated through a Rally and Workers Music Festival at the Johannesburg Stadium, Ellis Park precinct. The national rally was preceded by provincial celebrations.
- 8.6.2 Attendance at the national Rally was way below the expected capacity crowd of 90 000. Affiliates did little to mobilise, meaning that numbers reached not much more than 10 000, including about 900 invited guests from our Alliance partners, business, government and civil society organisations. Many buses arrived empty. While those who attended appreciated the day and night programme of workers cultural groups, political speeches and an all-night concert of jazz, gospel, kwaito and other music, the poor attendance resulted in a critical evaluation of the Rally's effectiveness at the CEC that followed.
- 8.6.3 It is proposed that preparations for the COSATU 30th Anniversary celebrations in 2015 must begin early in 2013, starting with a revisiting of the CEC reflections of the 2010 Rally.

8.7 Campaign against Xenophobia

- 8.7.1 The 2008 xenophobic attacks shocked members of COSATU at all levels into taking action to prevent a recurrence. Interventions have included
- Engaging the MMC for transport in Johannesburg on a messaging project (anti-xenophobic messages on buses and public transport infrastructure)
 - COSATU together with UNHCR convened a Public Seminar against xenophobia in Johannesburg in September 2010. Workers, activists, professionals, researchers, community networks, international organisations and broader civil society forces came together to deepen their understanding of the crisis of xenophobia, and to

develop a concrete programme of action to unite all workers and popular forces into action against the scourge. A declaration was adopted at the conclusion of the seminar.

- In 2011 Cosatu, supported by the British High Commission, followed up the national public seminar with provincial workshops. These were convened in Gauteng, KZN, Western Cape and East London and there are plans to continue in other provinces. Each workshop concluded with the adoption and signing of the declaration under the theme: “Working class solidarity knows no borders”.
- Gauteng Province was involved in organising a number of soccer matches
- Joining with Africa Unite to hand over a house constructed through donations distributing food parcels to the neighbourhood of Ernesto Nhamauve, the burned victim in 2008
- In 2010, prior to the World Cup, when there was a serious threat, some of our Provinces and affiliates joined hands with civil society organisations to intervene to prevent such attacks.

8.8 Campaign for Quality Education

8.8.1 The crisis in the South African schooling system reflects both the legacy of apartheid and the failure of post-apartheid neo-liberal policies to change the skewed patterns of resource-allocation, unequal access to education, spatial development patterns as reflected in school performances, which largely reflect the communities from where learners come. To change this pattern, would require an integrated strategy anchored in anti-neo-liberal policies to ensure that the allocation of resources allow every child to develop his or her potential to the fullest through an accessible, quality, and effective education system.

8.8.2 As COSATU we are signatory to the Basic Education Accord and have committed ourselves to work together to change the mindset among teachers, learners and parents in order to rebuild dysfunctional parts of the basic education system and ensure quality education delivery for learners, particularly in poorly-performing schools. In this regard we have endorsed the initiative to adopt poorly-performing schools. We are in the process of implementing the “Adopt a School Campaign” and need to intensify this work linked to the other education campaigns we have participated in.

8.8.3 COSATU participated in the 1 Goal Education Campaign, conducted during the World Cup in 2010, including supporting their march. To keep the momentum going, stakeholders followed the 1 Goal activities up with two Education Coalition workshops towards the end of 2010. The workshops resolved that the Education Coalition should focus on advocating for teacher development, resource management, keeping the state accountable and monitoring government. A steering committee, comprising one member from

each of the following organisations was established: - NAPTOSA, SADTU, PPEN and Gabuzwe Independence women's organisation.

8.8.4 COSATU has also worked with Equal Education, which has campaigned for libraries in all schools. We invited them to the Civil Society conference and are looking forward to seeing SADTU leading worker participation in their campaigns.

8.8.5 At the time of writing, COSATU was also actively supporting the interventions of Section 27 in exposing and correcting the non delivery of books to schools in Limpopo.

8.9 Anti-Corruption Campaign

8.9.1 COSATU has improved participation in the National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF) launched in June 2001 in response to a resolution made at the first National Anti-Corruption Summit, held in April 1999. The Forum comprises three sectors: Business, Civil Society and Government. Each sector is represented by ten (10) members nominated by their respective constituencies.

8.9.2 We are participating in the Civil Society sector of NACF. A number of priority areas have been identified, including;

- Acting on earlier resolutions of the NACF and APRM forum
- Building and strengthening institutions to address corruption. These include Chapter 9 Institutions and the COSATU-driven initiative, Corruption Watch.
- Driving the establishment of an independent, statutory anti-corruption agency.
- Ensuring adequate protection of whistle blowers.
- Building an alternative culture that does NOT allow for corruption as an acceptable practice (through training, education, communication).
- Pursuing active engagement on the Protection of information Bill.
- Addressing corruption in business.

8.9.3 The 4th NACF Summit which was held on 8 to 9 December 2011 was attended by business, civil society and government with participation by representatives from the affiliates. The COSATU General Secretary was elected to Chair the next term which has been rotated between the sectors. The Summit resolved as follows:

- To continue to coordinate sectoral strategies against corruption, and to regularly report on progress in implementation
- To develop a comprehensive education, awareness and communication campaign to promote an ethical culture
- To reaffirm the resolutions adopted at previous Summits that remain unimplemented, 10.

- To campaign for the comprehensive protection for whistleblowers, and the right to access to information in line with the national Constitution.
- The NACF was tasked to urgently produce a strategic programme of action supported by a business plan, including timeframes, to give effect to all resolutions.

8.9.5 COSATU also participated in the COSATU/BUSA 15 aside meeting on corruption held at NEDLAC on the 14th September 2011. We agreed to a joint programme on implementing the campaign against corruption.

8.9.6 We have participated in the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution (CASAC) launch of the Red Card Corruption Campaign held at Walter Sisulu Square in Kliptown on the 20th August 2011.

8.9.7 COSATU also participated in the Civil Society Round Table on 4th and 5th November 2011 and presented a COSATU paper on *Javelin throwing, the practice of leaving public sector for private sector positions without a cooling off period.*

8.9.8 COSATU was instrumental in the establishment of Corruption Watch in 2011. The mandate of Corruption Watch is to receive reports from the public, to monitor corruption, and to pass on requests for further investigations to the relevant authorities. The COSATU Organising Department has attended their strategy meeting. Three focus areas of Corruption Watch at the time of writing were:-

- Signing the anti-corruption pledge on website www.corruptionwatch.org.za. SMS "Pledge" to 45142.
- SMS "Report" to 45142 to report a corruption case and give your contact number and details in order for them to telephone you back.
- Investigations of JMPD and Health services are the focus campaigns for 2012.

8.9.9 In June Corruption Watch exposed corruption in the Department of Transport. This was the first of three intensive investigations that Corruption Watch completed over four months. They handed these cases over to the Public Protector for further action.

8.9.10 A large number of COSATU Locals have reported that they are active in taking up the campaign against corruption. In most instances their activities are related to specific incidents in local government. (See the Provincial and Local Structures chapter for details.)

8.10 Million Climate Jobs Campaign

- 8.10.1 In reaching the objective of a low carbon economy, COSATU President, Sidumo Dlamini has stressed that “We need a just transition which will not lead to job losses. We need a transition that will create jobs.” (Addressing a COP 17 public meeting in Durban 7.12.2011).
- 8.10.2 The COSATU Central Committee in 2010 endorsed a campaign to create at least a million new jobs in tackling climate change: “The Million Climate Jobs Campaign”. The campaign is supported by a coalition of trade unions, community organisations, environmental campaign groups and other NGOs.
- 8.10.3 There are no accurate statistics on the number of jobs that could be under threat in the transition to a low carbon economy. However research conducted by the “Million Climate Jobs Campaign” in 2011 has shown that more than three million new ‘climate jobs’ could be created. This means that the number of new jobs which could be created in a *just* transition is likely to far exceed any possible job losses.
- 8.10.4 The campaign defines Climate jobs as decent, primarily publicly-driven jobs that directly reduce the causes and impacts of climate change. Climate jobs are similar to ‘green jobs’ but these are usually defined more broadly such as attempts to provide a more sustainable use of natural resources.
- 8.10.5 While many of the new climate jobs will be created in the private sector, this definition tries to ensure that those jobs will meet the ILO standards of ‘decent work’ and be in alignment with progressive goals, such as meeting the social needs of the majority of the population. It aims to exclude attempts by capital to use the climate crisis as an opportunity for accumulation in a new neo-liberal strategy: ‘green capitalism’. This is aimed at making profits from climate change, not solving it.
- 8.10.6 Research by the One Million Climate Jobs campaign has identified the following number of jobs that could be created in different sectors:

Sector	Climate Jobs target
Renewable energy	Over 150 000
Manufacturing (for renewable energy)	38 000
Housing (retrofitting energy saving)	78 700
Ecological repairs	400 000
Transport	460 000
Waste	400 000
Tourism	220 000
Health (mostly community care givers)	1.3 million
Rainwater harvesting	65 000
Urban agriculture	Over 500 000

- 8.10.7 Not all of these jobs are full time but all should be 'decent'. The best way to make sure they are decent is for them to be public, such as municipal jobs.
- 8.10.8 For example, shifting to renewable energy could create thousands of jobs but government's reliance on the private sector to do so is problematic. NUMSA has rejected the notion of drawing Independent Power Producers into the generation and delivery of electricity to our people because private interest is about profit maximization rather than the meeting of social needs, in this case the provision of affordable electricity for the mass of our people. For this reason NUMSA's call is for a publicly-owned and democratically controlled renewable energy sector made up largely of parastatals and cooperatives. To take another example, urban agriculture is an area with great potential for job creation. Experts point to the possibility of creating almost 500,000 jobs in Gauteng alone. Local and provincial government departments could help this growth by changing their procurement policies to require state institutions to procure a proportion of their food requirements from local suppliers. This kind of localization which brings producers and consumers closer together could reduce the present wasteful pattern of long supply chains and energy intensive 'food miles'.
- 8.10.9 The creation of climate jobs on a mass scale could also result in long term savings for government. The scale of the present negative economic and social impacts of climate change and unemployment require the investment of public resources. The redirection of resources away from the military is an obvious example of what should be done. The real threats to our common security are growing poverty, inequality, unemployment and climate change.
- 8.10.10 Climate jobs are affordable. In fact, far from being costly many of these policies can form part of a solution to our economic problems and help not only with employment and climate change but encourage people-centred development as well.
- 8.10.11 SATAWU, NUMSA, and NUM have conducted workshops to take the campaign forward. Additionally, SAMWU, SAMA, and CEPPWAWU have been active in both the COSATU Climate Change Committee and the NALEDI Climate Change Reference Group. The Reference Group has been providing support for Climate Change policy and education work in the Federation.

8.11 International Solidarity Campaigns

8.11.1 As part of International Solidarity campaigns work, we continue to participate in International Solidarity work and support workers in Swaziland, Palestine and Zimbabwe.

Swaziland

- 8.11.2 COSATU is active in the Swaziland Democracy Campaign, with representatives of affiliates and the Federation participating in the co-ordinating committee. Activities have included the following:-
- A successful call through our Johannesburg shop stewards council for Metrobus to remove Swaziland Tourism adverts from their buses during the 2010 World Cup
 - The first anniversary of the SDC in February that took place over three days.
 - Peoples' march for democracy in Swaziland that was held at Oshoek, which formed part of the Global week of Action on Swaziland during the week of the 12th April 2011.
 - Followed by Global week of action for democracy in Swaziland to be held in September. This campaign was led and co-ordinated by SDC - Swaziland jointly with the Swaziland trade union movement.
 - The launching of the Mpumalanga SDC chapter in March 2010, and a further chapter in the Western Cape
 - A number of demonstrations at the Swaziland Mission
 - The hosting of strategic cross-border campaign meetings from time to time in SA.
 - There has been major border blockade coordinated at the Provincial and National Level with strong focus to Oshoek border post
 - The issuing of regular press statements
 - A march on the Reserve Bank in Johannesburg in protest against the South African Government's announcement of a R2bn loan to Swaziland
 - Participated in a joint Swaziland and Zimbabwe solidarity rally in Soweto, with the aim of spreading awareness in the local community on the plight of the both communities in Diaspora.
- 8.11.3 COSATU has mobilised affiliate members to participate in these activities and has joined the democratic trade union inside Swaziland in actions. These actions have resulted in our leadership and organisers being deported from Swaziland.

Palestinian Solidarity

- 8.11.4 COSATU continues to mobilise workers in support of the Palestinian cause. We have been able to engage with various solidarity organisations and mainly Palestinian Solidarity Committee and Palestinian Alliance.
- 8.11.5 Despite the disappointing lack of participation of affiliates in the Palestinian Solidarity campaign (with some notable exceptions), COSATU has managed to participate in a range of solidarity actions:-
- A major demonstration took place in Pretoria at the Israeli embassy.
 - COSATU participated in a joint speakers' tour in the UK in 2009 with Cde Omar Barghouti, a founding member of disinvestments and

sanctions movement supported by both PSA and PSC to pressurise Israel to uphold International law and human rights

- The Russell Tribunal on Palestine took place in South Africa in late 2011. COSATU submitted its solidarity evidence within the context of what workers experienced during apartheid and what this brutal system means to Palestinian people. The Tribunal is presided over by International civil jurists from various categories in society in different countries.
- A delegation of COSATU met the Palestinian delegates from NBC (Palestinian National Boycott Committee). The focus of discussion was the boycott of Israeli diamonds that are polished in South Africa, Agricultural produce from occupied West Bank and Cape Gate.
- Participated in the successful campaign to get the University of Johannesburg to withdraw from its cooperative agreement with Ben Gurion University on water research

8.11.6 COSATU is an ongoing Political and solidarity partner on the effort to establish the Coalition for A free Palestine, together with other constituencies particularly the Palestinian Solidarity Alliance and Palestinian Solidarity Committee.

8.12 Affiliate Campaigns

8.12.1 The results of the NALEDI State of Affiliate Survey show that there are a range of campaigns that affiliates are taking up on important labour-related and broader social issues. Most affiliates were running between 1-4 campaigns during 2012, with NUM, SAMA and SADTU conducting between 5 -8 campaigns in that period.

8.12.2 NUM is the only affiliate that systematically campaigns on health and safety.

8.12.3 DENOSA, FAWU, NUM, SACCAWU, SAMA, SASBO, SATAWU and POPCRU have all reported campaigns that linked and directly impacted on communities. Such campaigns include teenage pregnancy (SAMA), breast cancer (SAMA), AIDS orphans (SASBO), and TB (NUM).

8.12.4 It will be important going forward to develop capacity and tools for assessing the impact and effectiveness of these campaigns.

8.13 Summary and Recommendations: Campaigns

1. COSATU remains a campaigning organisation, effectively using mass action, media, and other means to mobilise support and opinion for various causes. By adopting so many campaigns as COSATU and as individual affiliates, however, we run the risk of spreading ourselves too thinly, and losing our effectiveness.

It is recommended that the Campaigns Committee makes a thorough assessment of the numbers of campaigns and their effectiveness, including developing a common tool of assessment

2. There are some campaigns where the members of a particular affiliate are most directly affected, but where the issues are relevant to the Federation as a whole e.g. the Anti-Walmart Campaign and SACCAWU.

Where an affiliate is central to a particular campaign but the issues are much broader than one sector, we need to take steps to ensure that the Federation as a whole is actively involved in the campaign.

3. Our rallies and especially our May Day rallies have become stale.

It is recommended that the Campaigns Committee finds ways to make our rallies more participative

4. Participation in our 25th Anniversary Celebrations was poor.

It is recommended that preparations for the 30th Anniversary of COSATU should start in 2013 with a review of the CEC analysis of the weaknesses of the 2010 celebrations

5. Our Million Climate Jobs and Public Transport Campaigns need to be stepped up.

Provinces and Affiliates to be more proactive in both the above Campaigns.

6. While our International Solidarity Campaigns are taking root, there is a long way to go before they reach the required national profile amongst members.

The Campaigns and International Committees to work closely in developing strategies to step up these International Solidarity Campaigns.

9. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and MINIMUM WAGES

9.1 The Collective Bargaining Landscape

- 9.1.1 According to the results of the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey, a third of all COSATU members gave improvement of wages and working conditions as their most important reason for belonging to the union. This was second to job security. This section looks at what we are doing to deliver on the Collective Bargaining expectations of our members.
- 9.1.2 There are currently 47 registered Bargaining Councils in South Africa. Less than half of these are national. There are five national public service Bargaining Councils, with the remaining Bargaining Councils being in the private sector. Some Bargaining Council agreements cover only the members of the Council, while others are extended to non-parties. The decision to extend to non parties is made by the Minister of Labour, based on representivity of the parties. Enforcement of Bargaining Council agreements is the responsibility of the Bargaining Council. However, not all Bargaining Councils have inspectors.
- 9.1.3 In addition, a number of National Bargaining Forums exist, notably in the Mining, Security and Contract Cleaning sectors.
- 9.1.4 There are twelve Sectoral Determinations or Ministerial Determinations which set minimum wages and working conditions for specific sectors or groups of workers. These are Agriculture, Forestry, Contract Cleaning, Domestic work, Taxi Operators, Civil Engineering, Private Security, Wholesale and Retail, Hospitality, Children under fifteen in Advertising, Artistic and Cultural Activities, Learnerships, and Public Works. It is worrying that the minimum wages and working conditions of more workers are set by Sectoral Determinations (which are not negotiated) than by Bargaining Council Agreements. In 2004, 3.5 million workers were covered by Sectoral Determinations and 2.4 million workers by Bargaining Council agreements.⁶ By 2010 the number of workers covered by Bargaining Council agreements was reported to be down to 2.3 million.
- 9.1.5 Plant level bargaining is still very prevalent. Even where Bargaining Councils or National Bargaining Forums exist, there are many cases of additional bargaining at plant level.
- 9.1.6 Affiliates were asked to report on their current levels of bargaining in the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey. Not all affiliates reported, but of those that did, the picture is reflected in the table below. Note that in some cases workers are covered by a centralised agreement as well as a workplace agreement, so the percentages may appear to add up to more than 100%. Only eight affiliates were able to give an exact figure of the number of workplace agreements, and these figures have not been verified. This indicates the poor level of

⁶ Godfrey S et al *Regulating the Labour Market: The Role of Bargaining Councils*. Industrial Law Journal Vol 27. 2006

central record keeping of workplace agreements in the form of a database.

Members covered by Bargaining Council, other central Forums, and Workplace agreements, by affiliate

	Members 2012	Members covered by bargaining council	Number of bargaining councils	%	Members covered by other centralised Forums	%	Members covered by workplace agreements	%
CEPPWA WU	80658	60176	5	75%			18706	23%
DENOSA	74883	61723	2	82%			16661	
NEHAWU	260738	204509	1	78%			57588	
NUM	310382	15000	4	5%	230000	74%	40000	13%
NUMSA	291025	105000	1	36%				
POPCRU	149339	148821	3	99%			1094	1%
SACCAWU	120352	25000	2	21%	600		115000	96%
SACTWU	85025	90000	5				9900	
SADTU	251276	251276	2	100%				
SAFPU	593						32 clubs	
SAMA	7759	7759	2	100%				
SAMWU	153487	138400	1	90%	3977	3%		
SATAWU	159626	78217	4	49%				

9.2 Assessing collective bargaining

9.2.1 A COSATU research paper on *Collective Bargaining, Wage and Social Protection Strategies* presented to the CEC in May 2012 argues that “An honest assessment is needed of strengths and weaknesses in labour’s engagement in collective bargaining. At Federation level we have failed to develop a coherent strategy, or overarching framework.....There is inadequate discussion of the relationship between sectoral and company level negotiations, and how this articulation can be used to systematically improve conditions across the sector, at the same time as mobilising our base. We therefore need a federation-wide collective bargaining strategy, linked to a coherent wage policy to address challenges in the current model”.⁷ The paper goes on to ask, in the context of frequent across the board percentage wage demands and settlements, whether we have achieved our stated objectives of closing wage gaps and flattening hierarchies. In fact all the evidence points to the fact that our wage discrepancies are growing. We can point to the outrageously inflated salaries of CEOs and top managers, but the reality is that the gap between the lowest and highest paid in our own ranks is growing.

9.3 Consideration of mandatory centralised bargaining

⁷ Pg 70. Concept Paper: Towards new collective bargaining, wage and social protection strategies. COSATU CEC May 2012

9.3.1 Over and above the point raised in the May 2012 CEC paper cited above about our failure to close the wage gap, the paper puts forward two key proposals for change in the system of setting wages and working conditions. The paper argues that our Bargaining Council system in its current form is not working. Too many Bargaining Councils are of a very local nature, some are in constant danger of being de-registered due to fragile levels of employer and/or trade union representivity, and the agreements reached by others are subject to undercutting by non parties due to the fact that their agreements are not extended to non parties. In addition, there are some sectors, including clothing and engineering, where the bosses are trying to collapse the Bargaining Councils. The most serious weakness in the system however is the fact that there is massive employer resistance in some sectors where centralised bargaining does not exist, and where it is most needed. The central proposal is that we should move away from the current voluntarist approach, and should campaign for a new collective bargaining model to be enshrined in the LRA. The new model should include the following elements⁸:-

- Wall to wall mandatory sectoral bargaining
- Coherent demarcation and definition of national sectors, to replace the current patchwork arrangement
- Alignment of sectoral bargaining with sectoral developmental strategies, industrial policy, skills, retirement funds etc
- An explicit mandate to address wage and income inequalities
- Creation of powerful collective bargaining institutions inter alia using economic levers of state
- Negotiation of sectoral frameworks, supplemented by workplace bargaining
- Well resourced structures backed up by effective state programmes to formalise and regulate the labour market

9.3.2 The paper points out that the argument in favour of mandatory sectoral bargaining is not new, and was in fact recorded as an option for serious consideration in a report commissioned by the CCMA in 2007 (the Godfrey Report) as well as in a 2010 LEP/NALEDI report submitted to the CCMA.

9.4 A National Minimum Wage

9.4.1 Our economy continues to rely substantially on low pay. As the CEC paper demonstrates, low pay is not only bad for workers, but it is bad for the economy as a whole. Poverty wages contribute to the ever downward spiral in consumption and therefore production, and the upward spiral in unemployment. Drastic measures are required to lift low pay. It is a myth that higher pay will strangle economic growth.

9.4.2 As indicated above, currently more workers' wages are set by Sectoral Determination than by Collective Bargaining. These are not

⁸ Pg 73 Concept Paper: Towards new collective bargaining, wage and social protection strategies. COSATU CEC May 2012

the only sectors where minimum wages are low, but the current Sectoral Determination minimums are indicative of the scourge of poverty pay. In all of these Sectors there are of course companies where pay is negotiated above these rates, but for the majority of workers pay is either at the minimum or below. Non compliance rates are high in all the listed sectors. The worst levels of non compliance are to be found in the taxi sector, where the non compliance rate is over 90%.

Selected minimum wages in some sectors July 2012

Sector	Area/si ze	Job	R per hour	R per week	R per month
Contract Cleaning	Metros	Cleaner	13.51	-	-
	KZN	Cleaner	10.07	-	-
	All other	Cleaner	12.23	-	-
Domestic Workers	Metros	Unspecified	8.41	378.45	1639.82
	All other	Unspecified	7.01	315.45	1366.84
Forestry Workers	All	Unspecified	7.21	324.46	1405.90
Farm Workers	All	Unspecified	7.71	374.10	1503.90
Hospitality	<10	Unspecified	11.49	517.10	2240.60
	10>	Unspecified	12.80	576.00	2495.80
Wholesale & Retail	Area A	General	11.79	530.55	2298.87
		Assist.			
		Shop Assist.	14.06	632.70	2741.49
	Area B	Cashier	14.97	673.65	2918.93
		General	10.29	463.05	2006.40
		Assist.			
Private Security	Area A	Shop Assist.	11.56	520.20	2254.03
		Cashier	12.29	553.05	2396.37
	Area B	Grade D	8.79		1828.00
		Grade A	12.98		2701.00
Taxi	Area A	Grade D	10.06		2093.00
		Grade A			
	Area B	Driver & Admin	11.78	565.40	2449.90
		Rank Marshall	9.42	452.20	1959.40

9.4.3 Coupled with the argument in favour of an overhaul in our collective bargaining model, the May 2012 CEC paper argues for the adoption

of one (or maybe two⁹) National Minimum Wage as a strategy to lift the lowest paid workers out of poverty.

9.4.4 The paper argues that there are two yardsticks by which to measure a possible minimum wage. These are:-

9.4.5 The first yardstick is the relationship of the minimum wage to a minimum living level (MLL). In South Africa we currently don't have an agreed minimum living level. However the Labour Research Service has put forward a Living Level of R4105 for a family of five, compared to Unisa's Supplementary Living Level of R4000 (adjusted to 2011), and UPE's Household Effective Level of R5500 (adjusted to 2011).¹⁰ All these figures are arrived at by calculating the cost of a "basket of goods" that the particular institution defines as necessary for basic living. While the figures arrived at are close to one another, there is no national agreement on the basket of goods or the amount. We urgently need an agreed benchmark minimum living level so that wage policy can feed off it.

9.4.6 The second yardstick is the proportion of the average minimum wage to the national average wage. The ILO, among others, argues that a national minimum wage should be not less than 40-50% of the average wage or about two thirds of the median wage¹¹. Our current ratio is around 22% of the national average wage. If we took a ratio of 40% we would be looking at a minimum wage of between R4800 and R6000, or below that if we use the *median* wage calculation.¹²

9.4.7 If we were to use these international yardsticks, we would arrive at a national minimum wage of around R5000. But because of our huge wage disparities, this is more than twice the current average minimum wage of the existing Sectoral Determinations. It might be difficult to achieve this in one bite, even with the strongest of campaigns. We could however look at a first step – a figure somewhere between the average minimum in Sectoral Determinations (R2118 in 2011 according to the Labour Research Service) and the current average minimum wage of existing collective bargaining agreements (R3405 in 2011). This would give us a possible starting point in our arguments and campaigns of around R2800. This figure is purely raised for discussion purposes, and is not intended as a firm proposal. The actual amount should be further debated in affiliates, and we should initiate a broader engagement in society.

9 The paper suggests that to begin with, a 2 tier minimum wage should be considered, with farm and domestic workers covered separately, and that one National Minimum Wage be phased in over an agreed period.

10 See pg 45 paragraphs 118 and 119 of the May 2012 CEC paper for further details

11 They suggest that in countries with extreme inequalities in the wage structure, such as ours, the minimum wage should be pegged at about two thirds of the *median wage*. The median wage figure reflects the point at which the same number of workers earn below and above the median.

12 See pg 30-31 of the May 2012 CEC paper for further details and the calculations

9.4.8 An initial national minimum wage set at say R2800, while still low, would have an immediate positive impact on millions of workers currently on the minimums set in the Sectoral Determinations as well as many of the lowest paid workers covered by Bargaining Council agreements. This national minimum would be a legislated basic wage floor, below which no worker could fall. At the same time the aim would be for unions to negotiate minima in collective agreements, *as far above this level as possible*. Further, as in the Brazilian situation, the intention would be to systematically raise the national minimum over time, to converge as far as possible with what organised workers are earning. Drawing on research on the implementation of a National Minimum Wage in Brazil, the paper demonstrates that the introduction of a National Minimum Wage substantially above existing minimums does not lead to massive job losses. The paper also references the growing acceptance internationally that a National Minimum Wage is an effective instrument in promoting equity, combating working poverty, and supporting economic development.

9.5 A Platform for Sharing Bargaining Strategies

9.5.1 On the question of current delivery on the collective bargaining mandate, there is currently no platform within the Federation where strategies are shared in detail. For example, many affiliates are currently dealing with complex grading exercises, with each affiliate having to develop its own response. The outbreak of disputes over the pay of rock drill operators in the mining sector suggests that grading systems that are currently favoured by the the bosses are often inappropriately based on measures of “decision-making” rather than criteria such as physical effort, danger, and location in the production chain. This is just one example of the growing complexity of the collective bargaining landscape.

9.5.2 Affiliates provided some data on staff in the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey. However, they were not asked for any detailed information on who in the union is responsible for collective bargaining, how collective bargaining is managed, or precisely what issues are currently on the collective bargaining agenda. This would require a more detailed investigation of the practices of affiliates and/or the implementation of a standing decision to establish a forum for national organisers/negotiators.

9.6 Summary and recommendations: Collective Bargaining and a National Minimum Wage

1. Our record keeping of collective agreements across affiliates is poor, despite a policy agreement that all affiliates should submit their collective agreements to NALEDI

We need to work with Naledi and Labour Research Service to develop improved systems of recording collective agreements

2. Our wage bargaining system needs an overhaul, in particular the current voluntarist system of centralised bargaining.

It is recommended that Congress should in principle agree to the need for a system of wall to wall mandatory sectoral bargaining, the details of which should be further debated and developed.

3. The multiplicity of minimum wages that exist in Sectoral Determinations and in Bargaining Council Agreements are a) far too low and b) lead to a fragmentation of our national campaign to lift workers out of poverty

It is recommended that Congress should in principle agree to the adoption of a National Minimum Wage, with the amount to be further debated and agreed by the CEC. Such a National Minimum Wage is not to be seen as a substitute for collective bargaining where affiliates achieve bargaining rights.

4. Our sharing of current strategies in collective bargaining is very limited.

It is recommended that we should

- i. **Implement a previous decision to establish a forum of national organisers/negotiators**
- ii. **This forum, amongst other things, to work on developing the proposals for a mandatory sectoral bargaining model as well as a National Minimum Wage. The elaborated proposals to be tabled at the**

10. STRIKE ACTION

- 10.1 The ability to withhold labour is the most potent weapon in the hands of workers. In this section we record how this weapon has been exercised in the period under review. Due to most affiliates not maintaining data bases on industrial action we cannot claim to have totally comprehensive information.
- 10.2 However we do have information collected by NALEDI for April 2009 to April 2010, and again for the period March 2011 to March 2012 for the 2012 NALEDI State of Affiliates Report. We also have information from the 2012 Workers' Survey, and from the Department of Labour's Annual Industrial Action Report 2011. The DOL report is based on employer reports, which in terms of the LRA they are obliged to submit to the Department. The DOL is in turn obliged to report annually on strikes to the ILO.
- 10.3 A table of Affiliate strikes from 2010 to date can be found at the end of this chapter.
- 10.4 The combined data from the various sources mentioned above reveals the following for the period under review:-

10.5 Numbers of Affiliates involved in strikes, duration, and numbers of workers involved

- 10.5.1 The 2012 Workers' Survey of 3030 workers revealed that just under a half of union members and one seventh of non-members reported that there had been a strike in their workplace in the past five years. According to the data public service workers were more likely to have experienced strikes - two thirds of them. Where there were strikes in unionised workplaces, an average of 80% of COSATU respondents reported that they took part, compared to 70% of members of other unions.
- 10.5.2 At least 13 COSATU affiliates were engaged in one or more strikes in the period under review. Most of the COSATU affiliate strikes lasted between 3 to 85 days. The DOL data on all strikes indicates that 52.3% of the strikes in both 2010 and 2011 lasted for between 6 and 10 days. The longest strike recorded was by SACCAWU members in Mathambo Spar (17 weeks), followed by CEPPWAWU in Sam's Tissue Products (67 days). Other long strikes included CWU members at the SABC (28 days) and SAPO (31 days), public sector (3 weeks), Transnet (3 weeks), and the cleaning sector.
- 10.5.3 The highest numbers of strikes are recorded every year between June and September.

10.5.4 The number of separate strike actions recorded by the DOL nationally dropped slightly from 2010 to 2011 – from 74 to 67. (A national sector strike is recorded as one incident). The average for the period 2005 to 2010 was 65 strikes per annum.

10.5.5 According to the DOL:-

- The numbers of working days lost in 2010 was significantly higher than in 2011 (20.7m vs 2.8m), due largely to the size and duration of a number of national strikes in 2010 (including Public Sector, Municipal Sector, and Transnet).
- The numbers of workers involved in strike action was 1.2 m in 2010 and 203,000 in 2011. In both years more public sector workers were on a strike than in any other sector.
- In both 2010 and 2011 just under a third of all recorded strikes were in Gauteng, followed by KZN and Western Cape.

10.6 Demands accompanying actions

10.6.1 Wage demands continue to be the primary trigger for strike action. The Workers' Survey data shows that 85% of strikes were wage related. 6% were retrenchment related, and 5% were related to unfair discipline or dismissal.

10.6.2 However, job security featured as a demand in at least 13 of the COSATU Affiliate strikes detailed in the table at the end of this chapter. Demands included direct employment of labour broker workers, guaranteed minimum hours, guaranteed pay for seasonal workers, and an end to outsourcing.

10.6.3 An end to corrupt practices by managers featured in 8 of the strikes. (Note – this is probably an under-reporting of demands on these issues, as affiliates – and the media – often only report on the main demand, which is usually wages).

10.6.4 In their reports to NALEDI for 2009/10 and 2011/12 affiliates which provided some assessments of the strike action by their members, including lessons learned. Strike coordination was raised as a serious challenge by a few affiliates. Some affiliates reported growing numbers of unprotected strikes emanating from workers anger with the bosses and frustrations with labour legislation processes.

10.7 Outcomes of strikes and mandating processes

10.7.1 Affiliates do not systematically record the outcomes of strikes, and the media rarely reports on the final outcomes. It is therefore not surprising that the table at the end of this chapter is only able to report outcomes for a third of the 105 strikes reported on. It is

therefore difficult to make a thorough assessment of the successes and weaknesses in our strikes.

10.7.2 It is worrying, however, that only half of the COSATU members surveyed in the 2012 Workers' Survey were satisfied with the outcome of the strikes in their workplace. Public sector COSATU members were more satisfied than their private sector counterparts.

10.7.3 It is possible that in many cases members surveyed recorded that they were dissatisfied because they really wanted to do better, but at the same time they had in fact participated in a democratic process to pragmatically end the strike. However, poor mandating may be the reason for the levels of dissatisfaction. It should concern us that the results of the 2012 Workers' Survey indicate that only 45% of COSATU members surveyed reported that the union meets regularly with workers to get mandates during negotiations, with another 38% reporting that mandating meetings were held "sometimes". 10% said meetings were never held to get mandates during negotiations. Only 40% said they were happy with the outcome of wage negotiations.

10.7.4 Further research is needed on the issue of strike outcomes and membership satisfaction. Such research would need to look not only at material outcomes, but also at how the strike has increased class consciousness and solidarity.

10.8 Violence during strikes

10.8.1 Between 10% and 15% of workers surveyed in the 2012 Workers' Survey reported that there had been violence or intimidation by management or the police, mostly threats against strikers, rubber bullets or teargas. A similar number said there had been violence or intimidation by strike supporters, mostly threats to scabs.

10.8.2 Until the Lonmin strike, which at the time of writing had already seen 46 workers dead, the period under review had not seen the levels of violence on both sides that was seen during the 2006 security workers' strike (over 50 deaths of scabs). There is however overall evidence that violence in strikes is increasing. According to the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) 2011 annual report, strike-related claims have increased significantly since 2006. Strike-related claims now account for over 70% of Sasria claims. In this context the recent Constitutional Court judgement against SATAWU that holds organisations liable for any damage to property and persons is worrying.

10.8.3 Around half of the COSATU members surveyed in the 2012 COSATU Workers' Survey see violence by workers as necessary to

achieve an acceptable result. Workers in follow-up Focus Groups made statements such as the following:

“The violence during strikes is appropriate because it is the resultant of the pain that workers feel, it is a way of expressing how one feels” (East London)

“Strike is the last resort for workers, after negotiations fails, when we go on strike we lose wages thus we use violence to make sure that the employer listens to our demands fast so that we can go back to work..... Everyone has a right to strike, but during strikes employers employ scabs labourers and call police to protect their property and prevent us from picketing.”

“In a normal society violence is not the solution, in a normal society, in a normal society! But South Africa today there is no other way that the workers can be heard, violence and strike is the language that they hear better”

“Police are also the one that leads to the violence in strikes because they provoke striking workers by using violence. Police always starts the violence and workers respond to the violence used against them, police always use unnecessary”

10.8.4 These and other statements made in the Survey Focus Groups tells us that we have a problem on our hands. The problem is not one that can be solved by moral appeals, no matter how abhorrent we might find violence. We have to find structural ways of levelling the playing field during the strikes. Currently in all strikes the balance of power is heavily tipped in favour of the bosses, by virtue of the fact that they continue to have the unfettered right to draw from our vast army of unemployed to replace strikers. This defeats the accepted purpose of a strike – for the parties to square up and find agreement in a situation where power is more-or-less equalised. So the first change required is that we need restrictions on the right of the bosses to employ scabs. Such restrictions are common in other democracies.

10.8.5 As indicated in the section of this report on key legal cases, we also need changes to the Gatherings Act. In relation to picketing, we need to put energy into ensuring that in every strike the LRA is used to good effect in negotiating agreed picketing areas in advance of a strike. We need to challenge the Key Points Act which some bosses have used to restrict the right of striking workers to picket.

10.8.6 The absence of strike funds is also something which fuels conflict and violence during strikes. Workers sometimes feel unbearable pressure when they are on strike and bringing home no pay to feed their families. When they succumb and return to work,

they become targets for furious workers who are still on strike. Despite previous Congress resolutions on the establishment of strike funds, no affiliate has succeeded in establishing a comprehensive national fund. There are however some good examples of local company-level strike funds. We need to give this issue urgent attention.

10.8.7 We also need to repeat the call we have been making for years for a total reform of the police's approach to crowd control. The brute force that we have seen used by police in so many strikes can no longer be tolerated. As was stated in the COSATU press statement on the Marikana Massacre *"We have on countless occasions protested against the immediate resort to firing live ammunition which reveals the serious lack of training and planning on crowd control tactics. We have also protested the use of rubber bullets on unarmed protestors.....We want to see no guns including those firing rubber bullets!"* We see police in other democracies dealing with strikers and protestors with nothing more than shields and well thought out strategies. Changing the way in which our police operate will go a long way to breaking the cycles of violence in strikes. Radical improvements in our police's ability and will to properly investigate violent crimes when they are reported, and the will of our courts to act decisively, will also make a big difference. As a case in point, if the police and courts had acted swiftly on reports of violence and intimidation at Lonmin made by the NUM between February and July 2012, it is possible we would not have seen the unfolding of the terrible tragedy of 46 dead in ten days in August.

Cosatu Affiliate Strike and workplace protest actions in the period August 2010 to March 2012 as reported by affiliates (NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey 2012) and DOL Annual Industrial Action Report 2011. The data is not comprehensive, as many actions remain unreported, and outcomes are rarely reported.

Affiliate	Employer	No. on strike	Strike Issue	Length of strike or other action	Outcome of Action
CEPPWAWU	Chemical Industry	30000	Wages, labour brokers	4 weeks	Real wage increase
CWU	Sams Tissue Products ICASA	93	Wages Wages	2 days	Good wage increase and strengthened union
	Sapo MTN		Labour brokers Labour brokers	2 months	Partial success
CWUSA	Total Facility Mgmt M-Net soapie "The Wild"		Wages Reinstatement of actor refusing to sign contract	Picket at launch	
FAWU	Commercial Cold Storage	100	Management refusal to bargain centrally, and wage disparities		
	Rainbow Chickens	4500	Wages, incr min wage, and 40 hour week		
	King Foods	150	Wages, agency shop		
	Pelagic fishing sector	3000	Relief fund for seasonal workers		
	Transvaal Suiker Beperk TSB		Performance bonuses	1 week and then a go slow	Court order ended action
	Sasko Grain	2000	Wages		
	Kees Beyers Chocolate		Wages, labour brokers		
	Unilever	513	Wages, labour brokers		
	Komatiland Forests (SAFCOL)	500	Wages, dissolution of SAFCOL Board	March to DOL	
	Chubby Chick		Assault of a worker by white supervisor	Wildcat strike	
	Tiger Brands		Wages, labour brokers	Picket	
	Tiger Brands Beverages CT		Reinstatement of transport allowance		
	Huiz Diaz Retirement Home	45	Wages		
	Coca-Cola (national)		Closing of wage gaps nationally		
	Sunbake Bakery,	63	Wages, bread ration, pay day		

NEHAWU	Limpopo					
	Public Sector (national)		Wages	3 weeks		
	Sanparks			Feb 2012 to date		
	Brits Hospital	200	Corruption & union bashing	1 week		Recruited more members
	Kotane Hospital	100	Corruption	1 day		Poorly coordinated
	NW Dept Health	500	Corruption	1 week		Helped highlight issues
	Gauteng Dept Health	500	Corruption in funding of NPOs and foster grants	1 day sit-in		
	Dept of Higher Education		Problems in Gauteng FET colleges	March & memo		
	SACE		Unilateral wage increase			
	Robben Island		Dismissal of HR manager	Go slow		Manager placed on special leave
Robben Island	140	No Christmas break, wages				
SARS Gauteng		Union to observe selection interviews, EE compliance	Picket and memo			
	Emmanuel Old Age Home		Wages			
	National Health Lab Services (NHLS)		Wages			
NUM	Gauteng Provincial Legislature		Investigation into disappearance of R5m from provident fund	March to Legislature		
	Blyvoor Gold	4200	Safety	1 day		
	United Manganese Chamber of Mines	100	Wages	4 weeks		Resulted in victimisation
		25000	Wages	5 days		Strengthened the union
		0				
	De Beers Chamber of Mines	2000	Wages	3 days		
		30000	Safety	1 day		Brought stakeholders together
		0				
	Xstrata	10000	Employee Shares	1 day		Huge success
	Nkomati Mine	2000	Wages	9 days		
TEBA	500	Wages	10 days		Moderate success	
Hernic Ferrochrome	600	Use of labour brokers				
JIC Mining		Unilateral reduction of wages				
Lonmin Karee Mine		Suspension of branch secretary	Disruption of voting station			
	Samancor Chrome		Racial and discriminatory practices	March to HO		
	Chemstof Mine		Wages, live-out allowance & transport			
	De Beers Mining		Wages			
	Chamber of Mines		Wages			
	Nkomati Nickel Mine (ARM)	2000	Wages	6 days		Settlement reached
NUMSA	Mintek		Wages			
	Tyre manufacturers		Wages	30 days		3 year agreement reached through

	Bridgestone Tyres	1200 lockout	Failure to implement national tyre agreement	Over a month	arbitration
	Japanese Embassy		Appeal for intervention on Bridgestone dispute	Protest and memo	
	Steel and Engineering Sector		Wages		
SACCAWU	Lewis stores	4500	Wages	3 days	1 st strike in the company
	Clicks (national)	3500	Wages	3 days	
	Spar Distribution KZN	800	Wages	6 weeks	Built non racial unity
	Freshmark KZN	150	Wages	2 months	Intransigent management
	Save Cash 'n Carry	60	Wages	2 ½ mths	Had to retreat
	Employrite	100	Wages	5 days	
	Bytes	250	Bargaining	2 months	Union suffered setback
	Mathambo Spar	50	Wages	3 months	Tactical retreat
	ACE Wholesalers	100	Unilateral reduction in working hours	2 days	
	Supreme Poultry	500	Wages, provident fund		
SADTU	Dept Basic Education (Mpum)		Dismissal of Provincial HOD	March	
	Eastern Cape Provincial dept		Temporary teachers, hold of union meetings, dismissal of HOD	March in Bhisho	
	Public Sector (national)		Wages	3 weeks	
SACTWU	Gauteng	1059	Wages	1-6 days	Good settlement
	KZN	3499	Wages	1hr-7days	Good settlement
	E Cape	47	Wages	3dys-4wk	Good settlement
SAMA	200		Security at hospitals	Protest to Union Bldg	
	SALGA (National)		Wages	3 weeks	
	Joburg City Power		Performance bonus	1 day	Quickly settled
	Metsimaholo Munic (FS)	500	Reinstatement of 91 dismissed 2010	2 days	
	Tshwane Bus	3000	Disciplinary procedure	2 days	
	Tshwane Bus	3000	Dismissal of corrupt manager		Manager successfully removed
	Joburg Metrobus		Unilateral shift changes	5 weeks	
	Lephalale Munic		Late wage payment	1 day	Settled same day
	Ekurhuleni Metro		Reinstatement of 7 dismissed colleagues		
	Pickitup Jhb		Corruption, tender irregularities & unequal pay	10 days	
	Sol Plaatje Munic		Outsourcing and casual employment		
	Rea Vaya Bus, Jhb	250	Equalisation of conditions and benefits to Metrobus		
	Joburg EMS	700	Removal of Acting Head		
	Ngwathe Munic		Non implementation of wage agreement		

SATAWU	Sasolburg		Dismissal of 4 managers	Protest	
	Toll gates		Wages		
	PRASA		Removal of CEO	3 weeks	Did not achieve
	PRASA Jhb		Security of staff		
	PRASA CT		Shifts		
	Cleaning	40000	Wages, labour brokers, minimum working hours	3 weeks & hours	Three year wage agreement but not implemented fully in Sectoral Determination
	SAA groundstaff	50	Suspension of s/s		
	Road Freight sector	65000	Wages		Settlement reached
	Transnet	45000	Wages, labour brokers	3 weeks	Settlement reached
	Lanseria Airport		Wages		
Gautrain Buses		Wages		Unprotected strike not supported by union	
Transnet Port Terminals, Dbn		Bonuses		Unprotected. Resolved	
African Meter Reading		Union recognition, job security			

1. Our collection of strike statistics, including outcomes, is poor. This makes it difficult to analyse trends and develop improved strategies

It is recommended that COSATU works with NALEDI to develop a more comprehensive system of recording and analysing strikes

2. Our strikes appear to be becoming longer and more prone to violence (although it is noted that the majority of strikes remain free of violence)

In an attempt to improve on the levels of satisfaction with the outcome of strikes as well as to reduce levels of violence and intimidation during strikes, it is recommended that COSATU leads an inter-affiliate review of strike processes that includes the following:-

- **Tightening up of picketing rules and a campaign to ensure employer and police compliance with the law**
- **A campaign to change the law on the right of employers to employ scab labour**
- **Strengthening of mandating and reporting during strikes**
- **More accurate monitoring of police violence during strikes and active follow-up when this occurs, as well as a concerted campaign to reform police practice during strikes and protests**

3. The recent Constitutional Court judgement against SATAWU concerning trade union liability in strikes poses a serious problem

It is recommended that COSATU should campaign for changes in the law to make it explicitly clear that unions should not automatically be held liable in the event of damage to property during strikes

4. Despite past Congress resolutions on the importance of affiliates establishing strike funds, this has not been done on any scale.

11. MERGERS

- 11.1 The 2015 Plan adopted by the 8th National Congress in 2003 set a deadline of 2009 for the achievement of our vision of one country one Federation, one industry one union. Neither of these objectives has been reached.
- 11.2 The agreed long term vision is:-
- A merger of NUM, NUMSA and CEPPWAWU
 - A merger of SACCAWU, FAWU, and SACTWU
 - One single public sector union
 - A merger of CWUSA and SAFPU (one Entertainment Union)
 - A merger of SATAWU and CWU (One single transport and communications union)
- 11.3 The Eighth National Congress instructed us to finalise integration between FAWU and SAAPAWU and between DENOSA and SADNU, to conclude work with NEHAWU, to kick start work with SACCAWU and SACTWU, and to generally encourage mergers in all our sectors. All these merger and integration processes were seen as constituting Phase 1 toward the long term vision of super unions.
- 11.4 The programme with meeting dates agreed to in the February 2012 CEC was not taken forward due to busy schedules and non availability of leaders at the same time. We have therefore not made progress in this area of work. Unions identified to meet to take forward Phase One of the merger process were as follows:-
- NUM, NUMSA and CEPPWAWU
 - SACCAWU, FAWU, and SACTWU
 - CWU and SATAWU
 - DENOSA and SADNU
 - NEHAWU and SAMWU
 - SASAWU and PAWUSA
 - CWUSA and SAFPU
- 11.5 It should be noted that at their respective Congresses, both NUMSA and NUM adopted resolutions confirming the intention to merge.
- 11.6 There is no current plan on the table to take forward the process of forming one united Federation.

12. AFFILIATE INTERVENTIONS

12.1 Framework for interventions

12.1.1 Interventions of the NOBs to assist a number of affiliates in various states of crisis have been reported on a regular basis to the CEC in the period under review. Intervention is always based on a request from an affiliate OR is guided by the principles of the 2003 Congress Resolution which sets out the conditions under which the NOBs may make an intervention. The 2003 8th Congress Resolution itself drew the framework for interventions developed by the First and Second Central Committees, as well as debates held in the 6th Congress.

12.1.2 The resolution of the 1st Central Committee (November 2001) on Federation intervention into affiliates stated the following:-

Believing:

1. The Sixth National Congress sufficiently debated the question of Federation intervention.

Resolve:

1. To adopt the proposal in the Organisational Review Report that COSATU be officially mandated to intervene when an affiliate:
 - a. Experiences a deep political conflict that creates a crisis in the union.
 - b. Experiences a serious administrative or organisational crisis;
 - c. Adopts or implements policies that contradicts COSATU positions.
 - d. Cannot grow or reach large groups of workers in their sector because of a lack of resources or inability to develop or implement appropriate strategies.
 - e. Does not adhere to demarcation decisions.
2. The nature of the intervention should depend on the crisis.
 - a. In the case of political conflict or disagreements on policy, COSATU and affiliates NOB must intervene.
 - b. For internal administrative or organisational problems, a team with appropriate expertise, led by an NOB, should provide support.
 - c. The organising Committee is responsible for supporting weak affiliates, based on strategies established by the Secretariat.
 - d. Demarcation disputes should be handled by a demarcation committee established by the CEC, consisting of a COSATU NOB and two affiliate General Secretaries, and reporting to the CEC.
3. COSATU must develop detailed policy guidelines on intervention and submit them to the CEC for finalisation.

12.1.3 The 2nd Central Committee (April 2003) adopted two related follow-up resolutions which stated:-

Noting,

A few affiliates need urgent assistance from COSATU, and will not solve their problems without that support.

Resolves,

1. The word “rescue operation” is misleading and should be avoided, but COSATU must intervene in critical cases. Support for affiliates that need help from COSATU must strengthen the un-ions, not replace their functions.
2. Unions must be more open about problems and needs, and not just close ranks when COSATU tries to identify issues in order to assist.

COSATU must:

1. Develop an early warning system that indicates the onset of severe financial and/or organisational problems,
2. Establish a stronger framework for providing assistance, and
3. Set up a team at regional or national level that can assist unions as required.
4. Since collective leadership and unity are critical to addressing serious organisational problems and push through hard decisions, the process must involve affiliate leaders as well as COSATU NOBs. At the same time, COSATU must not overburden a few affiliate leaders.

Resolves,

1. To assist COSATU in identifying affiliates’ problems in advance, COSATU office bearers at national and regional level should each “adopt” affiliates, so that they work closely together, attend constitutional meetings and so on.
2. Affiliates must do more to help each other, rather than just relying on COSATU leaders and staff.
3. Affiliate leaders should attend COSATU regional and local meetings.

12.1.4 The 8th Congress in September 2003 resolved that in providing support to Affiliates, the Federation would apply the early warning system proposed by the NALEDI Organisational Renewal report, and that this system should help define the kind of intervention and support each unit within the Federation must prepare. The COSATU NOBs should continue with yearly in depth discussions with affiliates’ NOBs and table, once a year, the organisational developments in each union. The 8th Congress adopted the basic framework for interventions developed by the First and Second Central Committees.

The affiliates where intervention has been required in the period under review have included:-

12.2 CEPPWAWU

Disunity has dogged the union for some years. A number of issues relating to the union's investment arm appear to be at the centre of the disunity. The NOBs facilitated a Bosberaad in 2010 which produced a programme of action. Little progress in moving forward was made until 2012 when the NOBs again engaged the leadership of CEPPWAWU. At the time of writing, issues relating to the union's investment arm were not yet resolved.

12.3 CWU

CWU has not ever found its footing since its inception as a product of mergers. There is a standing decision of the CEC that the union should be integrated into SATAWU on the basis that there is an internationally recognised connection between the transport and communications sectors. In addition, both unions have members in parastatals.

12.4 SAFPU

The union has been plagued by instability, largely cantering on money. The General Secretary was suspended for misuse of funds charges laid against him. Plans are now in place for a Congress towards the end of 2012.

12.5 SADNU

The union has not enjoyed stability for some time. With a small membership the union struggles to be financially sustainable, and has no full time officials. A standing decision of the CEC is that the union should merge with DENOSA.

12.6 SASFU

Under pressure from government, SASFU disaffiliated from COSATU in 2010. According to government, military regulations do not permit affiliation to a non military body. SASFU has also had to resist the pressure from the Former Minister of Defence, Lindiwe Sisulu, to disband as a union.

12.7 CWUSA

CWUSA has major leadership and financial challenges. At the time of writing the union remains with one elected office bearer, the President, with remaining positions filled on an interim basis. Plans are in the pipeline for the holding of a strategic workshop and a Congress before the end of 2012.

12.8 POPCRU

As reported to the Central Committee in 2011, POPCRU experienced serious divisions in the period up to mid 2011. As with CEPPWAWU, one area of contestation was the union's Investment company, with allegations of misappropriation and wrong doing flying. The mass expulsion from the union of large numbers of members and leaders, including the 1st Vice President, was followed by the establishment of a rival union. COSATU CEC established a commission of senior leaders of five affiliates to look into the divisions. However the work of the Commission was halted by a resolution of POPCRU's 2011 Congress stating that there was no division to be investigated. The 2011 Central Committee resolved that the NOBs should pursue the matter.

12.9 SATAWU

12.9.1 SATAWU has suffered a serious setback with the establishment of a breakaway union NATAWU in July 2012. The union was

established by two Gauteng leaders expelled for the unauthorised signing of a grossly lucrative contract with a service provider called Prime Risk Solution Management. The service signed for was not needed or required by the union, and it appears that the deal may have been done purely for the purposes of personal gain and/or the funding of a campaign for the 2011 election of the union's national office bearers. This is not the only case where the interference of service providers in union election processes has been rumoured. Similar suspicions surfaced during the run-up to the NUM Congress and elections in 2012.

12.9.2 The President of SATAWU (who was the product of a highly divided SATAWU Congress and had won his position by one vote) followed the expelled Gauteng leaders into NATAWU. NATAWU was provisionally registered very quickly, raising concerns about the role of the Registrar's office in the Department of Labour. The union leadership have been grossly misrepresenting COSATU by claiming that the breakaway has the support of the Federation. The Special CEC held on 16th August 2012 denounced the breakaway and expressed full support of SATAWU.

12.9.3 The COSATU NOBs have been in regular contact with the SATAWU national leadership in an attempt to assist to stabilise the situation. COSATU Gauteng have been working on the ground by attending general meetings of SATAWU members, and a COSATU Strategic Planning meeting to address the SATAWU and Lonmin situations held on 21st August 2012 agreed a pamphlet on workers' unity should be produced. At the time of writing NATAWU had made some inroads into SATAWU's membership at SAA, but not in many other companies.

12.10 NUM

12.10.1 The Special COSATU CEC of 16th August 2012 had on its agenda the unfolding situation at Lonmin in North West. The item was placed on the agenda prior to the killing of 10 workers followed by the shooting dead of 36 strikers by police on the same day. This was because the situation, which had been brewing since early in the year, had escalated from 5th August. Given the shootings, when the item was discussed the main focus was the immediate situation. It was agreed to have a more in depth discussion in a Strategic meeting of affiliate and provincial leadership on 21st August.

12.10.2 The Strategic meeting received a verbal report from NUM and a written report from COSATU North West on the events leading up to the Lonmin crisis, going back as far as the late 1990's. On top of the historical context, the immediate trigger to the unprotected strike was a unilateral increase to the rock drill operators' allowance of R500 (from R250 to R750). NUM was opposed to the unilateralism as it was outside of agreed bargaining processes, and the RDOs themselves rejected the allowance and counter-demanded a basic wage of R12500. The role of AMCU in formulating the demand was not clear at the time of writing, but it is suspected that the union had a hand. An unprotected strike of the RDOs followed,

accompanied by vicious levels of violence that saw eight workers and two police officers dead in the space of ten days. Police and court actions were deficient, and the crisis continued to unfold.

12.10.3 The Strategic meeting resolved on actions which included the following:-

- A press conference, with our focus being capitalist brutality, complicity of management, and general support for the call for improved conditions of low paid workers. The displays of opportunism displayed by so many players over the days following the shootings would also be commented on
- Welcomed the Judicial Commission of Enquiry, but there should be engagement on the terms of reference
- COSATU GS to engage the ANC GS on the apparent invisibility of the Minister of Labour
- An in depth paper on the history and context of the Lonmin crisis to be developed, which could form the basis of a submission to the Judicial Commission of Enquiry
- Endorsement of the Week of Mourning, and a call to workers to attend the planned memorial services
- A call for radical reform of the police's systems of crowd control, as well as reform of their investigation systems and reform of the courts to ensure that criminals are dealt with swiftly
- Pursuit of a process of internal introspection to address common problems in affiliates including poor servicing of members, envy of the material benefits enjoyed by many full-time shop stewards (which in turn fuels leadership battles), possible social distance between leaders and ordinary members, training of organisers, addressing job grading challenges etc.

12.11 Interventions

Summary and Recommendations: Affiliate

1. Affiliates with very small membership find it almost impossible to sustain stable organisation
Agreed mergers should proceed without delay, with organisational support from the COSATU during the process
2. There is evidence of service providers playing a divisive role in affiliates.
Fincom to conduct an audit of the role of service providers, and to develop a code of good practice on funding from service providers
3. Union Investment Companies have also become a source of some division.
Fincom to conduct an audit of the governance and accountability of union investment companies. Fincom to report to the CEC with a view to the CEC to developing an implementation programme for the Congress resolution on the establishment of a single Federation-wide Investment company and strategy
4. The current LRA and practice of the Department of Labour allows for registration of small splinter unions far too easily.
COSATU to engage the Department of Labour and if necessary to motivate for a change in the threshold for registration.
5. Leadership battles, especially at the shop floor, are often driven by the struggle for access to the resources that being a full time shop steward often entails. This issue also fuels the establishment of splinter unions.
The proposed National Organiser Forum to conduct an audit of the practices of affiliates viz full time shop stewards, and to produce a draft code of good practice on full time shop stewards for consideration by the CEC.
6. Many of the internal problems of affiliates are related to problems of service, representation, and communication.
All the proposals for improvements in these areas that are approved by Congress to be pulled

13. MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS

13.1 The Communications Unit's vision

13.1.1 The Communications Unit's vision and goal has always been to educate and mobilise our members, popularise our views to the wider public and seek to establish working-class hegemony across society as a whole. To that end, our task is to communicate COSATU's views and activities as effectively and efficiently as possible to both our members and the general public.

13.1.2 This is done both externally through the mass media and internally through our own publications. We rely heavily on our affiliates, provinces and other units to keep us well and promptly informed of everything they are planning, saying and doing, so that this can be speedily and effectively broadcast to the masses.

13.2 External media

Print media

13.2.1 We are sending out media statements on a range of topics virtually daily, and sometimes several a day, to a list of 2336 media contacts. The coverage of these statements by the media has definitely been improving, though uneven. We are up against a media almost entirely owned by just four big conglomerates – Avusa, Naspers, Independent and Caxton – which reflect the need to transform this sector. The alliance has for years been talking about a new left-wing newspaper, but with no progress being made.

13.2.2 Besides COSATU statements, we are also forwarding many good statements from affiliates, notably NUM, CWU, POPCRU, NEHAWU, NUMSA, SACTWU, DENOSA, SACCAWU and FAWU. Most of COSATU's provinces have also been sending out more statements about local issues and this must be encouraged further.

Electronic media

13.2.3 Workers World Media Productions (WWMP) and SAFM's continue to broadcast their regular half-hour labour programme on SAFM, 'Workers on Wednesday', during the Morning Talk Show. WWMP are also now producing a labour show for Cape Town TV, as well as their radio slots for community radio stations.

13.2.4 In addition we do numerous interviews on news and current affairs programmes on an almost daily basis. We are however still weak in certain languages and need to improve our exposure in all official languages.

13.2.5 Our work with the SABC is hampered by its seemingly permanent state of crisis. We have been part of the SOS: Support Public Broadcasting Coalition which is trying hard to find solutions. The ANC Discussion paper on Communications delivers exactly the same damning verdict on the SABC, but successive governments have yet to establish the representative, well-run and politically independent institution which truly reflects the life and views of the South African people. The long-promised 24-hour news channel could be a major breakthrough but only if it is properly funded and staffed.

- 13.2.6 We are also looking at longer-term broadcasting issues, particularly the ‘digital revolution’ which will soon open up many more TV channels and we need to debate how best these should be allocated and used.
- 13.2.7 ETV has been running its 24-hour news channel for some time, and this has led to far better coverage of labour issues. We however urge SACTWU, which owns shares in ETV’s parent company, to keep up the pressure on the board of directors to do give us even better coverage.
- 13.2.8 Data from the 2012 Workers’ Survey is useful for us in shaping our media strategies going forward. COSATU members identified their primary source of news and political and economic information as the following. It is interesting to note that television has far outstripped radio as a source of news and information:-

Medium	% of COSATU members for whom this is their primary source
SABC TV	58%
Radio	16%
Newspapers	12%
eTV	4%
Internet	3%
DSTV	1.5%
Friends, meetings, social media	2.5%

13.3 Internal media

Shopsteward

- 13.3.1 Since the news team took over in 2010 the Shopsteward has gone from strength to strength and will once again produce all six this year. We once again appeal to affiliates and provinces to encourage members to send regular reports, articles, letters, poems, photos, etc. We need to establish a tradition that a report is automatically written for the Shopsteward on any important event or political development.

COSATU Today

- 13.3.2 We produce this newsletter with media statements from COSATU, affiliates, allies and progressive civil society virtually every week-day, e-mail it to a list now stands at 6795 and post it on to the web site. It has tended to get longer as we receive an increasing

amount of material from the affiliates and provinces, but we still need more contributions direct from the workers.

COSATU Media Monitor

13.3.3 With labour and political stories from Internet news sites – is sent out every Monday-Friday by e-mail to all the affiliates and regions and other subscribers to the same list of 6795. It reflects the growing number of relevant stories in the media, which in turn reflects the increased amount of activity in which we have been involved and the effectiveness of our NOBs and media officers.

Social media

13.3.4 The biggest change in the world of communications over the recent period has been the explosion of new social media networks – face book, twitter, etc, which has revolutionised the way in which people communicate with each other. COSATU has been slow to take these up but is now forging ahead. Our Twitter address is cosatu2015

Archive and Information Centre

13.3.5 In February 2005 we launched an Archive and Information Centre at the old COSATU House, and it has been successfully moved to the third floor of the new building. We are however still struggling to attract more workers, researchers, etc. to make use of it. The ubiquitous use of Google may be one reason.

Website

13.3.6 We are constantly looking at ways to improve our website, in particular to make it more interactive, so that members and the public can communicate with us.

Radio COSATU

13.3.7 Our most important new initiative is the development of a COSATU digital radio hub. It will enable us to produce our own programmes, distributing them at first to community radio stations and eventually opening our own station. It will be a huge breakthrough, enabling us to reach far more of our members and recruit new members, and at the same time give them a channel to communicate with us, in talk shows. It will also lay the basis for an electronic archive

13.3.8 We had already started to re-equip our broadcasting studios in the old building, but these cannot be transferred until we have created suitable space in the new building and so the project has been delayed. We shall however be get the project as quickly as possible.

14. INTERNATIONAL

14.1 The 2015 Plan and International work

14.1.1 The 2015 Plan adopted by the 8th National Congress in 2003 identified three pillars for COSATU's international programme:-

- Building an international working class movement
- International Solidarity
- Struggle for a Just World Order

14.1.2 Targets for action in the Plan included:-

- Concrete actions to build a vibrant African trade union movement
- Stepping up solidarity work on Swaziland, Zimbabwe, and Cuba
- Enforcing the SADC Charter of Fundamental Social Rights as a basic floor of rights in the region
- Continued active participation in the global trade union movement
- Campaigning for the transformation of the international finance institutions (World Bank, WTO and IMF) and for fair trade

14.2 COSATU International Conference

14.2.1 The COSATU International Conference was held from 16th - 18th May 2012 in Kempton Park. It was attended by the National Office Bearers, Affiliate delegates, and international guests. The COSATU President delivered the opening address, followed by inputs on International Solidarity by the COSATU General Secretary, Pallo Jordan for the ANC, and Mohammed Desai for the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign.

14.2.2 A panel of speakers spoke on the New Growth Path and prospects for wealth redistribution, development and job creation in the era of global capitalist crisis. The speakers were Luiz Raia from the CUT affiliated Bankers' Union in Brazil, Dieter Seigfreid from the German organisation Buro O-quadrat which specialises in energy economics and politics, and Immaculate Mogotsi from LARRI, the Namibian equivalent of NALEDI.

14.2.3 The SACP addressed the Conference on "Building and Deepening international working class solidarity to confront the global capitalist crisis", and Dr Lord Mawuko-Yevugah of Wits University spoke on the African political economy.

14.2.4 NALEDI presented its discussion document reviewing COSATU's international affiliation, a draft International Policy was presented before the Conference broke into Commissions. The Commissions were on:

- International Affiliation
- Building Global Solidarity Against Multinational Corporations
- Transforming Multilateral Institutions, democratising Global power relations and fighting dominance of the world by a few countries
- Confronting Underdevelopment for Industrialisation and prospects for job creation through a green economy in Africa

- SADC Regional Economic Integration and its meaning for working class solidarity
- Building working class power for fair trade and global economic justice, and a global working class movement to confront neo-liberalism and build anti-capitalist alternatives

14.3 International Solidarity Campaigns

The international solidarity campaigns are reported on under the Campaigns section of the Report.

14.4 International Trade Union organisations

ITUC

14.4.1 The International Trade Union Confederation has 175 million members in 154 countries. It has four regional bodies: Africa, Asia Pacific, the Americas, and Europe. (See ITUC Africa below), with regional offices and sub regional offices as well as specialist offices in Washington, Geneva and Hong Kong. Specific support offices exist in Egypt, Belarus, and Haiti and soon in Burma. There are active trade union networks in all regions and the Arab Trade Union Forum along with an Arab Regional Women's network in the Arab states. The ITUC has relationships with both the Vietnamese VGCL and the Chinese ACFTU.

14.4.2 ITUC's work focuses on

- Human and trade union rights in countries at risk,
- An annual survey of labour rights and violations
- Mobilising international pressure where individual countries defy democratic and /or trade union rights
- Direct support for affiliates building or rebuilding unions controlled by workers in post conflict countries
- Support for striking workers and/or political mobilisation
- Research and policy development in respect of economic, social and trade policy as a basis for advocacy and opposition to dominant models of capitalism or trade agreements
- Ongoing opposition to the dominant policies of the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD and the OECD and the European Commission – in particular opposition to deregulation and labour market flexibility policies.
- Research and advocacy to ensure climate action and environmental sustainability.
- Organizing as a priority everywhere including with GUFs to take on major multi-nationals and direct organising of domestic workers, women and workers in the informal sector.
- Organizing women in support of rights and equality with an end to violence against women
- Organizing migrant workers, ensuring their rights and ending forced labour

14.4.3 For 2013 ITUC has identified 3 specific objectives as the basis for strengthening internationalism: - trade union growth; decent jobs, secure incomes and social protection; and realising rights

14.4.4 In the period under review COSATU has participated actively in the ITUC coordinated work at the ILO, has responded to appeals for trade union and human rights solidarity, and has been active in the coordinated campaign for climate justice.

SIGTUR

14.4.5 The Southern Initiative for Global Trade Union Rights is a network formed during the course of 1989 and 1991 following discussions between COSATU and ACTU. This network was formed to create a progressive labour internationalism, built from South\South cooperation with focus on extreme exploitation in the South and the impacts of unequal labour standards in a deregulated global economy.

14.4.6 This network brings together the most active and politicized movements in the global south and these include COSATU, ACTU-Australia, CUT- Brazil, CITU-India, KCTU-Korea, KMU- Philippines and emerging democratic unions in South East Asia and more recently African unions. In July 2011 SIGTUR accepted the membership of CTA Argentina and ITUC-Africa in its RCC.

14.4.7 SIGTUR remains a crucial network for like minded organisation of the south to continue to challenge the impacts of globalisation. SIGTUR has attracted interest from many progressive movements around the world but it needs to be strengthened if it is to become a force to be reckoned with. Currently its impact is weak.

14.4.8 In a bid to strengthen the co-ordination and day to day running of SIGTUR, a set of proposals to build the capacity of the organisation was presented and adopted by all members except COSATU, which is yet to consolidate its response. The deadline for responding is 1st October 2012.

14.4.9 The central proposal is *the appointment of four regional co-ordinators* (CUT Brazil for Latin America; COSATU for Africa; CITU for South Asia and ACTU for Australasia) who would play a key role in implementing the decisions of Congress. Currently SIGTUR is coordinated by one person. It is also proposed that the congress should move to a three year cycle, with the next one being in 2013. On the question of a "Futures Commission", COSATU has argued that it is premature to decide on whether this will be helpful. The co-ordinator has been tasked with writing a motivation paper for engagement.

OATUU/ITUC-AFRICA/WFTU Africa Pan-Africa Workshop - Uniting African Trade Union Movement For Effective Role And Contribution To Africa's Socio-Economic, Political And Cultural Development And Transformation

14.4.10 A workshop was held in Accra, Ghana to take forward resolutions from the ITUC Africa Congress, including assessing the

political economy of Africa, and assessing the strengths and weaknesses of all union movements on the continent. WFTU Africa was invited to attend but was unable. The meeting adopted the following focus areas going forward:-

- Strengthening the existing areas of cooperation, such as, PANAF, HIV and AIDs, coordination in ILO and AU;
- Defence of trade union and other human rights- embarking on joint campaigns (the follow up committee to work out the details).
- Economic policy formulation and development of joint representation in AU and other institutions;
- Promoting cooperation with Universities and other research institutions;
- Fast-tracking of Africa's economic and political integration;
- Promotion of people-centred economic programmes giving priority to women and youth;
- Defence, protection and promotion of migrant workers' rights;
- Promotion of employment;
- Promotion of social dialogue and exchange of experiences and good practice.
- Solidarity was expressed with the trade union leaders and workers of Mali who are victims of the violation of trade union and other human rights as a result of the recent coup d'état.

14.4.11 It was agreed that a Committee of three representatives from each of the three organisations should prioritize these areas of cooperation. It was also agreed to exchange information on affiliates; finance; audited accounts and activities within two months.

14.4.12 Conclusions and recommendations of this meeting should be disseminated by ITUC-Africa and OATUU to all their respective affiliates and sent to WFTU-Africa.

ITUC-Africa

14.4.13 COSATU continues to influence and work closely with ITUC-Africa in different areas, such as the good work done with organisation in the build-up towards the last ITUC-Africa Congress held here in South Africa. We have been able to influence policy matters, organisational strength and the posture of the organisation generally. We also take this opportunity to salute the good work done by the leadership of the organisation, particularly Comrade Kwasi Amankwah, the General Secretary and the President, Mody Guiro. It has dramatically changed the effectiveness, efficiency and functioning of the organisation.

14.4.14 The resolutions as adopted at the last Congress are a radical shift from previous instances and represent a new and dynamic posture of the organisation. One of the key resolutions was a call for unity between OATU and ITUC-Africa.

14.4.15 COSATU participates in the Executive Bureau and Audit Team of the ITUC-Africa where both the General Secretary and National Treasurer serve respectively.

OATUU

14.4.16 OATUU is facing difficulties and we all take some responsibility for that. But COSATU's position remains that unity between OATUU and ITUC Africa is long overdue and must be made a reality soonest. We still participate in OATUU activities, despite some challenges facing the organisation. It is holding its Congress this year and we hope we shall, as we did to ITUC Africa, submit a resolution calling for unity amongst African workers as a matter of urgency.

SATUCC

14.4.17 SATUCC is the regional body of the trade union movement in the SADC Region. Its headquarters is based in Botswana. It suffered from years of organisational and political decay till a new leadership and Executive Secretary were appointed to revive the organisation and to a large extent they are doing good work. We need to continue strengthening SATUCC through effective participation, but also ensure that it becomes more active in campaigns around issues affecting workers on the sub region. It continues to be unable to effectively respond to hot spots in the region. The SATUCC Solidarity Committee has been ineffective. We may need to prioritise campaigns around issues affecting workers on the sub region as is done in other instances.

WFTU

14.4.18 WFTU held its 16th World Trade Union Congress in Athens in April 2011. 36 Trade union Organisations from all over the world made up its membership in 2011. 4 COSATU affiliates are affiliated to the WFTU i.e. NUMSA, CEPPWAWU, NEHAWU and POPCRU. In February 2012 South Africa hosted the VI Presidential Council which was attended by COSATU affiliates that are members of the WFTU, though in the Opening Gala dinner, all COSATU affiliates attended, including COSATU Leadership. The VI Presidential Council reviewed and analyzed their activities of 2011 with intent to strengthen WFTU.

14.4.19 Through their Africa office based in South Africa WFTU has become more visible in South African trade union activities as well as in the rest of Africa. They continue to work with COSATU in country based solidarity campaigns as well as in national activities.

14.4.20 The issue of COSATU affiliation to WFTU was debated in the COSATU International Policy Conference. The Secretariat's contribution to the discussion is recorded below.

14.5 COSATU Secretariat contribution to the debate on International Affiliation

Quote from Lenin: "Marx and Engels taught the socialists to rid themselves at all cost of narrow sectarianism and to join with the working-class movement so as to shake up the proletariat politically"

The Terms of the Affiliation Debate

The international affiliation debate that is before the Congress is probably one of the most important discussions that we have had in many years. It is not just about the Federations relationships to particular organisations, but about how we see the global class struggle unfolding over the next period, and how we are able to respond to it.

The debate should not be reduced to a beauty contest, that focuses on the proclaimed merits or otherwise of those we affiliate to and work with. We must make a sober assessment, free of rhetoric and posturing. Rather we must grasp at the opportunity to make a realistic appraisal of the balance of class forces, nationally, continentally and globally before deciding where to place our precious but limited human and material resources to best effect.

If we act in a comradely manner, the affiliation debate can enable us to take stock of our own strengths and weaknesses and the challenges that we face. And in the spirit of internationalism which all of us hold dear, it should not just be about what we can get from our international relationships, but also what we are able to give, to help strengthen the movement as a whole.

Balance of Class Forces

In most parts of the world, the working class has been on the defensive for the last twenty years. The de-politicisation project of the ruling class in the heartlands of capital, aided and abetted by the absence of clear alternatives from working class formations, has rendered large sections of even the most organised working class immobile. We have to be frank, in the depths of the current capitalist crisis in Europe and North America, the anti-capitalist left and the trade unions have been unable to significantly challenge capitalist rule. The bourgeoisie has occupied the space provided by the absence of any popular alternatives, and has been able to unburden itself of both the cost, and responsibility of the crisis, through the willing assistance of capitalist governments. In the time honoured tradition of class rule, they have forced the burden onto the backs of the working class.

The unprecedented bail out of the capitalist class by European and North American governments via massive injections of public funding and unhindered credit has been universally condemned by organised workers, social movements, civil society and the many new layers coming to politics for the first time. The mishandling of the economy, the avarice and short-sightedness of bankers and investors, the mounting evidence of gross corruption and public deception, the shallowness of politicians in being unwilling and unable to challenge corporate greed, have all fuelled a global revulsion of the narrow self interest of the ruling class. But the reality is that capitalist power has not been undermined. In fact some commentators say it has been immeasurably enhanced.

The net result of the bailouts has resulted in the imposition of savage public spending cuts. The crisis in Europe and North America has given space for the ruling class to decisively roll back social provision which it had reluctantly conceded over the years. The doors are now open for large scale privatisation and the further commodification of services on a scale never before seen.

How the movement as a whole can respond to these attacks is a crucial question, and especially given the stark realities of unionisation across the globe. There are 2.3 billion workers on planet earth, and yet, the combined membership of those organised by the ITUC and WFTU is at best 250 million, which is 9.2% of the working class. This should give an indication of both the potential and the realities of unionisation. The fact that so many workers remain unprotected should be cause of grave concern for the workers movement, and deeply reassure the capitalist class. These facts alone must make us realise that, more than ever a united global trade union movement is required to defend social gains, and to provide an alternative that can reverse the tsunami of austerity and poverty. Such a movement could launch an unprecedented recruitment and organising campaign, free of the distractions of sectarian rivalries, for nothing less than the benefit of all humanity.

The Crisis in Africa

The crisis in Africa continues to deepen despite the trumpeting of the multinational corporations that Africa is now 'open for business'. In the main, almost all African governments continue to be wedded to the neo-liberal orthodoxy of an export led recovery involving a craven dependency on foreign direct investment. With a few minor exceptions, capital is not being challenged on the Continent, and only in a very few places in the South as a whole.

Over the last twenty years there has been a significant re-consolidation of the African ruling class, especially in those countries where raw materials have been sought after, but which has strengthened dependency, not challenged it. African economic and political elites have become deeply embedded in multinational corporate interests, through incorporation, co-option, corruption and nepotism, supported as usual by the IMF and World Bank. In the case of Iraq, Libya and elsewhere, the dominance of multinational corporations has been asserted through military might. Oil, minerals and other forms of raw material are the wealth makers of choice by the ruling class.

The consolidation of the ruling class has also provided space for the strengthening of middle class strata, which along with the ruling class are keen to spend their newly acquired disposable incomes on goods from the market hungry North. European and North American capital interests are now openly competing for market share in the South against an equally rapacious Chinese economy.

In North Africa where the 'Arab Spring' promised much, and against all the odds was able to dislodge paternalistic and often brutal regimes, is now reduced to formalising government. Early challenges to capital have for the moment been shelved. The absence of a mass-based and democratic trade union movement in Egypt for example, (one of the most populous

and industrialised of African states), able to articulate a popular socialist alternative has contributed to a derailment of progress for now, although there is much still to be settled across the region. Events in Libya and elsewhere have also shown the ruthlessness of imperialism if any significant challenge to their right to rule the world is presented, and at a shocking human cost.

What the Arab Spring did show however, is that contrary to the ideologues of capital, popular mass action and protest is alive and well, and can bring down even the most intransigent of dictators, and in the process can herald in a period of mass involvement in politics where the unthinkable can be realised.

Meanwhile, for the vast majority of poor and the working class of Africa, impoverishment and crumbling living standards remain a daily reality and are worsening. Millions remain under-employed or unemployed. Services teeter on the brink of collapse if they exist at all. Migration remains an option for those with the resources and skills to attempt to be absorbed elsewhere, but for the vast majority, unless there is a dramatic shift in the redistribution of wealth, and social control over the means of production to help do so, there is unlikely to be any lasting or appreciable benefits from Africa going to market!

Trade Unions in Africa remain fragmented, often marginalised and vulnerable despite the best efforts of many committed leaderships. This is hardly surprising given the assault on jobs and living standards that they have had to endure. However, Unions still remain a potent force when they are united, clear about what they are campaigning for, and if they rely upon their organisational strength. In civil society they are still amongst the most potent of organisations, and not least because of their permanence and commitment to democratic organisation.

There is more than a glimmer of hope however, with talks underway to unite ITUC-Africa and OATUU, into a single continental trade union organisation, the possibilities of developing a continental wide response to the crisis could take a step towards becoming a reality. This could be a major gain for the African working class, and not just in terms of developing a continental alternative based on active solidarity for the Continent, but in also decisively shifting the dead weight of entrenched Northern centrism that both the ITUC and WFTU internationally are encumbered by.

The discussion on affiliation must take into account what the impact would be on Africa of whatever decisions the Federation makes. At present in Africa ITUC has 56 national affiliates, in 45 countries covering 15m workers. Most retain dual membership of OATUU. The WFTU on the other hand has 3 known national centre affiliates in 3 African countries and continental membership is unknown at this point in time.

Incidentally, although both the ITUC and WFTU claim to have a relationship with the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), historically WFTU probably does enjoy a more intimate relationship despite past China/Soviet antagonisms. The ACFTU however remains independent of them both, and with a recently revised membership of 247 million has a greater membership than the ITUC and WFTU combined.

With the cooperation of the ITUC the ACFTU has secured a place on the ILO Governing Body, and is cooperating with a very wide range of organisations drawn from many traditions within the movement. This raises many interesting possibilities when a discussion of a new combined global trade union federation is considered.

The numerical strength of a union does not always reflect or guarantee its power, but the disparity that exists in terms of WFTU and ITUC coverage on the Continent would have major implications for our strategy of building linkages and strengthening the African Trade Union Movement.

Joining the ICFTU: That Was Then, This is Now

When COSATU took the decision to join the ICFTU in 1997, having maintained a 'non-aligned' position until then, it did not take the decision lightly. The collapse of the Soviet Union, amidst the decomposition of the Soviet Bloc, and the trade union movements within it, left the WFTU in a complete quandary. Its dependency on failed Socialist States left it completely exposed, so much so that when a decision was made to join the ICFTU by COSATU and a whole host of other progressive minded national centres, including the Italians, Namibians, Brazilians, etc. the ICFTU was seen as being 'the only show in town'.

The WFTU at this time was left largely as a transient rump, for a period without a fixed home to call its own. The crisis of existing socialism that Comrade Joe Slovo wrote so eloquently about provided an indication of the disarray that was essentially to disable the WFTU for many years. In his 1990 document, 'Has Socialism Failed' he noted the following when describing the relationship between the Communist Party and the Mass Movement in the Soviet Union:

"Democracy in the mass organisations was also more formal than real. The enormous membership figures told us very little about the extent to which the individual trade unionist, youth or woman was able to participate in the control or direction of their respective organisations. At the end of the day these organisations were turned into transmission belts for decisions taken elsewhere and the individual members were little more than cogs of the vast bureaucratic machine.

"The trade union movement became an adjunct of the state and party. Workers had no meaningful role in determining the composition of the top leadership which was, in substance, answerable to the party apparatus. For all practical purposes the right to strike did not exist"

Is it any wonder that the WFTU imploded when the rule of the Party did? Would this have happened if the Trade Union Movement was independent from the Party and the State?

It is important to note that ITUC affiliation enabled COSATU to draw upon the human and material resources that were necessary to develop an approach to a range of pressing national concerns. For example on building a national skills infrastructure (with help from ACTU affiliates), deepening workers education (with the help of Dutch, Scandinavian and British affiliates) putting in place the first information technology system

(with the help of Italian affiliates). These were not insignificant benchmarks in the development of COSATU.

A decisive factor for COSATU and other progressive federations was access to militant unions that the ICFTU relationship provided through the Global Union Federations (then called International Trade Secretariats). In fact, in a very short time, senior COSATU affiliates started to play leading roles in the GUF's, and helped to bring about more of a campaigning orientation, as well as opening up possibilities for sectoral mergers and cooperation. There is little doubt that COSATU was able to bring a fresh approach to campaigning to these organisations, and popularise the benefits of workers control even if it could not be entirely generalised. When COSATU and others affiliated to the ICFTU, (later to become the ITUC when it merged with the largely Catholic orientated World Congress of Labour) there was an explicit recognition of the need to *transform* the organisation. It was deemed far too bureaucratic, had a deeply entrenched Northern bias, and on major policy questions, for example on the need to assert a socialist alternative to capitalist crisis it was virtually silent.

At ITUC leadership level a socialist discourse was almost entirely absent. However, it was recognised that despite these deficiencies, within the ranks of ITUC affiliates were many militant, mass based progressive unions that were ready to link up with their COSATU counterparts and work together to improve sectoral organisation and representation. Some were prepared to go even further and establish or join in initiatives like SIGTUR that were explicitly anti-capitalist in nature, and which enabled them to engage with non ITUC affiliates. Furthermore, the strengthening of linkages across the southern part of the Continent has enabled SATUCC to be successfully rejuvenated, and to begin to play a key role in building capacity and solidarity across the region.

It would be remiss to assume from this that the ITUC was incapable of change or that the influence of the inclusion of progressive movements did not make an impact, and especially at continental level. In fact even at the level of the Executive Board, COSATU and the other progressive centres have been able to encourage significant advances on the issues of gender, trade policy, climate change, exposing the neo-liberalism of the WTO and international financial institutions and more recently in organising a World Day of Decent Work Action that was enthusiastically taken up in every corner of the globe. Perhaps one of the most important developments has been at long last; the challenges and successes of the trade union movement in the South are being taken decidedly more seriously than before, and not regarded as a secondary adjunct to their Northern counterparts.

Transforming the ITUC or Being Transformed by it?

In the discussion on affiliation it will be important to examine the extent to which the strategy of transforming the ITUC was successful, and what prevented it from being progressed further. Not least because there can be little doubt that further transformation is necessary. However, the fact also remains that the WFTU also requires serious overall, and especially in

terms of critically examining its role since it has resurfaced on the global labour scene.

One of the stark observations that were apparent when COSATU and other progressive forces joined the ITUC in the late 90's was that in almost all parts of the world, labour was on the defensive. Neo-liberalism had been widely adopted and talk of any alternative was dismissed as being utopian and unrealistic. The imposition of GEAR was a reflection of this trend. Furthermore, legislative efforts at curtailing workers rights were accelerated by governments who were keen to attract foreign direct investment.

However, in contrast to most other parts of the world, with perhaps the exception of Brazil, the South African trade union movement was growing, and was still able to politically assert itself. By calling upon its considerable organisational weight and moral authority COSATU was able to challenge many of the assumptions that underpinned ITUC macro-economic policy, and its engagements with the WTO, WB and IMF. This was no small matter.

For many years the ICFTU and later the ITUC appeared in times of crisis to take the course of least resistance. Instead of challenging capitalist rule, it argued instead for forms of social partnership in the hope that this would enable it to ameliorate the worst aspects of neo-liberalism. The profound difficulty of this approach was that it essentially ignored the potential power of mobilising the millions of workers it claimed to represent.

COSATU, still fresh from the mass mobilisations that had signalled the end of apartheid and the high expectations of what popular resistance could deliver for the working class provided an antidote for progressives in Northern trade union movements who also expressed their frustration at the 'conservatism' of much of the ITUC leadership.

Furthermore, the long periods of social democratic/co-determinist rule that characterised government in parts of Northern Europe was for decades held up as the most effective way for trade unions to exercise their power. The difficulty of this approach was that it essentially excluded the mass of workers. Deals were struck in the high echelons of office. Union leaders became more like figure heads and managers than political leaders representing a particular class. In some cases, Union leaders adopted the view that they had to get through and survive whatever capitalist crisis was looming on the horizon, and if this required compromise or obedient loyalty, or worse, then so be it. Thankfully this was not the case in all instances, but it was a common approach. The tragedy of this approach is that it resulted in mass demoralisation and a deep de-politicisation, and especially amongst younger workers disillusionment with the trade union movement as a whole.

It should also be noted that as soon as the ruling class realised that the social democratic consensus was unable to deliver for it, it simply abandoned any pretence at social inclusion, and was able to do so because those who could and should have defended social provision were not mobilised or made ready. Incoming conservative forces, lavishly supported by a pervasive right wing media abandoned any sense of social

partnership overnight, despite the fact that it was held up for decades as an example of a civilising and caring society.

It is only now, after the scale of the attacks on public services is becoming clear that opposition is emerging, and Unions in Europe and elsewhere are beginning to realise their own mobilising power after decades of ingrained passivity that was enshrined in top down decision-making processes that produced social partnership programmes.

It is perhaps fair to say that on entering the ITUC the scale and depth of an ambiguous and yet prevalent social democratic ethos, as opposed to an explicit socialist perspective took many South African trade union leaders by surprise. The discourse was in general devoid of any notion of workers power, and class power even less, or of the need to energetically challenge the rule of capital. Instead, emphasis was placed on 'social responsibility' and for 'negotiation' strategies aimed at winning a place at the tables where decisions are deemed to be made.

Given this situation, it is clear that developing a scathing critique of the ITUC is not difficult to assemble, especially by those who want to withdraw and head in another direction. But there is also another dimension to this situation that we must address as a Federation, even if it is controversial. Much of this analysis is contained in our 2015 Plan, that recalls that despite all the advances that the South African working class had made in the run up to the 1994 election and afterwards, it suddenly found itself facing a less than comradely series of policy decisions that emerged from high office, that were designed to forestall the power of trades unions. The attempts to dilute the LRA, and the imposition of GEAR were but the most obvious manifestations of the onset of an explicit neo-liberalism. Within the Federation and its affiliates, debates raged about how to respond to this situation. Many feared the imminent collapse of the Alliance, which for all intents and purposes had failed to function under the Mbeki regime, and the possibilities it provided for changing political and economic priorities. In short there was a marked period of uncertainty, and this undoubtedly contributed to a degree of demobilisation.

It can be argued that coming into contact with the ITUC and its weaknesses coincided with a degree of demobilisation of our own forces. We have noted that the quality of our own engagements within the Alliance went into decline as the 1996 Class Project asserted itself. This eventually led to our exclusion from major policy engagements and the fateful imposition of GEAR. Comrade Jeremy Cronin has noted how the post 1996 period lent itself to developments in the world more generally, and how it contributed to depoliticisation:

'The tendency within the ANC to exaggerate the levels of consensus in the recent period in South Africa obviously owes much to the global dominance of neo-liberalism at the time of our democratic breakthrough, with its various themes of benign globalisation, a "post-ideological" world, a "third wave of democracy", etc. These themes appeared to sit well with the imperatives of our own negotiated transition - requiring a new inclusivity, reconciliation, and the forging of a national unity. But all of these themes also served tendentially to de-politicise the political terrain'

(Joe Slovo – Democracy and Socialism discussion paper presented to the Chris Hani institute 18th January 2007 by Comrade Jeremy Cronin.

It is clear from reading reports to subsequent COSATU Congresses and from affiliates that there was not a conscious, concerted and coordinated Federation initiative to try to democratise and politicise our work in the ITUC or GUF's. This does not mean that principles of worker control, accountability of leadership, the position of women and other matters were not raised. On the contrary, it would appear that the presence of SA union leaders in these structures made it possible to raise a number of fundamentals, so much so that they inspired others to do likewise.

It was from such interactions that the trilateral alliance between the Nigeria Labour Congress, (Africa's largest national centre), the Ghana TUC (one of the Continents oldest and most independent national centres) and COSATU (one of Africa most militant!) was able to be established and work towards the rebuilding of ITUC Africa, and incidentally rescue it from the Cold War bunker that its previous leadership had imprisoned it.

There are too, more 'human' frailties at work here. The culture of the GUF's and the ITUC were initially very alien to SA Union leaders. The language of class struggle was almost totally absent, and the dominance of the Western Europeans and North Americans was considerable. By the time SA union leaders had 'found their feet' they had been co-opted into leadership positions, and opportunities to raise substantial criticisms of how the organisations functioned were over-ridden by other responsibilities. Of course, in the GUFs the situation was more fluid, not least because there were more tangible union linkages and less bureaucracy at work to cloud the issues or contain the anger that was emerging from the class struggle below. In this regard extremely important developments have taken place in many GUF's by forging international agreements along multi-national company supply lines, and building workers power in the very heart of a globalised capital that deemed itself above any form of social control.

This debate does provide an opportunity to begin to make a balance sheet of the experience of COSATU leaders in ITUC associated structures, and despite the inherent conservatism that characterised the ICFTU then ITUC up until quite recently, important changes can be noted. We have mentioned some of the changes that have taken place within the ITUC, and especially in relation to Africa, but there are other indications worthy of note. The election of a woman leader to the position of the General Secretary who is from a radical union and feminist background marks a historic break with the past. The radicalisation that has taken place in the PSI for example, on the question of opposing neo-liberalism, in the ITF on the need to support blockades against tyrannical governments, in UNI against the exploitative practices of Walmart and other multinationals are all important developments. Coupled with moves towards improving support to affiliates in crisis, and completing successful mergers to form IndustriALL have all been undertaken with the active support of SA trade union leaders.

Fifty years ago, in the middle of the Cold War, it would have been almost impossible to have heard a European trade union centre publicly criticise

its own Governments policy, and especially its foreign policy. That is not the case today. Furthermore, the 'unions from the colonies' as the South used to be referred are no longer prepared to simply repeat 'their masters words', for fear of losing patronage. There is a new assertiveness emerging that manifests itself in surprising ways, in the South, but also within the heartlands of capitalism itself. The foreign policy imperatives of capitalist governments are being challenged from within. The challenges associated with climate change, the constant exposure of ruthless and corrupt banking systems, and the crippling impact on development of wasteful and dangerous arms spending, the undermining of government accountability, all lend urgency to a different way of organising and making linkages between trade unions and their allies in civil society. There is of course a long way to go to transform the ITUC and the GUFs into organisations that can actually provide the basis for uniting the workers of the world, but now is not the time to abstain from attempting to do so, or for creating conditions for a re-emergence of a divisiveness based on the appeal of slogans and statements, however much we might empathise with them.

Transforming the WFTU? Does it Need Transforming?

One of the challenges that were highlighted in the NALEDI report was that hard information on membership and the funding of WFTU activities was not easy to access, even through direct contact. This is a pity. However relying on the WFTU website and information from reports of activities it has been possible to construct a picture of the WFTU at the present time. There is no doubt about the fact that the WFTU is slowly recovering from the implosion of its principal affiliates, and the political crisis that engulfed Soviet Communism as a whole, but if its membership figures are to be believed, it is hard to see where exactly how it accounts for its membership as it does not openly state who all its national affiliates are. We do know that in India both CITU and the AITUC are members and account for approximately 20 million workers, that the Cubans account for around 4 million. This still leaves some 56 million members to be accounted for.

- ITUC claims 175m members in 153 countries through 308 national affiliates (verifiable)
- WFTU claims 80m members in 35 countries (non-verifiable)

Why is it important that membership can be verified? Not least because then a proper assessment can be made of potential workers power in a country or industrial sector.

This free flow of information is also crucial in assembling a campaign that transcends national boundaries and could help any of the COSATU affiliates associated with it to ensure that the bosses are not employing divide and rule tactics to undermine conditions or to victimise activists. There are other reasons why it is important to know how a Federation operates, not least to ensure that key trade union principles are being observed. The principles that the WFTU says it stands for are trade union independence of governments and capitalists; democratic and open dealings with people; worker unity irrespective of sex, colour or religion; workers' solidarity.

Take for example the issue of independence of trade unions, which the WFTU (and ITUC) claims to observe and promote. Is it possible to describe the North Korean Trade Union Movement as independent from the North Korean State? Where is the evidence to illustrate this? Have there been strikes, stoppages, protests about the deteriorating economic and social conditions in North Korea? Are we to dismiss the evidence gathered from respected human rights organisations as simply being reactionary propaganda? The 2012 Human Rights Watch report on North Korea makes chilling reading:

North Korea is one of the few nations in the world that is not a member of the International Labour Organization (ILO). The ruling Korean Workers' Party firmly controls the only authorized trade union organization, the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea. South Korean companies employ some 44,000 North Korean workers in the Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC), where the law governing working conditions falls far short of international standards on freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining, and protection from gender discrimination and sexual harassment.....The government uses fear—generated mainly by threats of forced labor and public executions—to prevent dissent, and imposes harsh restrictions on freedom of information, association, assembly, and travel.

The General Federation of Trade Unions in Korea refuses to have any contact with Trade Union organisations in South Korea, including the militant KCTU which has been in the forefront of challenging capitalist exploitation in South Korea. How then is it possible to explain the GFTUK's reluctance to engage with the KCTU other than its complete subservience to the Korean Workers Party Government?

In the North Africa and the Middle East, WFTU affiliates have aligned themselves with those in Government who would not for a single moment allow an organisation like COSATU to exist. The Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF) played an appalling role in the uprising that toppled Mubarak. They defended Mubarak as the 'great stabiliser' and stayed away from the centre of the uprising in Tahir Square, separating themselves from the masses that braved police and army attacks in order to defend the right to freedom of association and dissent. Perhaps this explains why the HQ of the ETUF was one of the first buildings to be torched when the balance of power moved in the direction of the protesters. How could an independent ETUF that is aligned to the WFTU not utter a single public criticism of Mubarak's policy of upholding Israel's blockade of Gaza when Palestinian solidarity is supposed to be a central campaign of the WFTU? Could it have anything to do with the fact that Mubarak received the second highest amount of aid from the US behind Apartheid Israel?

At the time of writing another substantial affiliate of the WFTU is engaged in a deep seated crisis. The Syrian General Federation of Trade Unions is the sole trade union centre allowed in Syria, and though claiming to be independent is very close to the ruling party. What has it been able to say about the repression of civil protest in Syria? Does it support

democratisation or repression? Does it approve of the bombing of civilian areas that are known to be demanding democratic reforms? Has it called for the release of more than 200 medical staff who have been arrested for treating those injured by indiscriminate bombing? It has said precisely nothing except to complain about imperialist aggression.

Calling for an end to imperialist aggression is completely valid, but to be blind to the actions of the Government, and its failure to even call for the cessation of violence, and perhaps the need for a negotiated settlement on the way forward is extremely telling about its dependency on a regime that is losing credibility by the hour.

Focusing on the trade union Federations of these three countries might be considered unfair but they are after all amongst the largest and well resourced of WFTU affiliates having access to considerable state resources by their own admission.

The WFTU prides itself on its class orientated perspective, but appears to allow its affiliates in some countries to put the interests of their own governments before the needs of the working class and the masses, especially if this means that its flow of state funds remains intact, which is exactly what is happening in Egypt. Despite the ETUF being discredited as a Mubarak transmission belt and apologist, the Generals have continued to allow it to receive deductions from the 4 million workers who were ordered by law to join the ETUF and its affiliates.

Does the WFTU need to be transformed? The answer must be a resounding yes. For a start it must stop hiding behind a veil of secrecy and be open about its membership. Saying that not all of its affiliates are able for security reasons to admit their membership should not present an obstacle. There are ways and means of explaining such difficulties while providing membership figures.

In a similar vein, there must be an openness on the question of resources, and from where the WFTU secures its operating costs, and especially so if only 'seven affiliates and friends' (stated by the General Secretary at the WFTU's most recent Presidium held in Johannesburg) are able to make a substantial contribution. These matters are not secondary issues.

The WFTU must also address the question of its own internal democracy. Recent reports from its Australian affiliate, the 120,000 member but influential CFMEU indicate that many of the old practices associated with Unions in the Soviet Bloc have still to be rescinded. The allocation of leadership places by the WFTU for its building, forestry and construction TUI, the IUTBB, against the wishes of the CFMEU who argued that the workers themselves must choose their leadership contradicts claims for democratic unions under membership control.

Finally the WFTU must ask itself if publicly attacking the ITUC is good for the working class struggle, and especially those ITUC affiliated workers who are actively fighting the ravages of capitalist crisis. Why does COSATU not public berate other Federations in the country? Because at some stage, Unions from different Federations, with very different traditions have to come together and fight the bosses. This is a very basic solidarity protocol, and one which the ITUC to its credit has maintained.

Is Dual Membership a Viable Option?

During the International Policy Conference of COSATU a position emerged that appeared to provide something of an answer to the question of affiliation, and that was to affiliate to both the ITUC and the WFTU. Quite apart from the logistical and financial implications of such a position, the fact remains that at present the ITUC maintains that there are important issues of principle that will need to be fully addressed before such an option could be considered. The ITUC considers these principles to be so fundamental that they cannot be side stepped or wished away.

These principles embody a commitment to independence, to membership/workers control, to openness, transparency and accountability, and to measures that tackle all forms of discrimination and divisiveness. The ITUC believes that the actions and practices of the WFTU contradict these principles in a profound manner, and therefore at this juncture is not willing or able to accommodate a Federation that opts to join the WFTU as well. This would mean in effect that COSATU would have to leave the ITUC, to be unable to continue to build a single African body, and would have to disengage from the GUF's its affiliates are currently working to transform. The WFTU it seems has no such qualms, and currently opens its doors even to affiliates whose Federation belong to the ITUC as they have done in South Africa.

So what is to be done? Comrade Lenin made a remarkable observation when considering the very question of whether revolutionaries should work in reactionary unions in his *Left Wing Communism: An infantile Disorder* when he wrote:

'This ridiculous "theory" that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions reveals with the utmost clarity the frivolous attitude of the "Left" Communists towards the question of influencing the "masses", and their misuse of clamour about the "masses". If you want to help the "masses" and win the sympathy and support of the "masses", you should not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the "leaders" (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found. You must be capable of any sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently in those institutions, societies and associations -- even the most reactionary—in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found. The trade unions and the workers' co-operatives (the latter sometimes, at least) are the very organisations in which the masses are to be found'.

Leaving the ITUC at this juncture in order to be part of a small and struggling organisation that remains a shadow of its former self, despite the involvement of our Cuban friends and others would appear to be suicidal. It would put on hold all of the good work that has been done, even if insufficient, to transform the ITUC and the GUF's into organisations that can defend our class. We would be turning our back on some of the most militant unions in the world who despite the policies and practices of their own Federations have stood in solidarity with the Palestinians and condemned Israeli Apartheid, have called for the ending of the blockade

on Cuba in defence of the revolution, and who have not been intimidated by patriotic calls in times of armed conflict to abandon worker internationalism. Many of these unions are deeply sensitive to the need to ensure that the ITUC is more representative of the entire working class and not just those situated in the North. They, like us, want to see a democratic ITUC and its associated GUF's become campaigning organisations, prepared to use its resources to mobilise our class, and be bold enough to challenge the policy options circumscribed by neo-liberalism rather seek an accommodation within its paradigm.

Turning our backs on the ITUC could in effect hand it back over to those conservative forces who Lenin berates as 'opportunists and social chauvinists' who politically profited from the period of the Cold War, and who continue to seek a compromise with the class enemy rather than challenge the right of the capitalist class to rule a world they are in the process of ruining.

If we are then to stay and continue to fight for the transformation of the ITUC and GUF's what should be our relationship to the WFTU?

Comrade Sharan Barrow, the General Secretary of the ITUC recently told a gathering of COSATU affiliates, including some of those who have joined the WFTU, that though dual membership would compromise a number of fundamental principles, and would therefore not be accommodated within the ITUC; there was absolutely no substitute for unity in action.

In other words, if the WFTU were prepared to act in unison with the ITUC and vice versa on a campaign that affected all of our members, and while doing so desist from making negative statements, then perhaps a respectful relationship could be developed. We think this is a challenge that is too important to pass on.

A Way Forward: Towards Building a United Global Trade Union Movement

1. The struggle for transformation of the ITUC and its associated GUFs has to be accelerated. More careful collective and strategic planning has to be put in place across all COSATU affiliates for this purpose.
2. The building blocks that we have thus far put in place have to be used to full effect for this purpose. This includes our trilateral and bilateral relationships with the Nigerians, and Ghanaians, the South Koreans and the Brazilians.
3. It means ensuring that SIGTUR continues to provide a platform for Federations from different traditions to meet and share ideas, and most importantly to engage in joint actions.
4. It means ensuring that OATUU and the ITUC Africa complete a successful merger, and a new era of African trade unionism is opened up. Our immediate focus should remain on building a united and active African trade union organisation that is not only capable of strengthening continental and South-South solidarity but can also challenge the Northern dominated ethos that pervades much of international trade unionism.
5. It must mean ensuring that SATUCC continues to be proactive when union movements in the region face a crisis whether in Swaziland or Mozambique.

6. Perhaps equally importantly we have to use these building blocks to draw in other progressive union movements, and to build an open current within the ITUC that wants to see the ITUC and the GUFs become more democratic and responsive, and that means ensuring that the ITUC itself lives up to the principles of independence and democracy.
7. We must engage all forces, including the WFTU, the TUI's, the ITUC and GUFs in key united campaigns that will bring appreciable benefits for workers. This may take the form of working together at the ILO, but also in terms of mobilising workers on a mass scale. We must resist all attempts to be sectarian, and to work towards a global solidarity action plan.
8. We must work more consistently and collectively in the GUFs and TUI's to strengthen genuine worker to worker solidarity, and to challenge bureaucratisation in favour of asserting worker control. Where possible we should ensure that the GUF's and TUI's participate in each other's campaigns, and move towards joint actions.
9. We must invest in building our capacity to decisively add to the debate on the future direction of the trade union movement, and indeed of the world economy by asserting an explicit socialist perspective as our contribution to the debate.
10. We must engage all progressive forces more strategically, especially those from civil society who have aligned themselves with the working class and the poor, to learn from each other, and to work towards strengthening union/civil society linkages.
11. We must not be afraid of revisiting our own democratic practices and ask ourselves if we have allowed our structures to become ossified, if accountability and worker control has been diluted and if we are sufficiently guarding against the type of conservative bureaucratisation that we claim to reject. We must take steps to restore worker control and ensure that transparency, accountability and democracy are norms that we practice and preach.
12. We must be at the forefront of challenging all forms of discrimination that could potentially divide our class, and offer within our movement a microcosm of what a future socialist society might resemble. In this way we can strive to embed socialist norms and behaviour, and resist the privatised forms of existence that are market driven.

15. COSATU ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCES

15.1 COSATU Staff Complement and Departments

- 15.1.1 The total number of posts in COSATU stands at 74, an increase of two since 2009. The two additional posts are that of Affiliate Support Coordinator in the Secretariat, and Logistics Administrator. A third of the posts (25) are located in the Provinces, and the rest are either located in COSATU head office or in the Parliamentary office.
- 15.1.2 At the time of writing there were three vacancies in the Federation. This is a vast improvement on 2009, when there were 10 vacancies, 7 of which were in the Provinces. Staff turnover remains low, with only five departures in the period under review. The restructuring of salaries by the CEC and the Human Resource has gone a long way to ensure this stability.
- 15.1.3 COSATU head office is organised into nine Units, including the parliamentary office. The delivery of work is highly dependent on a team approach and coordination within and between departments and Provinces. The General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary convene a weekly Secretariat meeting with heads of departments and Provincial Secretaries. Provincial Secretaries have been included in these weekly meetings since the move to the new building and the installation of video conferencing facilities.
- 15.1.4 The Provinces are expected to assist Affiliates with organization and recruitment at Provincial level, support and build the locals, undertake educational work, maintain Provincial Gender structures, coordinate Affiliates work at local level and organize COSATU campaigns. They also represent COSATU in Provincial Alliance structures. Each Province has an elected Secretary, and educator/organizer and an administrator who also work as the Provincial Gender Coordinator.

COSATU staff members and departments - head office and provinces

Secretariat Department		Total = 10
1.	General Secretary	Zwelinzima Vavi
2.	Deputy General Secretary	Bheki Ntshalintshali
3.	Secretariat Coordinator	Zakhele Cele
4.	Personal Secretary to the GS	Dolly Ngali
5.	Personal Secretary to the DGS	Nonhlanhla Hlomuka
6.	Public Sector Coordinator	Sifiso Khumalo
7.	Political Coordinator	Neil Coleman
8.	Affiliate Support Coordinator	Jane Barrett
9.	Security to General Secretary	Welcome Makeleni
10.	Security to General Secretary	Zemisele Lambata
Accounts Department		Total = 5
11.	National Accountant	Talelani Ramaru
12.	Deputy National Accountant	Bernard Hlakule
13.	Provincial Accountant	Dibuseng Pakosi
14.	Finance Clerk	Jabulile Tshehla
Communication Department		Total = 7 (one vacancy)
15.	Spokesperson	Patrick Craven
16.	Shopsteward Editor	Phindile Kunene
17.	Communication Officer	Norman Mampane
18.	Shopsteward Manager	Nthabiseng Makhajane
19.	Web designer	Nandipha Miti
20.	Archives administrator	Vacant
21.	IT Manager	Shadow Mahlong
International Department		Total = 2
22.	International Secretary	Bongani Masuku

23. Deputy International Secretary	Zanele Matebula
Administration Department	
24. Administrative Secretary/HR	Total = 3 Khanyi Fakude
25. Receptionist	Tshidi Makhathini
26. Driver	Tholamandla Zondi
27. Logistics Administrator	Jacqueline Phooko
Organising Department	
28. Organizing Secretary	Total = 3 Theodora Steel
29. Campaigns Coordinator	George Mahlangu
30. Gender Coordinator	Gertrude Mtsweni
Education Department	
31. Education Secretary	Total = 3 Lazola Ndamase
32. National Educator	Alfred Mafuleka
33. Administrator (shared with Organizing)	Nelisiwe Steel
Policy Department	
34. Fiscal and Monetary Coordinator	Total = 9 Chris Malikane
35. Labour Policy Coordinator	Patrick Phelane
36. Skills Development Coordinator	Bhabhalikamaphikela Nhlapho
37. Health & Safety & HIV/AIDS Coordinator	Jacqueline Bodibe
38. Retirements Fund Coordinator	Vacant
39. Social Development Coordinator	Sibusiso Gumede
40. Trade Policy Coordinator	Jonas Mosia
41. Industry Coordinator	Vacant
42. Administrator	Nhlanhla Ngwenya
Parliamentary Office	
43. Parliamentary Coordinator	Total = 5 Prakashnee Govender
44. Deputy Parliamentary Coordinator	Matthew Parks

45. Legal Coordinator	Vuyo Ninzi
46. Research Coordinator	Vacant
47. Administrator	Patience Lebatlang
Provincial staff	
48. Eastern Cape Provincial Secretary	Mandla Rayi
49. Eastern Cape Organiser/Educator	Mkhawuleli Maleki
50. Eastern Cape Administrator	Thokozani Mtini
51. Limpopo Provincial Secretary	Dan Sebabi
52. Limpopo Organiser/Educator	Louisa Nxumalo
53. Limpopo Administrator	Toeki Kgabo
54. Gauteng Provincial Secretary	Dumisani Dakile
55. Gauteng Organiser/Educator	Matserane Wa Mapena
56. Gauteng Administrator	Nomthunzi Mothapo
57. North West Provincial Secretary	Solly Phetoe
58. North West Organiser/Educator	Kopano Konopi
59. North West Administrator	Ruth Moloisane
60. KZN Provincial Secretary	Zet Luzipho
61. KZN Organiser/Educator	Khaliphile Cotoza
62. KZN Administrator	Nokhwezi Buthelezi
63. Mpumalanga Provincial Secretary	Fidel Mlombo
64. Mpumalanga Organiser/Educator	Thabo Mokoena
65. Mpumalanga Administrator	Phindile Sindane
66. Free State Provincial Secretary	Sam Mashinini
67. Free State Organiser/Educator	Monyatso Mahlatsi
68. Free State Organiser/Educator	Nontsikelelo Mdebuka Mgudlwa
69. Northern Cape Provincial Secretary	Anele Gxoyiya

70. Northern Cape Organiser/Educator	Manne Thebe
71. Northern Cape Administrator	Thandi Makhaphela
72. Western Cape Provincial Secretary	Tony Ehrenreich
73. Western Cape Organiser/Educator	Mike Louw
74. Western Cape Adminsitrator	Elma Geswindt

Cubah Properties	Total = 13
1. Project Coordinator	Nthuseng Mpisi
2. Security	Morries Chabalala
3. Security	Daniel Mosito
4. Security	Progress Hlungwane
5. Security	Moses Tsotetsi
6. Security	Baldwin Nelwamondo
7. Security	Johannah Tshabalala
8. Security	Alfred Mtshixa
9. Cleaner	Hepworth Moyikwa
10. Cleaner	Esther Seasebo
11. Cleaner	Tryphina
12. Caretaker	Thandi Mlangeni
13. Security	Igsaak Kamalie

COSATU Employment Equity Statistics

Race	Men	Wome n	Total
African	37	28	65
White	2	1	3
Coloured	1	1	2
Indian	0	1	1

Total

40

31

71

15.1.5 It should be noted that according to the NALEDI State of Affiliates Survey, excluding the staff of PAWUSA, SAFPU, SADNU and SATAWU (which unions did not report their staff compliments), the affiliates of COSATU employ a total of 1951 staff.

15.2 Offices, Equipment and Information Technology

15.2.1 COSATU House has moved to a new address at 110 Jorissen St in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. The building is wholly owned by Kopano Ke Matla and administered by Cubah Properties. It has nine floors, each named after a struggle hero or heroine. COSATU occupies six floors. Four of the COSATU floors are offices, one is dedicated training and meeting venues of varying sizes (six in total), and one houses a large auditorium used for the CEC, as well a canteen. Tenants, including the SACP, occupy the remaining three floors.

15.2.2 The new COSATU House is fitted with modern technology to facilitate efficient, participative, and cost effective meetings and communication in general, as well as improved security. The auditorium is fitted with desk microphones and visual screens for easy viewing of speakers, as well as a recording system. Audio visual equipment for the easy sharing of video recordings, power point presentations etc has been fitted in the auditorium as well as in the training rooms and the two boardrooms. Video conferencing facilities have also been installed in the Secretariat boardroom and the Provincial offices, above all to facilitate the cost-effective inclusion of Provincial Secretaries in regular Secretariat meetings. 12 TVs have been installed for ongoing access to news broadcasts as well as for internal broadcasting.

15.2.3 An electronic access control system has been installed in the new head office, as well as a CCTV surveillance system both inside and out. Audio visual equipment, including video conference facilities, has been installed in a number of meeting rooms.

15.2.4 COSATU House has been cabled with category 5 cabling which runs all communications in the building including telephony and video, printers, CCTV, Biometrics (fingerprint access control system), Audio Visual Equipment and TV.

15.2.5 COSATU has purchased two more offices for its Provinces, namely North West and Northern Cape. The plan is to gradually buy all Provincial offices by the next Congress in 2015.

15.3 COSATU Finances

15.3.1 The full details of COSATU's current financial status and description of financial administration are contained in the National Treasurer's Report to Congress. The main points can be summarised as follows:-

15.3.2 COSATU has a fully functioning Accounts department, populated by the National Accountant, Deputy Accountant, Provincial Accountant, and Accounts Administrator. The department has an accounts process flow which works well. After the latest audit, the auditors complimented COSATU for the implementation of recommendations made to improve accounting.

15.3.3 Income received in the period under review rose steadily on an annual basis. The growth in income from affiliation fees was in part due an increase in membership over the period but also due to an increase in the affiliation fees per member. The fee rose from R2.50 per member in 2009, to R2.62 per member in 2010 and R2.67 in 2011.

15.3.4 Income from affiliation fees remains the largest source of income by far.

Income received in nominal value

Income type	2009	2010	2011
Affiliation fee	57 752 893	62 676 512	66 320 423
Political Levy	2 552 859	4 116 579	4 303 631
Election Levy	926 587	-	611 569
Donation Received	7 831 710	4 198 576	6 021 574

15.3.5 Expenditure in the three year period under review grew by an average of 9% per annum. The two highest cost items are staff remuneration (35%) and activities (26%).

15.3.6 One challenge that remains in achieving a totally unqualified audit is that of providing proof of membership of affiliates to match their declared membership and payment of affiliation fees. This is a challenge shared by affiliates, who are frequently asked by auditors to provide a match between income received from membership subscriptions and actual membership. The membership systems that most affiliates have in place do not adequately provide this.

16. COSATU PARTICIPATION IN NEDLAC AND OTHER TRIPARTITE INSTITUTIONS

- 16.1 The COSATU CEC has at various points in recent years reviewed COSATU's participation in NEDLAC. The CEC has recognised NEDLAC as one of the important terrains of engagement on socio- economic issues. The CEC also recognised it does not generally have time to include a detailed discussion on NEDLAC issues in its agenda. For this reason it resolved to establish a Socio-Economic Commission which would deal with the detail of socio economic issues on the table, and especially those issues being dealt with at NEDLAC. Issues of both content and NEDLAC process were to be referred to the Commission - including issues of representation in all NEDLAC structures, including MANCO and EXCO, the Chambers, sub-committees, and task teams. Issues of political oversight and accountability were also to be referred to the COSATU Socio Economic Commission.
- 16.2 Unfortunately the Socio Economic Commission has never got off the ground as affiliates have not nominated CEC delegates. As a result, all the problems identified by the CEC, and especially the problem of consistent affiliate representation to NEDLAC structures, remain. The representation load, especially at Chamber level, still falls primarily on the shoulders of COSATU officials, particularly from the Policy Department. Their time is disproportionately swallowed up by NEDLAC, leaving them very little opportunity to focus on policy implementation within the Federation.
- 16.3 This is not to detract from the huge effort that the Convenors of the Chambers are putting into the NEDLAC process. The Convenors are:- Mduduzi Mbongwe (SACCAWU) for the Labour Market Chamber; Isaac Ramputa (SASBO) convenes the Public Finance and Monetary Policy Chamber; Tony Ehrenreich (COSATU Western Cape) convenes the Trade and Industry Chamber while Sibusiso Gumede (COSATU official) is standing in as convenor of the Development
- 16.4 The work of NEDLAC is linked to other institutions where COSATU has representation. These include the SETAS; CCMA; Human Resource Development Council (HRDC); the Financial Sector Charter Council (FSCC); the Employment Condition Committee (ECC); the Electricity Advisory Council, etc. The absence of the agreed COSATU Socio Economic Commission means that our work in all of these institutions also proceeds without co-ordination and without any processes of mandating, reporting back, and accountability in general.

16.5 Summary and Recommendations: NEDLAC and other Tripartite Institutions

1. Effective coordination of COSATU's work in NEDLAC and other Socio Economic institutions continues to be hampered by the non functioning of the CEC's Socio Economic Commission.
We need to reaffirm the decision of the CEC to establish a Socio Economic Commission, and agree that affiliates need to urgently make nominations to the Commission.
2. There are currently no systematic processes of mandating and reporting back on Socio Economic engagements.
The Socio Economic Commission should develop an agreed internal process for accountability - including mandating and reporting back.