

**Somali Congress of Trade Unions – Isu Tagga Ururweynaha Shaqaalaha Soomaaliyeed (SCTU-ITUSS)**

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*History and character.* Established in 2011. It is reported that SCTU-ITUSS have eight affiliated unions. There are no official membership figures available.

## South Africa

Capital: **Pretoria**

Population: **54m. (2014 est.)**

### 1 Political and Economic Background

The Cape Colony was annexed by the British in 1806. Throughout the 19th and early 20th Centuries, the British sought to expand their colonial territories in Southern Africa, waging frontier wars mainly against Boer settlements and indigenous peoples (principally Zulu). Diamond and gold discoveries in the region triggered the Mineral Revolution in the 1870s, greatly increasing white European settlement and spurring on industrial development. Cecil Rhodes, who would later conquer the areas of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) through the British South Africa Company, first created a monopoly of the world's diamond supply by buying up mining operations in the Kimberley area. Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, and introduced the Glen Grey Act 1894, legislation which stripped indigenous peoples of their traditional and communal land rights to 'give them a stimulus in labour'. The British created a disenfranchised working class from these communities, and then used this new workforce to extract the vast mineral wealth.

After nearly a century of sporadic violent conflict, the Union of South Africa was created in 1910, amalgamating the British colonies of Cape and Natal, with the two former Boer republics Orange Free State and Transvaal. As an independent Dominion of the British Crown, a system of racial segregation and white supremacy was imposed. The South African Native National Convention (SANNC) – which would become the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 – formed in 1912 to protest against discrimination and the exclusion of black Africans from political participation. Black South Africans remained subject to severe repression and denial of basic human rights until 1994. After the Second World War, the country's economic woes propelled the Afrikaaner-dominated National Party (NP) to power in 1948. The NP (which remained in power until May 1994) created the system of apartheid (separateness), dividing the population into white, coloured (mixed race), Asian (Indian and Pakistani) and Bantus (black Africans). The system served to maintain white supremacy by curbing the rights of the non-white population, including the introduction of pass laws for non-whites and the distribution of 80% of the country's land to the white minority (in 1960, just over 3 million of the 17.4 million population was classified white). In 1959, ten bantustans ('homelands') were created – isolated, unconnected territories where black Africans were granted a higher degree of autonomy. All black South Africans were designated citizens of a Bantustan, and by the mid-1980s, more than 3.5 million people had been forcibly relocated into these areas, which were plagued by poverty.

From the 1940s, the ANC became a leading force in resistance to apartheid, revitalised by its Youth League (ANCYL), founded in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, among others. The ANCYL promoted

resistance to segregation and discrimination through strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. In 1959, some ANCYL members broke away to form the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). On 21 March 1960, police opened fire on an unarmed demonstration (organised by PAC to protest the pass laws) in the Sharpesville township. In the massacre, 69 were killed and hundreds injured. In 1961, South Africa became a Republic and unilaterally withdrew from the Commonwealth. In Dec. 1966, a United Nations General Assembly Resolution identified apartheid as a 'crime against humanity'.

From the 1960s onwards, many resistance leaders were detained, executed or fled into exile. Mandela was incarcerated in 1963. Military wings within the ANC and PAC were established to engage in acts of sabotage and insurrection. A 1974 decree requiring black schools to use Afrikaans as a language of instruction provoked an uprising by students in Soweto in 1976. On 16-17 June, thousands of students went on strike. Police attempted to disperse them with force and in the violence that ensued killed over 170 protestors, including children. Clashes continued for much of 1976. From the mid-1970s onwards, black trade unionism also revived and became a vital part of the struggle against apartheid. In Nov. 1977, the UN Security Council adopted a mandatory embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa.

South Africa attempted to thwart attempts at Namibian independence from 1966, and through the 1970s and 1980s, the South African Defence Forces were deployed on counter-insurgency operations to derail liberation movements or undermine the post-independence governments of many neighbouring states to which members of the ANC had fled and established bases. These included Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The operations were justified as efforts to thwart the spread of communism and prevent a Soviet-backed ANC from taking over the country. Throughout the 1980s, the apartheid regime faced not only mounting international condemnation and sanctions, but also internal armed struggle and widespread social unrest. A state of emergency was imposed for extensive periods. Police and army death squads conducted hundreds of covert, state-sanctioned assassinations of dissidents in South Africa and beyond.

The State President and leader of the NP from 1989, FW de Klerk moved to dismantle legislative apartheid. In 1990, the ban on the ANC and the PAC was lifted, and Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, released from jail after 27 years' incarceration. In the same year, the ANC agreed to work together in a Revolutionary Tripartite Alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The alliance, which has survived to the present day despite serious internal friction, was built around the goals of the

National Democratic Revolution, the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, economic transformation and a continued process of political and economic democratisation. A white-only referendum in 1992 voted 68% in favour of further reforms. Despite continuing violence and bloodshed the way was cleared for the establishment an interim constitution in 1993 and elections on a single non-racial roll. International sanctions were lifted in Dec.

Five post-apartheid elections have all resulted in clear victories for the ANC, each time with over 60% of the vote. The first non-racial multi-party elections were held in April 1994, and Mandela subsequently became President. The current Constitution was adopted in 1996. In the 1999 legislative elections, Mandela was succeeded as President by the ANC's Thabo Mbeki (also formerly a member of the ANCYL). In the 2004 general election, the ANC increased its margin of the vote to nearly 70% and won 279 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly. With mounting disagreement within the tripartite alliance, social unrest and disillusionment at the ANC's approach to addressing apartheid's legacy, the SACP and COSATU propelled Jacob Zuma to the leadership of the ANC in 2007, in time for the 2009 general election. Formerly Mbeki's Deputy President, Zuma had been expelled from the cabinet in 2005 over allegations of corruption and a rape trial. Zuma insisted the allegations were politically motivated. Despite strikes and protests, particularly around poor local government service delivery, Zuma won a second term as president in 2014 elections, with the ANC winning 249 seats in the legislature. However, the fractures in the tripartite alliance have deepened. Under his leadership, the ANC has become increasingly mired in further corruption charges, heightened authoritarianism, and state repression of strikes and demonstrations. The SACP in 2015 reaffirmed its commitment to the tripartite alliance and to Zuma's leadership, but conceded that the alliance had promoted solutions which were 'excessively individualised' around Zuma, creating 'undue expectations' of his leadership. Meanwhile a significant rift has occurred within COSATU in recent years, as a result of the confederation's on-going commitment to its ANC-alliance (see below, Section 3).

The centrist, liberal Democratic Alliance (DA) party which has roots in the anti-apartheid Progressive Party formed in the late 1950s, won over 22% of the vote in the 2014 elections and 89 seats in the National Assembly. The third strongest party after the 2014 elections, with 25 seats, is the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) led by Julius Malema. The President of the ANC Youth League from 2008, Malema was suspended from the ANC for five years in 2012 after being accused of sowing divisions within the party, and subsequently formed the EFF. A firebrand populist espousing anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric, Malema has two hate speech convictions (one for singing the apartheid-era anthem 'Shoot the Boer' at a 2010 rally) and has provoked suspicion and criticism from politicians, as well as some in the labour movement. Malema actively gave encouragement to striking miners during recent unrest in the platinum industry (see Section 3, below). In Jan. 2016, the newly formed United Front (UF) – a grassroots organisation created by the metalworkers' union NUMSA – announced its registration to participate in upcoming local elections in the Eastern Cape (although the UF has yet to launch itself as a political party).

In 2015, South Africa was ranked the second largest economy on the African continent (after Nigeria). A member of the Group of Twenty (G20) States, it stands alongside Brazil, Russia, India and China in the BRICS group of 'newly emerging' economic powers. At the time of Union in 1910, gold-mining had already initiated a process of industrialisation based on minerals export and the exploitation of African labour, and the transformation of the

agricultural economy. High demand during the Second World War further fuelled the expansion of mining and industry and attracted many thousands of new African labourers into the wage economy. Between the early 1930s and 1970s, demand for minerals grew the economy ten-fold, with GDP per capita rising steadily. By the end of apartheid, South Africa accounted for almost one-half of the total GDP of sub-Saharan Africa. Within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the country now accounts for 60% of trade, 70% of GDP and well as a primary source of foreign direct investment for other SADC states. Still abundant in natural resources, South Africa is the world's largest producer of platinum, gold and chromium. Other industries, which employ around 18% of the workforce, include metalworking, textiles, chemicals, iron and steel. Around 66% are estimated employed in services, and South Africa has well developed financial, legal, communications, energy, and transport sectors, as well as the continent's largest stock exchange. Around one-third of employment is in the informal sector.

Despite political reform, considerable economic stratification on racial lines persists. Inequality rates are among the highest in the world and the government faces pressure to improve the delivery of basic services to low-income areas. The ANC government embarked on its Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme in the mid-1990s, promoting privatisation and trade liberalisation in the hope of attracting international investment. The economic policies of the ANC have provoked deepening divisions within the alliance with the SACP and COSATU - which constitute the backbone of the ANC's support. At the ANC's Dec. 2012 Conference, GEAR was revised and renamed the 2030 National Development Plan (NDP), but retained its essentially orthodox neoliberal character. The positive impact of the ANC's economic policies has been modest, although GDP growth was steady and at its highest before the 2008 global financial crisis, which saw the economy sink into its first official recession since the advent of democracy. The crisis has exacerbated soaring levels of unemployment (estimated at over 25%), and unemployment among black youth presents a severe and enduring challenge. These labour market inequalities have their roots in apartheid era policies privileging white workers, but have persisted well into the 21st Century.

Despite on-going challenges, the ANC has made strides in improving basic living standards for large swathes of the population. Access to safe drinking water - guaranteed as a basic right in the constitution - has been greatly improved with around 10 million people provided with access in the first ten years post-apartheid. Between 1994 and 2000, the number of South Africans with access to electricity also doubled, with more than 400,000 new households per year given access to electricity, although energy provision has been hampered in recent years by widespread blackouts. Black economic empowerment (BEE) programmes, first launched in 2003, aim to redress the inequalities of apartheid by giving economic privileges to previously disadvantaged groups, although these have also been criticised for benefiting principally wealthy black Africans.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic presented the country with major challenges - life expectancy fell from 62 years in 1992 to 53 years in 2010. In 2001, the government took an active stance against transnational pharmaceutical companies by importing and allowing domestic production of cheaper, generic brand medicines - including anti-retroviral drugs (ARV). However, access to ARVs remained poor, and by 2005 over 5 million South Africans were HIV-positive - the highest rate of the disease in the world. The government has responded under widespread public pressure and provision has significantly increased since 2010. Access to ARV

treatment through the public health sector has made significant progress, with HIV increasingly regarded as a treatable and manageable condition, and since 2010 life expectancy has risen to 62 years. Southern Africa is predicted to be one of the regions which will be worst affected by global climate change.

GDP (purchasing power parity) \$672.29bn. (2014 est.);  
GDP per capita (purchasing power parity) \$12,449 (2014 est.).

## 2 Trade Unionism

South Africa had joined the ILO in 1919 but left in 1966, due to the ILO's position of the government's apartheid policy. Membership resumed in 1994. In 1996 South Africa ratified ILO Conventions No. 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948) and No. 98 (Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, 1949).

Trade unions first developed in South Africa among white workers in the 1880s, and a white Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) was recognised by the government in 1911. After 1914, white labour was represented by the South African Industrial Federation (SAIF). The first trade union organising black workers appeared in 1917, followed two years later by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), which claimed a membership of 100,000 by 1925. The ICU became a powerful mobilising force and the movement had influence as far as Southern Rhodesia. In 1922, some 20,000 white mine workers went on strike to oppose proposals to increase the proportion of black labourers, including into minor supervisory positions. The strike, which called for the preservation of the colour-bar, was supported by both SAIF and the Communist Party of South Africa. The strike escalated into the armed 'Rand Revolt' which was suppressed by government troops, leading to hundreds of deaths and thousands imprisoned. The ICU – which supported the government during the 1922 strike – had by the end of the decade fragmented and collapsed. Subsequently, the ANC (originally formed in 1912) became the primary vehicle for black African's political and economic aspirations.

During the 1930s, some unions of black workers affiliated to the white-dominated South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC). Other black unions joined the Council of Non-European Trade Unions – established in 1941 – which claimed 119 unions with 158,000 members in 1945. In 1946, over 70,000 workers participated in a strike organised by the African Mineworkers Union (AMWU) to protest food shortages and working conditions. Police suppressed the strike, killing twelve and injuring over 1000. With the coming to power of the National Party in 1948, further trade union activity of black workers was suppressed. In 1954, SATLC was disbanded and replaced by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), which included white, coloured, Asian, and some black members in dependent organisations, but excluded independent black unions from affiliation until 1962. The change in policy led to the withdrawal of some of TUCSA's white affiliates, and the policy was revisited, allowing only registered independent black unions to affiliate after 1969. As such unions were denied registration by the government, they were effectively barred from TUCSA affiliation. After 1980, while remaining white-run, TUCSA membership was opened to all workers. The organisation however used closed shop agreements with employers designed to discourage the defection of black workers to other independent unions. It opposed economic sanctions against South Africa and had a system of 'parallel unions', under which black workers were recruited into separate subsidiary sections of white unions. These parallel black unions still had 32,000 members in 1984. At its peak in 1983, TUCSA had 500,000 members. It dissolved in 1986, after 25 member unions disaffiliated.

The initial exclusion of black independent unions from TUCSA led to the establishment in 1955 of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Formed by 14 former SATLC members, SACTU immediately merged with the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. SACTU called for the unification of the progressive trade union movement, opposed 'collaboration' with TUCSA, and developed thereafter as the highly politicised trade union arm of the ANC, claiming 53,000 members by 1961. It was affiliated to OATUU and WFTU. In 1965, SACTU was driven underground by state repression, and went into exile in Zambia, and black trade unionism lost all internal expression until its revival in the 1970s. Following a series of spontaneous strikes by African workers in the early 1970s, particularly in Durban in 1973, concessions were won with minimum pay scales for urban workers and the right to strike, even while basic rights of freedom of association were still restricted. The Soweto uprising of 1976 also contributed to the development of black trade unionism and the subsequent overhaul of the industrial relations system. The Durban strikes and Soweto uprising led to the establishment of the Wiehahn Commission, which recommended to Parliament in 1979 amendments to the Labour Relations Act that would grant black trade unions legal recognition for the first time, and make union registration compulsory. Black trade unionists established the non-racial Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) in 1979. The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which stressed black leadership, followed in 1980. Several important unions remained outside these federations. Largely regionally based, they, like FOSATU, were non-racial but opposed to registration: among their number were the Cape-based Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Western Province's General Workers' Union, and the South African Allied Workers' Union, organised mainly in East London and Durban.

In the period from 1979, black trade union activists emphasised the goal of building effective industrial strength, with strike action built around issues specifically concerning trade unions. The unrest of 1984 onwards began predominantly with community and student groups, but soon several hundred thousand black Transvaal workers were mobilised by FOSATU and CUSA as well as student and community leaders in a two-day stoppage against police action in the townships. A state of emergency was declared in July 1985. The same year, FOSATU joined the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and in 1986, CUSA merged with the small Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) to form the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU). From the mid-1970s, SACTU (still in exile) urged unions to affiliate to the United Democratic Front (UDF – the principal grouping of community groups opposing the South African government), arguing that the class struggle must progress within a national struggle against apartheid. SACTU welcomed the 1985 formation of COSATU, calling for a truly democratic centre of organised activity for all workers who are determined to 'liberate our country from its existing oppressive and exploitative social system'. SACTU added that 'as long as the oppressive apartheid regime exists, where the above-ground trade unionists face detention without trial, torture and murder at the hands of the police ... there will always be a need for the SACTU', which would 'continue to maintain its underground structures'. After the collapse of apartheid, SACTU dissolved and advised its members to join COSATU's affiliates. In 1986, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA) was established to oppose the campaign for sanctions and disinvestment from South Africa by foreign companies. Launched in opposition to COSATU, UWUSA was revealed in 1991 to have received funds from the security police for most of its existence, amounting to at least 1.5 million Rand. Operation Omega (as it was known) brought together UWUSA and anti-union employers in a campaign of

dirty tricks that in some cases were said to have resulted in the deaths of COSATU and NACTU activists. After the end of apartheid, UWUSA fell into obscurity.

On 1 May 1986, around 1.5 million black workers 'stayed away' from work, to demand an official May Day holiday. Under the renewed state of emergency of June 1986, 'statements calculated to encourage or promote disinvestment or the application of sanctions or foreign action against the Republic' or 'calculated to incite any person to take part in any unlawful strike' were defined as subversive. In July 1986, 200 trade union officials were reported as being among the 4500 detained under the state of emergency, while others were in hiding. Among those detained for periods were the COSATU leaders Elijah Barayi and Jay Naidoo, and the CUSA general secretary, Phiroshaw Camay. Repression of the labour movement continued to escalate in the late 1980s. Seven strikers were shot in 1987 during a railway strike. COSATU headquarters in Johannesburg were raided and many officials arrested; the office was later bombed. Another mass one-day stay-away followed to mark the 11th anniversary of the Soweto riots; it was followed by further repression. Ten miners were killed in clashes with the police and vigilantes in 1987. In Oct., Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the newly formed National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), was brought to trial for treason under emergency regulations and detained (until 1989). In 1988, a further national state of emergency was declared. The National Party government severely restricted and in some cases banned the activities of COSATU and 17 other organisations; raids and detentions of unionists followed. The draconian powers taken by government under that year's Labour Relations Amendment Bill, drafted to curb 'politically-motivated' strikes, were described by the ILO as 'probably the most serious attack on the emerging unions since the early 1970s.'

The proposed Bill threatened to reverse many of the gains for black workers achieved in the 1979 legal reforms. Widespread union protests followed, with numerous work stoppages and demonstrations. Opposition to the Bill united the rival union centres COSATU and NACTU which in June 1988 mobilised over 2 million workers in a three-day protest stay-away. The unions negotiated expanded recognition agreements with employers to bypass the new legal restrictions: COSATU and NACTU reached an agreement with the South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (SACCOLA) which by implication specifically excluded several of the law's provisions. Later faced with attempts by some employers to use the new law against organised workers, the unions broke off talks with SACCOLA. In Sept., the Bill was enacted and at the end of 1988 COSATU and NACTU called a summit to discuss further action against the new legislation. In 1989, the unions entered a tripartite Labour Commission in surrogate fashion via an umbrella organisation, the South African Trade Union Coordination Council (SATUCC), but continued to organise widespread opposition to the new Act. On 5-6 Sept. 1989, COSATU, NACTU and a number of independent unions organised one of the largest stay-aways in history, involving over 3 million workers, to protest the legislation.

The struggle between the labour movement and the government continued in other areas. The unions accused the authorities of using 'dirty tricks' to discredit them, by sowing divisions between the COSATU and NACTU, and between the leadership and rank and file of individual unions. Alfred Makeleng, a COSATU and UDF official, died in police custody in suspicious circumstances after 26 months' detention under the emergency regulations. A 1989 anti-apartheid conference called by COSATU for Sept. was hamstrung by the arrest and detention of 28 union leaders together with other anti-apartheid activists. Leaders of the Post

and Telecommunications Workers' Association were detained, the union's offices burgled and another official died in suspicious circumstances, against the background of negotiations to secure the reinstatement of postal workers dismissed during a 1987 strike. Twenty members of the COSATU affiliate, the Paper, Wood, Printing and Allied Workers' Union (PPWAWU), were detained under the emergency regulations while involved in strikes in the Transvaal. Striking municipal workers in Soweto also entered serious conflict with the police. In the same month, 31,000 metalworkers went on strike for two weeks and won improved benefits from employers. The unions also gave tacit support to the boycott of Oct.'s municipal elections; they were banned under the emergency regulations from campaigning openly.

The most significant sectoral organisation of black workers occurred in mining, where the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) developed to become the largest union of black workers. In contrast, black workers on farms, as domestic servants, and as state employees, were almost entirely unorganised. Mass dismissals occurred after industrial action, and many employers were active in attempting to frustrate trade union activities, in some cases hiring their own company security forces to break up meetings. The threat of deportation to the homelands or neighbouring states was a potent weapon to curb strikes. Numerous activists were also detained *incommunicado* without charge under the Internal Security Act, and a number of trade union officials died in police custody.

As restrictions on political organisations and union activity were lifted in 1990, COSATU thrived, pushing its membership towards one million. It joined in a 'revolutionary alliance' with the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP). This alliance has endured to the present, despite growing tensions in recent years. NACTU's membership grew at a lower rate, partly because of its emphasis on black exclusivism and partly because of factional fighting between supporters and opponents of the Pan-Africanist Congress. The collapse of official apartheid stimulated a nationwide wave of celebratory strikes, but COSATU and NACTU called for the maintenance of sanctions. They met the Manpower Minister to discuss changes to employment legislation, and complained of intimidation at the hands of the Chief Buthelezi-led Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the rival union UWUSA. After the deaths of several NUM members, COSATU pressed for freedom of association in Natal which, in its view, would destroy the basis of Inkatha. It also alleged police collusion in Inkatha attacks and called for an independent inquiry, which led to revelations concerning collusion of UWUSA with security services. In 1991, following three years' negotiations between COSATU, NACTU and SACCOLA, a new Labour Relations Amendment Act repealed the 1988 restrictions, restored the pre-1988 definition of an unfair labour practice and abolished Labour Court powers to ban lawful strikes and lock-outs. It also lifted union responsibility for illegal, unofficial strikes and eased the conciliation process.

The 1991 Act cleared the way for union entry into the National Manpower Commission (NMC). COSATU argued for enhancement and broadening of its powers, compelling the Minister to ratify decisions jointly reached by the unions and the employers. Like NACTU, it believed that places should be allocated proportionally to size thus reducing the influence of white right-wing unions. Both pressed for new legislation on collective bargaining rights, extension of the right to strike and recognition of rights for unions at companies. After protracted negotiations expedited by COSATU with a nationwide protest strike, it was finally agreed to transform the NMC into a tripartite forum for negotiations on all employment matters. In 1992 it

incorporated ten members each from employers, unions and government. From 1992 onwards the Ministry, unions and employers worked together to bring South Africa broadly in line with the standards of the ILO. Freedom of association was promulgated by the 1991 amendment but public sector collective bargaining was still restricted. Following a complaint from COSATU, an ILO Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association visited in 1992 and encouraged South Africa to bring its laws into conformity with Conventions 87 and 98. A Labour Appeal Court was agreed and promised for 1993, with judges to be appointed by the Chief Justice following NMC consultation. The 1983 Employment Act was then extended to cover both domestic and farm workers, and plans announced to bring them within the 1956 Labour Relations Act and the 1957 Workmen's Compensation Act.

Apart from the NMC the other key tripartite institution of the new South Africa was the tripartite National Economic Forum (NEF). Labour was represented on it by COSATU, NACTU, and the Federation of South African Labour Unions (FEDSAL). COSATU wished to see the NEF given mandatory powers, while business preferred advisory status, but COSATU also advocated that NEF be merged with the NMC. In 1994 it succeeded in persuading the government to establish the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) to supersede both. NEDLAC became the principal vehicle for tripartite social dialogue. With the end of apartheid in sight, many leading union figures moved into the political sphere. Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the largest COSATU affiliate, the NUM, became secretary of the ANC. After the 1994 elections, prominent COSATU figures occupied positions of power within the new administration. No less than 20 were elected to the new Parliament. Former COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo became Minister without Portfolio; COSATU's Alec Erwin became Minister of Finance and Sydney Mufamadi was appointed Minister of Safety and Security. Many others were appointed to civil service positions. But after the election of the ANC government, COSATU demonstrated that it could still act independently. On assuming power the ANC called for a moratorium on strikes, but COSATU demurred. Its affiliates were in mounting conflict with a number of private firms, notably in the mines where NUMSA was engaging international conglomerates. In 1994 disputes in the metal, paper, mining, oil, and road freight industries, led President Mandela to appeal to the COSATU congress for industrial peace. At this time, aggregate union membership was estimated at 3.5 million, an increase of over 500,000 from two years earlier. This figure corresponded to 26% of the economically active population. COSATU affiliates accounted for perhaps 1.3 million of this number.

The Labour Relations Act 1995, implemented in 1996 after being negotiated by employers, unions and government through NEDLAC, established the present framework for industrial relations in South Africa and gave statutory effect to constitutional provisions on freedom of association. The LRA recognised the main trade union rights protected by ILO Conventions 87 and 98. All private sector workers and all in the public sector except those involved with national security may join unions, and the Act enforces rights which enable unions to function in practice, such as access to workplaces, the check-off and paid leave for union officials. The Act guarantees the right to strike except for the security services and essential public services, and strikes may be staged in pursuit of broad 'socioeconomic protest'. In practice, since the end of the apartheid area, the government has not interfered in union recruitment or the internal affairs of unions or generally in collective bargaining, though it has repressed strikes.

The Labour Relations Act also set up a Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), which has been involved in the settlement of many disputes, and a Labour Court, to which disputes can be referred after failure of the CCMA to achieve a resolution. However, the emphasis has been primarily on employers and unions achieving agreement directly between them without quasi-judicial intervention. In 1997, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act set a framework, generally in accordance with union wishes, for such areas as working hours, maternity leave and Sunday pay.

NACTU became the first centre to affiliate to the ICFTU, in 1994. In April 1997, the Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA), a non-political multi-racial (but majority white) organisation, was formed by the merger of the Federation of South African Labour Unions (FEDSAL) and other smaller unions. On its formation it claimed 515,000 members in 25 affiliated unions, making it the second most important confederation after COSATU, and ahead of NACTU. By 1998, according to official estimates, overall union membership had declined to 2.9 million. In 2003, a fourth centre was created: the Confederation of South African Workers' Unions (CONSAWU), affiliated to (and, according to COSATU's president, 'bankrolled' by) the World Confederation of Labour. The ICFTU expressed concerns over the creation in 2003 of what it described as 'white only' unions, referring in particular to 'Solidarity' – formerly known as the Miners Union, which ICFTU said had 'collaborated' with the government during apartheid. Presently, all four centres – COSATU, NACTU, FEDUSA and CONSAWU – are affiliated to the ITUC. Since 2012, some COSATU-affiliates have mooted the federation's affiliation to WFTU (see below, Section 3). According to ITUC figures, COSATU has remained by far the largest centre, with 1.8 million members (2014 est.). FEDUSA and NACTU claim 310,000 members each, and CONSAWU under 50,000 members. The membership figures for COSATU are likely to have altered dramatically after the developments of recent years (see below). The ILO estimated union density at approx. 30% in 2012. The Department of Labour Registrar reported 185 registered trade unions in Dec. 2015, a number of which are not affiliated to any of the federations.

Throughout the 2000s, COSATU's alliance with the ANC and the SACP, which initially acted as a stabilising factor in post-apartheid South Africa, has produced many tensions. The ANC's Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), first developed in 1996, involved a package of policies designed to encourage growth through private investment and economic liberalisation. Largely founded on neoliberal orthodoxy, these measures included cutting corporate tax, curbing public spending and privatisation of key state industries. The policies produced lack-lustre growth rates, while decimating much of the country's industrial base. In Feb. 2000, President Mbeki announced that the government would amend the Labour Relations Act 1995 (LRA) and Basic Conditions of Employment Act 1997, which business leaders had criticised as discouraging employment and investment. The initial proposals were unacceptable to the unions but lengthy negotiations, which continued into 2001, resulted in a set of amendments to the LRA that were broadly acceptable to the unions. COSATU also came into conflict with government policy over its privatisation plans. As COSATU and the SACP found themselves increasingly isolated and unable to influence the Mbeki government, relations further soured, but both remained committed to the alliance. Socio-economic conditions worsened and wage strikes increased, culminating in the longest public sector strike in South African history in 2007.

As a result of growing dissatisfaction, Zwelinzima Vavi (COSATU general secretary from 1999) and Blade Nzimande (SACP general

secretary since 1998) mobilised support to oust Mbeki, propelling Jacob Zuma to the leadership of the ANC in 2007, and subsequently to the South African Presidency in 2009. While COSATU expressed criticism of Zuma's leadership, it also avoided direct confrontation and remained loyal to the ANC, even during a massive public sector strike in 2010. Days into the strike, Zuma appeared on national television asserting the government's right to dismiss strikers employed in 'essential' services. Police deployed against the strikers used teargas, rubber bullets and water cannons at pickets. Vavi publically described the alliance as 'dysfunctional' and blamed the ANC's 'predatory elites', but continued to negotiate behind the scenes and soon recommended that strikers accept the government's new 7.5% wage offer (up just 0.5% from the deal before the strike began).

Events at the Lonmin-owned Marikana mine in 2012 exacerbated tensions within the alliance and brought divisions within COSATU to a head. One of the most egregious attacks on workers by state security forces in recent memory, the incident drew international attention and condemnation. Anti-union violence had not been uncommon during previous strikes and demonstrations: in 2002, two mineworkers were shot dead, and several more injured, by security guards during a strike at Boksburg goldmine near Johannesburg. In more recent years, violence often flared up when police were ordered to end strikes, including the public sector strikes of 2007 and 2010. In 2011 and 2012, the ITUC reported that police had on several occasions fired repeatedly into crowds of strikers and demonstrators. The scale of killing at Marikana was, however, unprecedented. On 16 August 2012, the policing authorities deployed units armed with assault rifles and live ammunition with the stated intention of forcing an immediate end to a mine workers' strike at the Marikana platinum mine in North West Province, owned by the UK-based company Lonmin. Police shot at least 112 striking miners, killing 34. There were indications that the majority had been shot while attempting to flee or surrender. A further 259 miners were arrested and charged with the murder of the 34 miners shot and killed by police, but after the decision was widely criticised, the charges were dropped, and the miners were released.

In the build-up to the strike, the mine had been the site of increasing rivalry between the COSATU-affiliated NUM – recognised by Lonmin as the majority union – and the NACTU-affiliated Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU). A break-away union from the NUM formed at the end of the 1990s, AMCU has won a significant surge in membership at the NUM's expense. AMCU encouraged (but did not lead or initiate) the (unprotected) strike action by Lonmin's rock drillers over wages at Marikana, which the NUM denounced as characterised by high levels of intimidation and reported attacks on NUM members. During the strike two of the strikers were shot and injured by NUM officials. An environment of heightened tension and violence continued long after the massacre, with numerous reported attacks on and murders of members of both unions. Workers were injured and killed in clashes with police and security services during further industrial action at Marikana and other platinum mine sites. In August 2013, an NUM shop steward was shot dead near the union's office at the Lonmin site. In the aftermath, AMCU has emerged as the leading union in the platinum sector and by June 2013, was recognised as the majority union by Lonmin, Impala Platinum and Anglo American Platinum. The membership of the NUM has continued to decline, as tens of thousands of members reportedly crossed over to AMCU, which traditionally organised workers in coalmines and the construction sector.

A government Commission of Inquiry was established with a mandate to investigate 'matters of public, national and

international concern' arising out of the Marikana incidents, which led to the deaths of approximately 44 people (ten had been murdered in the preceding days). The Farlam Commission was to complete its work within a period of four months, but the deadline was repeatedly extended. Hearings concluded in Nov. 2014 and the Commission's report was finally published in June 2015. The report contained numerous findings against the police and criticised Lonmin for its failure to peacefully resolve the dispute. Further investigations into police conduct were recommended, as was the referral of all the killings and assaults to the Director of Public Prosecutions. The Commission further criticised both the NUM and AMCU for failing to maintain control over their members. The NUM was criticised for falsely advising rock drillers that no negotiations were possible. Government accountability was however largely ruled out. Cyril Ramaphosa – at the time of the massacre both a non-executive director at Lonmin and the Deputy President of the ANC – was fully exonerated. The former NUM general secretary and current Deputy President of South Africa Ramaphosa was alleged to have demanded increased policing of the strike, labelling the strikers as 'criminals'.

The outcome of the Marikana massacre exposed deep divisions within COSATU, the tripartite alliance and between the trade union leadership and the rank-and-file membership. COSATU responded to the events by staunchly defending the actions of the NUM, blaming the company management for undermining collective bargaining, and reaffirming the principle of 'one union, one industry'. At COSATU's 11th national congress in 2012, the ANC secretary general (and former secretary general of the NUM) Gwede Mantashe sought to brand the strike at Marikana as a 'counter-revolutionary attack' on the NUM. Mantashe warned the congress that a draft COSATU declaration risked 'shifting all blame onto the state,' and amendments were proposed removing references to police brutality.

NUMSA, in contrast, expressed disgust at the display of police brutality, declaring that the 'actions of the police confirm that we have not, post 1994, transformed the Apartheid state and its violent machinery.' The most radical union within COSATU, NUMSA had long been an outspoken critic of the ANC and after 2012, repeatedly called into question COSATU's alliance with the ANC and SACP. This provoked dramatic developments within COSATU, and led to the expulsion of both NUMSA and Vavi as COSATU general secretary. NUMSA was expelled from the federation in Nov. 2014, following allegations that it had called for COSATU to leave the tripartite alliance, and that it had been organising outside of agreed demarcation sectors. NUMSA strongly contested the expulsion and Vavi – perceived as an ally of NUMSA – described the decision as 'a disaster'. While NUMSA sought unsuccessfully to challenge the decision, a number of COSATU-affiliates came out in their support. The so-called 'Nine Plus' unions initially called for Vavi and NUMSA to be reinstated, arguing that the factions within COSATU that had led the purge were determined to turn the federation into 'nothing more than a labour desk of the ruling party.' In Nov. 2015, the COSATU national conference confirmed the expulsion of both Vavi and of NUMSA. Within COSATU, metalworkers are now represented by a new organisation, the Liberated Metalworkers Union of South Africa (LIMUSA).

NUMSA and Vavi both said that it was impossible to envisage reuniting the organisations and NUMSA pressed ahead with plans to establish a new alternative federation, an idea mooted since 2013. In early 2016, the Nine Plus group announced dates for the launch of a new trade union federation to rival COSATU. A workers' summit is planned for March and a first elections congress scheduled for 1 May 2016. The group includes four

COSATU affiliates - the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU), the South African Football Players Union (SAFPU), the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU) and the Public and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (PAWUSA) — alongside four independent unions newly created as a result of splits from COSATU affiliated unions: the Municipal and Allied Trade Union of South Africa (MATUSA), the Democratic and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (DEMAWUSA), the South African Public Service Union (SAPSU) and the Finance Union of Workers (FUWO). These post-2012 developments have thrown the future of COSATU, the country's largest trade union centre, into question. The feud between NUMSA and COSATU will be critical in the shaping not only of South Africa's labour movement but also its political landscape in the years ahead.

In practice, collective bargaining takes place at sector, enterprise and plant levels. There are 47 bargaining councils covering an estimated 2.5 million workers across both the private and public sectors (including national and local government). It is estimated that over 50% of bargaining council coverage is linked to the public service (including local government). To join the Public Sector Co-ordinated Bargaining Council, unions are required to have a membership threshold of 50,000 members. Eighteen trade unions are deemed sufficiently representative to be represented on the Council (the largest of which is the South African Democratic Union, SADTU). Additionally, collective bargaining occurs in non-statutory structures (including in mining, automobile manufacturing, contract cleaning and private security). Where there is limited bargaining and union organisation, wages are determined through sectoral determinations implemented by the Department of Labour following recommendations made by the Employment Conditions Commission. Notably, the law also extends collective bargaining rights to the police. A 2014 ILO study of non-standard employment in the public sector in South Africa concluded that the increasing outsourcing of some workers undermines collective bargaining rights: 'despite the South African government's commitment to freedom of association, and the right of workers to form or join a trade union, it is arguably complicit in supporting non-standard work arrangements which make the exercise of these rights difficult, and which are arguably calculated to frustrate the exercise of trade union rights.'

The Labour Relations Act 1995 has been subsequently amended, most recently in 2015. Formerly, the law on union representation required unions to have over 50% membership to qualify as the majority union for recognition at enterprise level. The Labour Relations Amendment Act 2014 (effective from 1 Jan. 2015) introduced government powers to award majority rights to a union which is sufficiently representative and where no other majority union already exists. The Act also limits the subject matter of disputes over which employees can lawfully strike. Strikes are not permitted where they concern disputes which can be adjudicated or sectoral wage determinations within the first 12 months of publication. Strikes may be suspended and picketing agreements amended by the Labour Court, and protection against civil liability is suspended where such agreements are breached. The LRA amendments also introduced the requirement that employment benefits of permanent employees must be extended to employees provided by labour brokers.

### 3 Trade Union Centres

#### Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

*Address.* PO Box 1019, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 339 4911 *Fax.* +27 11 339 5080 / 6940

*E-mail.* donald@cosatu.org.za *Web.* www.cosatu.org.za

*Leadership.* Sdumo Dlamini (president),

Bheki Ntshalintshali (general secretary)

*Membership.* 1.8 million

*History and character.* COSATU was formed in 1985 by 33 mainly black unions with 558,000 members as a federation that would emphasise opposition to apartheid on a non-racial basis. It absorbed the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which had nine affiliates, and incorporated the 180,000-member National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which had left the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). At its founding congress, COSATU made the following demands: (i) the repeal of the pass laws; (ii) the repeal of the state of emergency; (iii) withdrawal of troops and police from the townships; (iv) unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and the repeal of all banning orders; (v) the dismantling of the bantustan (homelands) system; and (vi) an end to the migrant labour system. COSATU committed itself to worker control, representation based on paid-up membership, broad-based industrial unionism, and non-racial recruitment, the demand for a national minimum wage, an end to overtime, sexual equality, and support for disinvestment by foreign firms and economic sanctions against South Africa. COSATU suffered serious harassment from 1987 onwards. Officials were detained, and offices were raided and sabotaged. With other anti-apartheid groups repressed under the State of Emergency, COSATU was impelled further into the political arena. It was prominent in the organisation of the 1986 and 1987 May Day strikes and the June 1987 'stay away'. In 1987 it adopted the Freedom Charter and reaffirmed its support for international sanctions against South Africa. In response the government proscribed it from engaging in a wide range of specified political activities, as part of a package of still greater restrictions on anti-apartheid organisations introduced early in 1988.

Before 1989, a 'workerist' faction argued for a concentration on industrial activities but the leadership, against a background of escalating change in South Africa, retained support for its political focus. Following the dissolution of SACTU, the ANC's trade union front, in 1990, COSATU replaced it in a tripartite 'revolutionary alliance' with the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP). Although frequently strained during the 1990s and 2000s, since 2010 the tripartite alliance has been stretched to breaking point, and has thrown the future of COSATU into question. A special congress of Sept. 1993 elected 20 officials to stand on the ANC list in the forthcoming national and regional elections. Nelson Mandela told the Congress: 'The ANC will never betray the cause of democracy, and the cause of the workers. You must support the ANC only if it delivers the goods. If it does not, do to it what you have done to the apartheid regime!' Congress also adopted a Platform of Workers' Rights on the basis of which it negotiated to commit the ANC in the elections: the platform included basic organising rights, collective bargaining, workplace empowerment, human resource development, and national industry-based provident funds.

In a 1994 conference, COSATU developed special proposals for the reform of industrial relations structures, which to a considerable degree were reflected in the subsequent creation of NEDLAC. Great symbolism was attached to the attendance of Nelson Mandela, then President, at the fifth (Sept. 1994) congress, but he brought an unappetising message. He appealed to delegates to think of the unemployed rather than of pay demands. Little greater encouragement came from Jay Naidoo (former COSATU general secretary) and Alec Erwin (former COSATU education officer), now key economic ministers. The SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula warned that the new government was in danger of representing only the employers. Despite tensions, the tripartite

alliance prevailed during this period. Several SACP members held government posts and Zwelinzima Vavi, COSATU general secretary from 1999 until 2015, is an active SACP member. Former COSATU general secretary Mbhazima Shilowa became premier of the key industrial province of Gauteng, which includes Johannesburg, from 1999 until 2008. Using its position within the alliance, COSATU claimed credit for securing the enactment of measures such as the 1997 Basic Conditions of Employment Act, which covered issues such as working hours (providing for a 45-hour maximum week), maternity leave and child labour and was relevant to many of South Africa's most vulnerable workers. At the same time, COSATU found itself opposed to some key government initiatives, including plans to sell off a range of public assets. In alliance with the SACP, COSATU attacked the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), which aimed to cut the budget deficit by curbing public spending, claiming it has produced poor growth and increased unemployment. In 2000, COSATU announced a programme of 'mass action' in protest at an estimated unemployment rate of 35%. A few days later President Mbeki, in his state-of-the-nation address underlined the need for further restructuring (privatisation) of state assets and warned that labour laws would be amended.

Throughout the 2000s, COSATU kept up political pressure against government policies, but found itself increasingly unable to change their course. As a result, Vavi and the SACP leadership sought to oust Mbeki from the presidency, putting their support behind the sacked Deputy President Zuma. However, having successfully promoted Zuma to the ANC leadership and the office of South African President in 2009, COSATU and the SACP were no more able to shift the neoliberal trend of ANC-policy making. Tensions became acute, but the federation remained committed to the ANC-alliance. The future of the tripartite alliance has become increasingly precarious following the 2010 public sector strike, the 2012 Marikana massacre, the expulsion of the federation's largest affiliate – the militant metalworkers' union NUMSA – and the suspension of Vavi as general secretary, exposing deepening divisions. In the wake of the events at Marikana, COSATU issued a statement declaring that 'in the face of inequalities our responsibility is to maintain workers' unity and direct their anger and frustrations to those who keep wages down and working conditions unbearable - the bosses.' COSATU branded the police conduct 'excessive,' but gave full support to the NUM and criticised the strikers for taking up arms.

In contrast, NUMSA – long openly critical of the ANC and the SACP – responded to Marikana with strong condemnation of the state's deployment of lethal force. With the NUM's popularity waning, NUMSA had in recent years emerged as the strongest COSATU-affiliate and the largest trade union in the country. The NUM accused NUMSA of poaching its members. In 2014, NUMSA resolved to withdraw support from the ANC. COSATU's subsequent decision to expel NUMSA was made at the national congress in Nov. 2014. COSATU cited NUMSA's proposal to break-up the alliance with the ANC and its failure to adhere to the principle of 'one union, one industry' as grounds for its expulsion. NUMSA argued that the 'one union' principle – a 'noble persuasive and aspirational ideal' – had been often flouted by COSATU affiliates straying into other industries while adapting to the changing shape of the economy. Vavi's slow demise as COSATU general secretary escalated in 2013, with a suspension over alleged sexual harassment of a COSATU colleague. The victim dropped the claim, and Vavi's suspension was overturned by the courts, but a raft of new allegations were raised against Vavi – including financial impropriety and leading a boycott of Central Executive Committee meetings. In March 2015, he was dismissed

for gross misconduct. Vavi has insisted that he was ousted due to his steadfast support for the reinstatement of NUMSA, the union that represented the bedrock of his support as general secretary.

In parallel to these developments, the issue of COSATU's international affiliation has been raised in recent years. In Feb. 2012, WFTU's Presidential Council was invited to meet in Johannesburg by four COSATU member unions that in recent years affiliated to WFTU: NEHAWU, NUMSA, CEPPWAWU and POPCRU. Reports emerged that these unions were seeking to promote support within COSATU to disaffiliate from the ITUC and affiliate as a federation to WFTU. The then-COSATU general secretary Vavi expressed reservations about the motives for such a move. In Sept. 2012, COSATU's 11th National Congress was addressed by both the ITUC and WFTU. At the congress, it was announced that the NUM's formal affiliation to WFTU had also been initiated. Based on COSATU's membership figures at the time, over 800,000 of its affiliates' members (of some 2 million) were then affiliated to WFTU. To date, no formal affiliation of COSATU to WFTU has taken place, but the 12th COSATU National Congress in 2015 agreed that the federation would host WFTU's Oct. 2016 congress.

*International affiliations.* ITUC; SATUCC

*COSATU's main affiliates are:*

**1. Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (CEPPWAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 3219, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 712 0300 *Fax.* +27 11 403 0262

*E-mail.* secretariat@ceppwawu.org.za / chief@ceppwawu.org.za

*Web.* www.ceppwawu.org.za

*Leadership.* Simon Mofokeng (general secretary)

*Membership.* 68,000

*History and character.* Registered on 12 Sept. 1999

*International affiliation.* WFTU; UNI; Industrial

**2. Communication Workers' Union (CWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 10248, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 720 0360 / 720 0131 *Fax.* +27 86 670 1229

*E-mail.* nomim@cwu.org.za / mogalanet@gmail.com

*Web.* www.cwu.org.za

*Leadership.* Aubrey Tshabalala (general secretary)

*Membership.* Around 40,000

*History and character.* Registered on 6 March 1997

**3. Creative Workers Union of South Africa (CWUSA)**

*Phone.* +27 11 339 1676 *Fax.* +27 11 339 1677

*E-mail.* musa2@absamail.co.za

*Leadership.* Oupa Lebogo (general secretary)

**4. Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA)**

*Address.* PO Box 1280, Pretoria 0001

*Phone.* +27 12 343 231 5 / 6 / 7 *Fax.* +27 12 344 0750

*E-mail.* info@denosa.org.za *Web.* www.denosa.org.za

*Leadership.* Madithapo Masemola (Acting general secretary),

Simon Hlungwani (president)

*Membership.* 65,000 (2011)

*History and character.* Registered on 24 Feb. 1998

*International affiliation.* PSI

**5. Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 1234, Woodstock 7915

*Phone.* +27 21 637 9040 *Fax.* +27 21 637 9190 / 637 6164

*E-mail.* fawu@wn.apc.org *Web.* www.fawu.org.za

*Leadership.* Atwell Nazo (president),

Katishi Masemola (general secretary)

*Membership.* Around 114,000

*History and character.* Established under the name Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) in 1941. The FAWU merged with the South African Agriculture Plantation and Allied Workers' Union (SAPAAWU) in 2004.

*International affiliation.* IUF

#### **6. Liberated Metal Workers Union of South Africa (LIMUSA)**

*Address.* 321 Anton Lembede Street, 3rd Floor SADTU House, Durban 4001 / PO Box 27815, Sunnyside, Pretoria 0132

*Phone.* +27 31 305 5502 / 31 304 2217 *Fax.* +27 31 301 1600

*E-mail.* mawonga.madolo@limusa.org *Web.* www.limusa.org

*Leadership.* Sifiso Norman Hlanganani Maphumulo (president), Sabelo Cedric Gina (general secretary)

*History and character.* Registered on 28/11/2014

#### **7. National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 10812, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 833 2902 / 836 5614 *Fax.* +27 11 834 0757

*E-mail.* thulani@nehawu.org.za / stuart@nehawu.org.za /

sthembiso@nehawu.org.za / secretariatPA@nehawu.org.za

*Web.* www.nehawu.org.za

*Leadership.* Mzwandile Makwayiba (president), Bereng Soke (general secretary)

*Membership.* 260,738

*History and character.* NEHAWU was founded in 1987 and is the largest public sector union in South Africa. It provides a range of member services including scholarships, medical assistance, provident funds, and group insurance.

*International affiliation.* WFTU; PSI

#### **8. National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)**

*Address.* PO Box 2424, Johannesburg 2001

*Phone.* +27 11 377 2000 / 1 *Fax.* +27 11 560 0329

*E-mail.* nrakau@num.org.za / fmadihlaba@num.org.za /

zmaduna@num.org.za *Web.* www.num.org.za

*Leadership.* Thamsanqa Piet Matosa (president),

Kolekile David Sipunzi (general secretary)

*Membership.* 260,000 (2011 est.)

*History and character.* Founded in 1982, the NUM grew with great rapidity among black mineworkers and won recognition for bargaining purposes from the employers' organisation, the Chamber of Mines, in 1983. It campaigned effectively in the 1980s for the end of the job reservation system whereby the best-paid jobs were reserved for whites. It has members in mining, energy, engineering and construction. In Dec. 1993 it opened the first union-owned training centre in South Africa; in 1996 the Mine Health and Safety Act, which it had backed, became law. The NUM-founder Cyril Ramaphosa became ANC in secretary general 1991, Deputy President of the ANC in 2012, and Deputy President of South Africa in 2014. Once the largest COSATU affiliate, with a membership of over 300,000, the NUM has been in decline in recent years. Strong rivalry has developed with the NACTU-affiliated union AMCU, who supported the Marikana strike in 2012, as well as with NUMSA, whom the NUM accused of poaching its members and breaching COSATU's 'one union, one industry' principle, leading to NUMSA's expulsion from the confederation. The NUM was criticised by the Commission of Inquiry into the events surrounding the Marikana massacre for advising rock drillers that no negotiations were possible and failing to control its members.

*International affiliation.* WFTU; Industriall; BWI

#### **9. Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU)**

*Address.* PO Box 8657, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 242 4600 *Fax.* +27 86 625 3054

*E-mail.* gs@popcru.org.za *Web.* www.popcru.org.za

*Leadership.* Nkosinathi Theledi (general secretary)

*Membership.* 100,000 (2011 est.)

*History and character.* Registered on 11 Nov., 1996

*International affiliation.* WFTU

#### **10. Public and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (PAWUSA)**

*Address.* PO Box 2759, Cape Town, 8000

*Phone.* +27 21 424 2055 *Fax.* +27 21 424 6804 / 06

*E-mail.* gensec@pawusa.co.za / gavinjood@vodamail.co.za /

services@pawusa.org.za *Web.* www.pawusa.org.za

*Leadership.* Abdul Hadee Vent (general secretary)

*History and character.* Registered on 11 Nov., 1996

#### **11. SASBO: The Finance Union**

*Address.* Private Bag X84, Bryanston 2021

*Phone.* +27 11 467 0192 *Fax.* +27 11 467 0188 / 9

*E-mail.* research@sasbo.org.za / gizellec@sasbo.org.za

*Web.* www.sasbo.org.za

*Membership.* 60,000 (2011 est.)

*History and character.* Registered on 4 April 1925

*International affiliation.* UNI

#### **12. Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 1194, Woodstock 7915

*Phone.* +27 21 447 4570 *Fax.* +27 21 447 4593

*E-mail.* headoffice@sactwu.org.za / hazelj@sactwu.org.za /

andrek@sactwu.org.za / charlenea@sactwu.org.za

*Web.* www.sactwu.org.za

*Leadership.* Themba Khumalo (president),

Andre Kriel (general secretary)

*Membership.* 99,000

*History and character.* Registered on 23 Oct. 1989

*International affiliation.* Industriall

#### **13. South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 10730, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 403 8333 / 8327 / 0306

*Fax.* +27 11 403 0309 / 86 235 7054

*E-mail.* bzskulu@saccawu.org.za *Web.* www.saccawu.org.za

*Leadership.* Bones Skulu (general secretary)

*Membership.* 110,000 (2011 est.)

*History and character.* Registered on 28 Nov. 1981

*International affiliation.* IUF, UNI

#### **14. South African National Defence Union (SANDU)**

*Address.* 326 Rivonia Boulevard, Rivonia, Johannesburg

*Phone.* +27 011 807 3294 *Fax.* +27 11 807 2020

#### **15. South African Democratic Nurses Union (SADNU)**

*Address.* PO Box 9637, Bloemfontein, 9300

*Phone.* +27 51 448 7551 / 76 709 4380

*Fax.* +27 51 448 6365 / 86 606 9710

*E-mail.* sadnu.national@gmail.com / sadnu@telkomsa.net /

mfmohai@gmail.com

*Leadership.* Freddie Mohai (general secretary)

*Membership.* 8200

#### **16. South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU)**

*Address.* PO Box 6401, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 334 4830 / 82 414 8799 *Fax.* +27 11 334 4836 / 4838

*E-mail.* sadtu@sadtu.org.za / tntshangase@sadtu.org.za

*Web.* www.sadtu.org.za

*Leadership.* Magope Maphila (president),

Mugwena John Maluleke (general secretary)

*Membership.* 251,666 (EI)

*History and character.* Launched in Johannesburg on 6 Oct. 1990.

*International affiliation.* EI

### **17. South African Football Players Union (SAFPU)**

*Address.* P O Box 1019, Braamfontein, 2017

*Phone.* +27 11 339 1906 / 82 520 1434 *Fax.* +27 11 339 3694

*E-mail.* thulayo@gmail.com / info@safpu.org *Web.* www.safpu.org

*Leadership.* Thulaganyo Gaoshubelwe (general secretary)

*History and character.* Registered in Sept. 1995

### **18. South African Medical Association (SAMA)**

*Address.* PO Box 74789, Lynnwood Ridge, 0040

*Phone.* +27 12 481 2000 / 2029 *Fax.* +27 12 481 2100 / 2107

*E-mail.* jeanettes@samedical.org / phalanem@samedical.org

*Web.* www.samedical.org

*Leadership.* Mahlane Phalane (general secretary)

*History and character.* Registered on 11 Nov. 1996

### **19. South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 2617, Johannesburg, 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 100 2605/4 *Fax.* +27 11 100 2611 / 086 542 7473

*E-mail.* walter.theledi@samwu.org.za /

claudia.mckenzie@samwu.org.za /

moshidi.motlhamme@samwu.org.za *Web.* www.samwu.org.za

*Leadership.* Walter Theledi (general secretary)

*Membership.* 150,000 (SAMWU); 135,679 (PSO affiliated)

*History and character.* Founded in 1987

*International affiliation.* PSI

### **20. South African State and Allied Workers' Union (SASAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 30654, Braamfontein 2017

*Phone.* +27 11 339 7012 *Fax.* +27 11 339 3406

*E-mail.* Mike.Ngqolowa@labour.gov.za / gpo@sasawu.org.za /

basjant@edu.fs.gov.za

*Leadership.* Mike Ngqolowa (general secretary)

*Membership.* 144,000

*History and character.* Founded in July 2000.

### **21. South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union (SATAWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 9451, Johannesburg 2000

*Phone.* +27 11 403 2077 *Fax.* +27 11 403 2021

*E-mail.* phala@satawu.org.za / mosai@satawu.org.za

*Web.* www.satawu.org.za

*Leadership.* June Dube (president),

Zenzo Mahlangu (general secretary)

*Membership.* 135,000 (2011 est.)

*History and character.* Registered on 23 Oct. 2000

*International affiliation.* ITF, UNI

### **Confederation of South African Workers' Unions (CONSAWU)**

*Address.* 814 Church Street, Eastwood 0086 / PO Box 877, Pretoria

*Phone.* +27 12 324 1672 / 12 661 4265 *Fax.* +27 1266 11793

*E-mail.* consawu@mweb.co.za *Web.* consawu.co.za

*Leadership.* Maggie Makgoba (Acting President),

Piet du Plooy (general secretary)

*Membership.* 49,730

*History and character.* CONSAWU was the latest of the four national centres currently active to be established, in 2003.

Although the ITUC reports CONSAWU's membership at under 50,000, two of the federations most significant members

(NUPSAW and Solidarity) both claim memberships greatly in

excess of this, amounting to 200,000 members. Details for

NUPSAW and Solidarity are listed below. CONSAWU's other

affiliates are: Building Wood and Allied Workers Union of South

Africa (BWAUSA); Building Workers' Union (BWU); Laundry

and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (LAWUSA);

Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (CUSA); Mine,

Engineering and Distributors Workers Union of South Africa

(MEDWUSA); National Certificated Fishing and Allied Workers

Union (NCFAWU); National Union of Hotel Restaurant

Catering Commercial Health and Allied Workers

(NUHRCCHAW); Professional Educators Union (PEU; also

affiliated to NACTU); Thor Transport Action Retail & General

Workers Union (THOR); Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union

(TALFU); South African Building & Allied Workers'

Organization (SABAWO, affiliated to the BWI); South African

Food, Retail & Agricultural Workers' Union (SAFRAWU); and

the Tourism Union of South Africa.

*International affiliation.* ITUC

*CONSAWU's affiliates include:*

#### **1. National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers (NUPSAW)**

*Address.* NUPSAW House, 814 Church Street, Eastwood,

Pretoria, 0001 / PO Box 11459, Tramshed, 0126

*Phone.* +27 12 342 1674 *Fax.* +27 86 672 4354 / 12 328 6410

*E-mail.* generalsecretary@nupsaw.co.za /

smataitsane@nupsaw.co.za *Web.* www.nupsaw.co.za

*Leadership.* Kagiso I. Mokaila (president),

Success Mataitsane (secretary general)

*Membership.* 60,000

*History and character.* Registered on 13/8/1998

*International affiliation.* PSI

#### **2. Solidariteit / Solidarity**

*Address.* Cnr DF Malan & Eendracht street, Kloofsig,

Centurion, 0157 / PO Box 11760, Centurion, 0046

*Phone.* +27 12 644 4300 / 94 *Fax.* +27 12 664 1302 / 664 1198

*E-mail.* nica@solidariteit.co.za / paulize@solidariteit.co.za /

danet@solidariteit.co.za *Web.* www.solidarity.co.za

*Leadership.* (president), (secretary general)

*Membership.* 140,000 (Solidarity est.)

*History and character.* Solidarity traces its roots back to 1902 and

the founding of the Transvaal Miners' Association. The union

organises workers in the aviation, chemical, professional services,

telecommunication, electrical, metal and engineering, mining,

medical and agricultural sectors. Solidarity joined CONSAWU in

2006. It identifies itself in the tradition of Christian trade

unionism, is independent of political parties and has historical

and present ties to the Afrikaner community. The union is in

favour 'of an economic order of free competition' and has

positioned itself as a defender of minorities in the new South

Africa. In this regard, Solidarity 'believes that imbalances must be

rectified without creating new forms of imbalance. The manner in

which affirmative action is currently being implemented is creating

serious new forms of discrimination. Because of the ideology of

representation the masses do not benefit and whites are being

seriously disadvantaged.'

#### **Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA)**

*Address.* FEDUSA House, 10 Kingfisher Street, Horizon Park,

1725, PO Box 7779, Westgate, 1734

*Phone.* +27 11 279 1800 *Fax.* +27 11 279 1820 / 1

*E-mail.* fedusa@fedusa.org.za *Web.* www.fedusa.org.za

*Leadership.* Koos Bezuidenhout (president),

Masale Godfrey Selematsela (Deputy President)

*Membership.* 310,000

*History and character.* FEDUSA was launched on 1 April 1997,

and ranks second to COSATU among South Africa's trade union

centres, although much smaller and far less influential. Its leading

founder was the Federation of South African Labour Unions

(FEDSAL). FEDSAL's membership was 80% white-collar and about 70% white, reflecting South African employment patterns. FEDSAL had cordial relations with the WCL, without being affiliated. In 1998, however, FEDUSA was accepted into affiliation by the ICFTU. FEDUSA has no political alliances. It emphasises moderation and participates fully in the range of tripartite institutions. FEDUSA has 20 affiliates, the most significant of which include HOSPERSA, SAOU and UASA.

*International affiliation.* ITUC; SATUCC

*FEDUSA's affiliates include:*

#### **1. Health and Other Service Personnel Trade Union of South Africa (HOSPERSA)**

*Address.* Head Office: Building C, 242 Jean Ave, Die Hoewes, Centurion, 0157 / PO Box 17474, Lyttleton, Pretoria, 0140  
*Phone.* +27 12 664 6302 / 53 *Fax.* +27 12 664 6366

*E-mail.* officegs@hospersa.co.za / noel@hospersa.co.za / kwazulunatal@hospersa.co.za agsadmin@hospersa.co.za / admyolandie@hospersa.co.za *Web.* www.hospersa.co.za

*Leadership.* Masale Godfrey Selematsela (president), Noel Desfontaines (secretary general)

*Membership.* 64,397

*History and character.* Registered on 3/6/1994

*International Affiliations.* PSI

#### **2. Hospitality Industry & Allied Workers Union (HIAWU)**

*Address.* KMS House, 4th Floor, 173 Yusuf Dadoo Street (Grey Str), Durban, 4001 / PO Box 290, Durban, 4000

*Phone.* +27 31 301 0288 / 3056579 *Fax.* +27 31 301 0293

*E-mail.* hiawu@pcnet.co.za

*Leadership.* L. Reddy (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 24/6/1929.

#### **3. Insurance and Banking Staff Association (IBSA)**

*Address.* Unit 11, Northcliff Office Park, 203 Beyers Naude Drive, Northcliff, 2195 / PO Box 5129, Cresta, 2118

*Phone.* +27 11 782 0291 *Fax.* +27 11 782 0307

*E-mail.* ibsa@global.co.za *Web.* www.ibsa.org.za

*Leadership.* E. Zeeman (secretary general)

#### **4. Joint Affirmative Management Forum (JAMAFO)**

*Address.* 132 Market Str, Cnr. Von Brandies, Mansion House, 7th Flr, Suite 701, Marshalltown, 2001 / PO Box 62646, Marshalltown, 2107

*Phone.* +27 11 333 0107/8 *Fax.* +27 11 333 0120

*E-mail.* jamafo@icon.co.za / info@jamafo.org.za / jzaca@iburst.co.za / jmpahlele@iburst.co.za

*Web.* www.jamafo.org.za

*Leadership.* J Mphahlele (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 08/11/2000

#### **5. Motor Industry Staff Association (MISA)**

*Address.* 201 Misa Centre, 12 Fir Drive, Northcliff Ext 2, Johannesburg, 2115 / PO Box 1604, Northcliff, 2115

*Phone.* +27 11 476 3920 / 011 678 6328

*Fax.* +27 86 605 2736 / 11 678 4537

*E-mail.* info@ms.org.za / Karen.schoonraad@ms.org.za /

ddev@ms.org.za / koosolivier9@gmail.com *Web.* www.misa.org.za

*Leadership.* M Keyter (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 5/12/2003

#### **6. Motor Transport Workers' Union of South Africa (MTWU)**

*Address.* PO Box 30925, 6th Floor, Samro House, 20 de Korte Street, Braamfontein, 2017

*Phone.* +27 11 403 1619 *Fax.* +27 11 403 1852

*E-mail.* mtwu@wirelessza.co.za / membership@mtwu.co.za /

londiwe@mtwu.co.za

*Leadership.* M. Mabaso (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 21/10/1948

#### **7. National Security and Unqualified Workers Union (NASUWU)**

*Address.* Absa Building, 58 Field Street, 10th Floor, Durban, 4001 / PO Box 63015, Bishopsgate, Durban, 4008

*Phone.* +27 31 305 9320 / 1 *Fax.* +27 31 305 9621

*Leadership.* H Mdineka (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 14/9/1998

#### **8. National Union of Leather and Allied Workers (NULAW)**

*Address.* 33 Selbourne Road, Umbilo, Durban, 4075 / PO Box 59088, Umbilo, 4075 / PO Box 839, Durban, 4000

*Phone.* +27 31 206 0105 / 11 834 5691 / 83 258 4433

*Fax.* +27 31 206 0109 / 11 834 8020 / 86 689 4920

*E-mail.* nulawjhb@telkomsa.net / ashleybenjamin@nulaw.co.za /

nulaw.mar@mweb.co.za / roshillarabikissoon@nulaw.co.za

*Web.* www.nulaw.org.za

*Leadership.* A. Benjamin (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 16/3/1926

#### **9. National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU)**

*Address.* PO Box 7147, Newton Park, Port Elizabeth, 6055

*Phone.* +27 41 365 1486

*E-mail.* office@nteu.org.za *Web.* www.nteu.org.za

*Leadership.* G. Abbott (general secretary)

#### **10. Professional Transport and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (PTAWU)**

*Address.* 107 Market Str, Elephant House, Office No. 219,

2nd Floor, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 31415, Braamfontein, 2017

*Phone.* +27 11 333 0904 / 492 3022 / 3 / 079 497 6340

*Fax.* +27 86 691 7873 / 11 492 3024 / 333 1448

*E-mail.* headoffice@ptawu.co.za / rcksnbaloyi6@gmail.com /

ptawu1@telkomsa.net *Web.* www.ptawu.co.za

*Leadership.* R. Baloyi (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 23/1/1980

#### **11. South African Abet Educators Union (SAAEU)**

*Address.* NBS Building, 3rd Floor, Elizabeth Street, Bloemfontein, 9301 / PO Box 466, Bloemfontein, 9300

*Phone.* +27 51 447 5365 / 83 767 4561

*Fax.* +27 51 447 5365 / 434 1191

*E-mail.* lefalatsa@saaeu.co.za / kplefalatsa@gmail.com

*Leadership.* P. Lefalatsa (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registration on 26/9/2007

#### **12. South African Communications Union (SACU)**

*Address.* 3B Canal Edge, Fountain Road, Bellville, 7530 / PO Box 38094, Gatesville, 7766

*Phone.* +27 21 914 2562 / 701 1106 / 82 377 5837 / 86 100 7228

*Fax.* +27 21 914 5883 / 86 600 3342 / 86 600 1234

*E-mail.* harem@telkom.co.za / sacuho@cybersmart.co.za

*Web.* www.sacu.co.za

*Leadership.* K. Abrahams (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 31/10/1994

#### **13. South African Furniture and Allied Workers Union (SAFAWU)**

*Address.* 1 Malta Road, Palace House, Room 110, 1st Floor, Salt River, 8001

*Phone.* +27 21 447 4209 / 3875 / 74 077 9902 *Fax.* +27 21 447 4208

*E-mail.* safawu@telkomsa.net *Web.* www.safawu.webs.com

*Leadership.* P.J. Daries (secretary general)

*History and character.* Registered on 14/10/2011

**14. Suid Afrikaanse Onderwysers Unie (SAOU)**

(South African Teachers Union)

*Address.* PO Box 90120, Serene Street 278, Garsfontein, 0042*Phone.* +27 12 436 0900 / 436 0902 / 348 9641 / 86 072 6843*Fax.* +27 12 348 9658 / 86 557 1017*E-mail.* Regsdienste@saou.co.za / saou@saou.co.za /

pdelpoort@saou.co.za / jprinsloo@saou.co.za / zeldar@saou.co.za /

CKlopper@saou.co.za *Web.* www.saou.co.za*Leadership.* (president), (secretary general)*Membership.* 28,214 (EI)*History and character.* Registered on 23/1/1997*International Affiliations.* EI**15. South African Parastatal and Tertiary Institutions Union (SAPTU)***Address.* PO Box 1952, Wapadrand Office Park, Suite No.6,

Office 61, 90 Kingbolt Crescent, Wapadrand, PTA, 0500

*Phone.* +27 12 807 4798 / 348 1180 *Fax.* +27 12 807 4797*E-mail.* info@saptu.co.za *Web.* www.saptu.co.za*Leadership.* Adv B van der Walt (secretary general)*History and character.* Registered on 15/10/2008**16. South African Typographical Union (SATU)***Address.* PO Box 1993, Pretoria, 0001*Phone.* +27 012 338 2071 *Fax.* +27 012 326 4196*E-mail.* admin@satu.co.za *Web.* www.satu.co.za*Leadership.* M Deysel (general secretary)**17. Tertiary Education National Union of South Africa (TENUSA)***Address.* Durban University of Technology, 41-43 M.L.

Sultan Rd, Durban, 4001 / PO Box 4436, Durban, 4000

*Phone.* +27 31 373 5438 *Fax.* +27 31 373 5698*E-mail.* sentoona@dut.ac.za / tenusa@dut.ac.za / alvinn@dut.ac.za*Leadership.* N.R. Sento (Chairperson)*History and character.* Registered on 9/3/2005**18. UASA – The Union***Address.* 42 Goldman Street, Florida, 1709 / PO Box 565, Florida, 1710*Phone.* +27 11 472 3600, ext. 106 *Fax.* +27 11 674 4057 / 86 504 0968*E-mail.* jplbez@uasa.org.za / admin@uasa.org.za / pa.ceo@uasa.org.za*Web.* www.uasa.org.za*Leadership.* Costa Raftopoulos (president),

JPL Bezuidenhout (CEO)

*Membership.* 72,000*History and character.* Registered on 23/6/1998*International Affiliations.* ITF**19. United National Public Servants Association of South Africa and Allied Workers Union (UNIPSAWU)***Address.* Stand 1609, Section A, near Mangombe Butchery, Giyani

Old Post Office BLD, Giyani, 0826 / PO Box 904, Giyani, 0826

*Phone.* +27 15 812 3455 / 4962 / 73 443 3544 *Fax.* +27 15 812 3455*Leadership.* D. Maselesele (secretary general)*History and character.* Registered on 8/4/1998**20. United National Transport Union (UNTU)***Address.* UTATU House, 182 Louis Botha Avenue, Houghton

Estates, Johannesburg, 2198 / PO Box 31100, Braamfontein, 2017

*Phone.* +27 11 728 0120 / 82 566 5516 *Fax.* +27 11 728 8257 / 58*E-mail.* headoffice@untu.co.za / annemarie@untu.co.za /steve@untu.co.za / pieter@untu.co.za *Web.* www.untu.co.za*Leadership.* W.L. Evans (president)*History and character.* Registered on 22/6/2012. UNTU was

formed of a merger of the South African Railways and Harbours

Union (SARWHU) and the United Transport and Allied Trade

Union (UTATU) in June 2012. The union's name was changed to

the United National Transport Union with effect from Nov. 2014.

**National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)***Address.* PO Box 10928, Johannesburg 2000*Phone.* +27 11 833 1040 *Fax.* +27 11 833 1032*E-mail.* info@nactu.org.za *Web.* www.nactu.org.za*Leadership.* Narius Moloto (general secretary)*Membership.* 310,000*History and character.* NACTU was formed in 1986, by the merger

of the former Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and

Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU). NACTU's

position was that black workers should always hold the leadership

positions in unions even if (as was the case with some CUSA

unions) they had some non-black members (AZACTU unions

admitted only black workers). While AZACTU was affiliated to

the Azanian People's Organisation, CUSA had sympathies with

the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The new federation was

weakened by the disaffiliation from CUSA of the National Union

of Mineworkers (NUM), the major element in CUSA, to become

a founding member of COSATU. NACTU faced divisions in its

attitude to the ANC, which had established a clear leadership

position in the struggle against apartheid. In 1994, NACTU

became the ICFTU's first post-apartheid South African affiliate.

NACTU has 18 affiliated unions. The largest and most influential

of these is AMCU, which has become a powerful force in recent

years, organising workers in the platinum industry and threatening

the position of the COSATU-affiliated NUM. Tensions between

the two unions contributed to a climate of animosity and sporadic

violence which endured long after the massacre of strikers at

Marikana 2012. The NACTU-affiliated Industrial Commercial &amp;

Allied Workers Union (ICAWU) had its registration cancelled in

2015; the registrar declared it had ceased to function as a union.

*International affiliation.* ITUC; SATUCC*NACTU's affiliates include:***1. Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU)***Address.* PFS Building, Neven Street, Witbank, 1035 / PO Box

920, River Crescent. Witbank, 1035

*Phone.* +27 13 590 1440 / 656 5111 / 5*Fax.* +27 13 656 0015 / 86 652 8004*E-mail.* headoffice@amcu.co.za / mabenaem@amcu.co.za*Web.* www.amcu.co.za*Leadership.* Joseph Mathunjwa (president),

Jeff Mphahlele (secretary general)

*Membership.* 200,000*History and character.* Registered on 04/07/2001. The union

organises workers in the construction, mining, security, cleaners and

logistics sectors. AMCU has risen to prominence in recent years,

and rivalry has developed between the union and the NUM after

AMCU organised rock drillers at Lonmin's Marikana mine to strike

in 2012. Since then, AMCU has emerged as the leading union in the

platinum sector and been recognised as the majority union by a

number of mining multinationals. AMCU was criticised by the

Commission of Inquiry into the events surrounding the Marikana

massacre, for failing to control its members. However, the

Commission also noted that AMCU's President Joseph Mathunjwa

had done his best to calm unrest among the strikers. During 2014

AMCU continued to lead industrial action over wages in the

platinum sector, with coordinated strikes at Lonmin, Impala and

Anglo American Platinum operations in Rustenburg. The militancy

of AMCU has been publically supported by Malema and the EFF,

who pledged R100,000 to the AMCU strike fund in June 2014.

**2. Banking, Insurance, Finance and Assurance Workers Union (BIFAWU)***Address.* His Majesty Building, 7th Floor, Room 705-706,

22 Joubert street, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 61196,

Marshalltown, 2107

Phone. +27 11 836 4564 / 5 / GS-Cell 72 969 0016 / 73 632 3515  
 Fax. +27 11 834-6513 / 086 689 2841  
 E-mail. mphahlesk@gam.co.za Web. www.bifawu.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 27/10/2009

### 3. Building, Construction & Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)

Address. Standard Bank Galleries, 4th Floor, 81 Market Str, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 96, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 333 4898 / 9180/2 / 82 924 5945 / 73 469 9347  
 Fax. +27 11 333 9944 / 86 240 1756  
 E-mail. bcawu@netactive.co.za / dgs@nactu.org.za  
 Web. www.bcawu.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 6/10/1981

### 4. Entertainment Catering Commercial and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (ECCAWUSA)

Address. 1st Floor, East Wing, 132 Fox Street cnr Kruis, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 7480, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 331 2626 / 83 348 6148 / 78 408 4720  
 Fax. +27 11 331 8642 / 2595  
 E-mail. eccawusa@iafrica.com  
 History and character. Registered on 14/7/1989

### 5. Federal Council of Retail and Allied Workers (FEDCRAW)

Address. 132 Fox Street, OPH Bld, 6th Floor, Suite 2, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 2974, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 838 3332 / 3 / 492 2720 / 1 / 2 / 11 331 6135 / 3101 / 84 789 8812 Fax. +27 11 836 5982 / 331 3100 / 492 2723 / 86 732 1203  
 E-mail. admin@fedcraw.org.za / nkosibomyu@fedcraw.org.za / eseitei@fedcraw.org.za  
 History and character. Registered on 26/2/1993

### 6. Hotel, Liquor, Catering Commercial & Allied Workers Union of S.A. (HOTELICCA)

Address. 3rd Floor, Hunts Corner, 16-20 New Street South, Ghandi Square No 409, JHB, 2001 / PO Box 9873, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 838 5263 / 3816 / 3433 / 0830 / 082 538 5279  
 Fax. +27 11 838 3688  
 E-mail. info@hotelicca.org.za / admin@hotelicca.org.za / plaatjie.hotelicca@iburst.co.za / carolinerakgotsoka@yahoo.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 5/4/1982

### 7. Inqubela Phambili Trade Union (ITU)

Address. His Majesty's Building, Office No 155-156, 1st Floor, 22 Joubert street, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 62676, Marshalltown, 2017  
 Phone. +27 11 492 2204 / 79 205 9225 Fax. +27 11 492 2999 / 2204  
 E-mail. inqubelaphambili.tradeunion@gmail.com  
 History and character. Registered on 19/7/2011

### 8. Labour Equity General Workers Union of South Africa (LEWUSA)

Address. Kitchner Building, 57 Amphill Avenue, 1st Floor, Office No.6&7, Benoni, 1501 / PO Box 1169, Benoni, 1500  
 Phone. +27 11 845 3797 / 83 478 0184 Fax. +27 11 421 7308  
 E-mail. lewusa.benoni@gmail.com / albertentshitse@gmail.com  
 Web. www.lewusaunion.com  
 History and character. Registered on 02/10/2002

### 9. Metal and Electrical Workers Union of South Africa (MEWUSA)

Address. 145 Commissioner Str, Suite 701, East Wing, Nedbank Bldg, Small Str Mall, JJHB, 2001 / PO Box 3669, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 331 6739 / 40 / 41 / 11 336 1055 / 9369 / 84 602 8877 / 84 399 9900 Fax. +27 11 331 6719 / 86 776 5767  
 E-mail. info@mewusa.org.za / mthobejane@mewusa.org.za

Web. www.mewusa.org.za

History and character. Registered on 14/10/1961

### 10. National Public Service Workers Union (NPSWU)

Address. 2nd Floor, Redefine Properties, 320 Pixley Kasemane Street (West Street), Durban, 4001 / PO Box 1100, Durban, 4000  
 Phone. +27 31 304 7563 / 083 445 9600 / 083 445 9609  
 Fax. +27 31 307 3306 / 304 6380  
 E-mail. npswu@mweb.co.za / patience@npswu.org / veni@npswu.org / vela@npswu.org Web. www.npswu.org.za  
 Membership. 16,000  
 History and character. Registered on 7/7/1998  
 International affiliation. PSI

### 11. National Security Commercial and General Workers Union (NASECGWU)

Address. 177 Arnot Street, Douglas, 8730 / PO Box 230, Douglas, 8730  
 Phone. +27 53 298 1527 / 2906 / 78 368 8727 (GS)  
 Fax. +27 53 298 2906  
 E-mail. nasecgwu.32@gmail.com / nasecgwuact@telkomsa.net  
 History and character. Registered on 14/6/1999

### 12. National Service and Allied Workers Union (NASAWU)

Address. Ottawa Mall Building, 94 President Str, 3rd Floor, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 1585, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 333 1082 / 83 969 5683 / 78 957 6224  
 Fax. +27 86 556 8315  
 E-mail. tsndou@webmail.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 26/11/1980

### 13. National Transport Movement (NTM)

Address. Office 301, 3rd Floor, Trust Centre, Kempton Park, 1620  
 Phone. +27 11 394 8032 / 57 5965 / 5966 / 79 320 6669  
 Fax. +27 86 609 2610 / 86 544 1833  
 History and character. Registered on 27/9/2012

### 14. Professional Educators Union (PEU)

PEU is also affiliated to CONSAWU – see contact details in CONSAWU entry above.

### 15. South Africa Private Security Workers' Union (SAPSWU)

Address. 20 Monument Str, Optometrist Bld, 5th Flr, Office No. 2, Krugersdorp, 1740 / PO Box 840, Krugersdorp, 1740  
 Phone. +27 11 953 6829 / 79 530 2331 / 83 639 8325 / 79 530 2331  
 Fax. +27 11 953 6906 / 86 660 3932  
 E-mail. sapswu@gmail.com  
 History and character. Registered on 31/10/2002

### 16. South African Chemical Workers Union (SACWU)

Address. 35 Pritchard Street, cnr Harrison Steetr, 3rd Floor, 1066 Building, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 236, Johannesburg, 2000  
 Phone. +27 11 838 86581 / 72 029 9235 / 72 479 0361  
 Fax. +27 11 838 6622  
 E-mail. athalia@sacwu.co.za / legalunit@sacwu.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 19/11/1980  
 International affiliations. Industrial

### 17. Transport & Omnibus Workers Union (TOWU)

Address. Suite 601, 6th Floor, Premier Centre, 451 Main Rd, Observatory, 7925 / PO Box 13688, Mowbray, 7705  
 Phone. +27 21 447 4750 / 1 / 2 Fax. +27 21 447 0795  
 E-mail. tonyfranks@kingley.co.za / president.inglis@kingsley.co.za  
 History and character. Registered on 1/9/1989

### 18. Transport and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (TAWU)

*Address.* 14 New Street South, 5th Floor, Bono House, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 4469, Johannesburg, 2000  
*Phone.* +27 11 838 3848 / 7 / 8 / 52 / 73 214 9453 / 83 507 5714  
*Fax.* +27 11 838 4452  
*E-mail.* headoffice.admin@tawusa.org.za / zack@tawusa.org.za / limpopo.admin@tawusa.org.za  
*History and character.* Registered on 30/4/1981

## 4 Other Trade Unions

### Independent Municipal & Allied Trade Union (IMATU)

*Address.* National Office, 47 Selati street, Ashlea Gardens 0081 / PO Box 35343, Menlo Park, Pretoria, 0102  
*Phone.* +27 12 460 6276 / 7 / 8 *Fax.* +27 12 346 1157  
*E-mail.* info@imatu.co.za *Web.* www.imatu.co.za  
*Leadership.* Stanley Khoza (president)  
*Membership.* 73,000 (2005 est.)  
*History and character.* IMATU has its roots in the South African Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME) established in 1919. IMATU was registered on 20/3/1997 and is the country's largest independent union of local government employees.

### National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA)

*Address.* NAPTOSA House, 270 Prince's Park Avenue, Pretoria, 0002  
*Phone.* +27 012 324 1365 / 5214 *Fax.* +27 012 324 1366 / 5233  
*E-mail.* info@naptosa.org.za *Web.* www.naptosa.org.za  
*Leadership.* Anthea Cereseto (president)  
*Membership.* 56,000 (2013 est.)  
*History and character.* NAPTOSA was registered 1 Nov. 2006.  
*International affiliation.* EI

### National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)

*Address.* NUMSA Head Office, 153 Lilian Ngoyi street, Newtown, Johannesburg, 2001 / PO Box 260483, Excom, 2023  
*Phone.* +27 11 689 1700 / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 *Fax.* +27 11 838 4092  
*E-mail.* irvinj@numsa.org.za / karlc@numsa.org.za / mavisd@numsa.org.za / normac@numsa.org.za  
*Web.* www.numsa.org.za  
*Leadership.* Andrew Nditshie Chirwa (president), Irvin Jim (secretary general)  
*Membership.* 339,567 (2014)  
*History and character.* Established in 1987 after a merger of five unions, NUMSA was one of the largest affiliates of COSATU and at times reported a larger membership than the NUM. The union identifies itself as Marxist-Leninist and, until its expulsion from COSATU in 2014, had long been a critic of the ANC and of the tripartite ANC-COSATU-SACP alliance. In 1993, NUMSA announced its intention to withdraw support from the ANC after the coming election and called for the creation of a working class party and for COSATU to lead a conference on socialism – a proposal opposed by the NUM and the SACP. As COSATU and the SACP sought to break with Mbeki and promote Zuma to the leadership of the ANC in 2007, NUMSA continued to call for a

non-aligned stance. In the wake of growing unrest with the 2010 public sector strike and widespread industrial action in the mining sector, NUMSA became an increasingly outspoken critic of the alliance. NUMSA was highly critical of the government's use of force to suppress the AMCU-led Marikana strike in 2012. At a NUMSA Special National Congress held in Dec. 2013, the union resolved to withdraw its support for the ANC and SACP, and decided not to endorse any party in the 2014 elections. In response to the union's subsequent expulsion from COSATU in Nov. 2014, NUMSA general secretary Irwin Jim described the tripartite alliance as 'politically bankrupt'. A union merger between NUMSA and AMCU was mooted in late 2014, but did not materialise.

After NUMSA's withdrawal of support from the ANC in 2013, Julius Malema, leader of the EFF party, courted the union with proposals to discuss the formation of a new political party. NUMSA secretary general Irwin Jim expressed reservations about the EFF's objectives, noting that the EFF was not expressly socialist, and that the party's position on nationalisation of industry was not committed to placing industry under workers' control. Jim also referred to the allegations of undemocratic practices in the EFF. In 2015, NUMSA forged ahead with the creation of the United Front (UF), a grassroots organisation, which is to be launched as a 'workers' party' in 2016. In an announcement on 1 Jan. 2016, Irwin Jim described 'the overwhelming need for a socialist party, democratically controlled from below by the working class'. He described the ANC leadership as having 'fallen into the hands of the white monopoly capitalist elite', committed to 'enforcing orthodox neoliberal economic policies.' NUMSA is simultaneously preparing for the launch in 2016 a new trade union federation to rival COSATU (see Section 2, above). To the challenges of global climate change, which pose a significant threat to the region, NUMSA has expressed scepticism toward the 'just transition' approach promoted by, among others, the ITUC. NUMSA's President has argued that 'the language of 'just transition' needs a class analysis' and in 2011, NUMSA established two worker-led research and development groups (on energy efficiency and renewable energy). NUMSA's position echoes that of WFTU, whose proposals around climate change frame the issue in terms of class struggle and a critique of capitalism.

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*Leadership.* Adv Rashied Daniels (president), Pierre Snyman (Chairperson)  
*Membership.* 235,000  
*History and character.* PSA is the largest, politically non-affiliated union in the public service, representing public servants, public service pensioners and employees of semi-state institutions.