

# Draft COSATU 2035 Plan

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## Framework for the Plan

### Introduction

The task of reviewing the federation's 2015 Plan, which also entails forecasting and drawing scenarios for the future of both objective and subjective balance of forces, viz. political economy conditions and organisational infrastructure of the federation and organised labour in general is an important one. COSATU's existing 2015 Plan, drawn in 2003 drew its framework from the well-crafted September<sup>1</sup> Commission Report, of 1996, which drew scenarios both for the broader political economy as well as for organised labour organisations.

The September Commission Report continues to be an all-important document, that captured, even as early as 1997 then present and future scenarios both for the South African political economy, and the articulation of our political economy dynamics to the nature and form of trade unions and broader South African struggles for advancing the NDR.

The September Commission Report and the scenarios it drew informed the COSATU 2015 Plan that was drawn in 2003 by the Federation, coinciding with the Growth and Development Summit convened by the President, leading to the Growth and Development Strategy 2003 – 2007, which were sets of interventions to grow the economy, but more importantly to respond to South Africa's 'jobless growth' crisis, which saw the economy growth from 2.4% in 1999 to 3.7% in 2002, with unemployment also growing from 29,94% in 1999 to 33,29% in 2002.

In making the review of the 2015 Plan, we must look back at both tools of analysis and variables utilized in the September Commission Report, to first define the current moment, from which we can establish the ground base from which forecasting into the future (2035) can be attempted.

### September Commission Scenarios on the political economy of South Africa

In defining the moment, i.e., the current prevailing conditions, we draw from the three scenarios tools utilized in the September Commission, first to evaluate and categorize the current moment by measuring variables associated with each of the scenarios.

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<sup>1</sup> The September *Commission on the future of the trade unions* in early 1996, with the mandate to investigate the changed political and economic conditions in South Africa and assess whether COSATU's policies and strategies were appropriate to these new conditions (democracy and a post-apartheid South Africa) (September Commission Report. 1996: 1).

Scenario Framework	Variables	Threats to COSATU	Opportunities to COSATU
Desert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- no economic development</li> <li>- growing unemployment</li> <li>- no RDP delivery</li> <li>- high level of class conflict</li> <li>- organisations of the unemployed, the youth and the communities emerge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU could lose the gains it made in the years before and after 1990.</li> <li>-COSATU could become weaker as it becomes more difficult to win strikes and improve wages and working conditions because of the deteriorating economy</li> <li>- COSATU could become narrowly focused on militant wage-bargaining and lose sight of broader working class issues.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU could become stronger by drawing on its militant tradition to organise workers' resistance</li> <li>-COSATU could broaden its perspective to take up living conditions and political issues as well as wages</li> <li>-COSATU could play a central role in forging a new popular alliance, and in building a new socialist movement in opposition to government</li> </ul>
Skorokoro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-there is some economic growth and modest delivery</li> <li>-increasing social fragmentation and conflict,</li> <li>-rapid self-empowerment of black business and the black middle-class,</li> <li>-skorokoro is SA zigzagging from problem to problem, viz.</li> <li>-rise of ethnicity, racism, provincialism and regionalism as a result of lack of delivery and conflict over resources,</li> <li>-patronage and corruption become the order of the day in government and in civil society (including trade unions)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-increasing competition among affiliates for members</li> <li>-Union activists seek greener pastures elsewhere</li> <li>-COSATU weakened by the many divisions and conflicts in society,</li> <li>-the culture of self-enrichment and the growth of a black middle-class undermines the unions' culture of solidarity,</li> <li>-COSATU becomes a reactive trade union movement, responding to initiatives of others but unable to take initiatives of its own,</li> <li>-the ANC moves further to the right</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU could develop strategies for unifying workers and overcoming divisions in the workplace,</li> <li>-COSATU could win wide public support by developing policies for more effective delivery by the public service, and for exposing mismanagement and corruption,</li> <li>-COSATU could provide leadership to society and the ANC by putting forward a vision based on clear economic and social policies</li> </ul>
Pap, Vleis n' Gravy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-massive economic growth and development,</li> <li>-jobs are created and service delivery,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU may be unable to develop the strategies for organising the many new kinds of workers and workplaces created by</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU could increase its membership both in traditional sectors and in new sectors and build big strong organisations,</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-there is pap 'n vleis for most people,</li> <li>-effective role of NEDLAC</li> <li>-unions are involved in deal-making, joint decision-making and co-determination at all levels of society</li> <li>-but are also getting caught in the gravy?</li> </ul>	<p>economic growth, and so lose out to other unions,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Possible co-option of COSATU through many forums of joint decision-making, making the federation dependent on the state,</li> <li>-COSATU may lack the expertise, information and capacity to navigate such complex negotiations and participation,</li> <li>-agreements on productivity and wage moderation may alienate the members from the leadership, making the federation vulnerable to competition from more 'militant' unions,</li> <li>-COSATU may become complacent, with no clear strategies, and no vision for socialism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-COSATU could make use of its access to tripartite institutions and state resources to build its organisational capacity,</li> <li>-COSATU could democratize the workplace, extend worker participation in economic decision-making, and influence society at all levels,</li> <li>-COSATU could make significant advances, over the medium term, for workers in terms of job opportunities, wages, working conditions, training and careers, the improvement of the social wage, etc.,</li> <li>-COSATU could develop a programme of achieving socialism through reforms which democratize institutions and extend social regulation of the economy</li> </ul>
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Summary of political economy scenarios and their possible effect on the federation:

Variables	The desert	Skorokoro	Pap, Vleis n' Gravy
<b>1. Economic development</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- stagnation,</li> <li>- weak</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- modest and uneven growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- significant growth</li> </ul>
<b>2. Vision of ANC</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- conservative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Zigzagging</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- social democratic</li> </ul>
<b>3. Labour market</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- job losses,</li> <li>- unemployment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Two-tier</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- job growth,</li> <li>- wide range of jobs and workplaces</li> </ul>
<b>4. Social values</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- class struggle</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social fragmentation, ethnic, racial, and regional</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A people's rainbow nation</li> </ul>
<b>5. Employers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Weak and aggressive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strong, culture of enrichment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strong, innovative, committed to partnership</li> </ul>

<b>6. Workers</b>	- losing jobs, yet - militant	- divided by ethnic, racial, regional - divided by working conditions	- many jobs, but differentiation o labour market, o wages, and o working conditions
<b>7. Socialism</b>	- revolution or election of worker's party	- not clear	- democratization and reform

## Defining the Moment

The evaluation the South Africa's democratic project, by looking at the political economy of the country, expression of democratic principles in society, labour market dynamics, the provision of services and reduction of triple challenges of unemployment, poverty, and inequality (including corruption), should be tested by using variables stipulated in the scenarios from the September Commission, as well as expected outcomes from the 2015 Plan.

An honest evaluation suggest that the South African democratic project represent a '*skorokoro*' scenario, with uneven economic development, poor service delivery, widening trust deficit between political elites and ordinary citizens, resulting in widespread protests, crime and fragmentation in many townships and rural communities. The South African economy is characterised by elements of stagnation and very low levels of GDP growth. Municipalities are in a bad financial position since they are struggling to generate bulk of revenues by themselves. South Africa's production of platinum group metals (PGMs) is volatile as they are facing economic damages caused by the pandemic. Nevertheless, South Africa's real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by a meagre 0,2% before the pandemic. This national GDP growth came from the increased production in finance, real estate and business services, government, and personal services. At the same time, the economy was characterised by a slump across various industries, most notably agriculture, construction, mining, and manufacturing.

Reviewing the economy from the inception of the 2015 Plan in 2003, we note that the Growth and Development Strategy of 2003 and the AsgiSA of 2005 provided the spark for economic growth (4,55% in 2004, 5,28% in 2005, 5,61% in 2006 and 5,36% in 2007. These growth levels couldn't be sustained in the medium to long-term, as the global financial crises, the economy slowed to a 3,19% in 2008 and a massive regression to -1,53% in 2009. The economy picked to 3,04% in 2010, mostly boosted by FIFA World Cup investments on infrastructure projects. This was sustained with 3,28% GDP in 2011. Then the economic slump began with 2,21% in 2012, which progressed gradually to 0,39% in 2016. In 2018 the economy experienced a technical recession, with the annual GDP at 0,78%, and another technical recession in 2019, with annual GDP at 0,15%. In 2020, the economy registered a 7,0% slump, attributed to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The '*skorokoro*' economic performance also exhibited in unstable and weak labour market prospects for the country. While there has been an increase in jobs in the formal non-agricultural sector leading to the approximately 9,64 million employed in the sector, there has been decrease in construction industry, manufacturing, transport, and mining. Total

employment decreased by 5,8%; full-time employment decreased by 0,1%. Part-time employment increased by 9,2% in 2019. In 2020 the unemployment rate was the highest (above 30%) since the start of the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS).

The Growth and Development Strategy of 2003 and AsgiSA of 2006 not only grew the economy, but these also reduced unemployment from a staggering 33,29% in 2002 to 26,54% in 2007. Public infrastructure investment leading to the FIFA World Cup also contributed, with unemployment further reduced to its lowest 23,52% in 2009, 24,68% in 2010 and 24,64% in 2011. Like the economy, from 2012, unemployment began on the ascent from 24,73% to 28,74 in 2019. The country's labour market challenges stretch beyond just unemployment figures, with an absorption rates ranging from 42,7% in 2013, 42,8% in 2014, 43,7% in 2015, 43,0% in 2016, 43,4% in 2017, 43,2% in 2019 and in 42,1% 2019. This means over a protracted period, more than half of people entering the labour market, are not employed. The Not in Employment, Education and Training (NEET) figures give further impetus to the crisis, with 61% of people between 15-24 years falling in this category. These have accentuated poverty and inequality, which has seen the Gini coefficient rise from 0,57 in 2000 to 0,67 in 2017. This is significantly higher than global trends of emerging economies, at 0,45 in 2000 and 0,44 in 2017. Poverty trends in South Africa show that the most vulnerable to poverty in our society are children (age 17 or younger), females, Black Africans, people living in rural areas, and persons with little or no education. On the flip side, most conglomerates continue to control most productive, investment and financial activities. Land distribution remains as racially skewed as it was under apartheid.

'Skorokoro' also depicts the zigzagging in the South African political and policy space, with the ANC government that has published a plethora of macro-economic policy interventions from GEAR in 1996, then Growth and Development Strategy in 2003, then AsgiSA in 2006, then the New Growth Path in 2010, which was soon replaced by the New Development Plan in 2012.

In 1995 the government became a signatory of WTO, and lifted tariff barriers and 'liberalised' financial markets, which increased pressure on South African producers – translating into increasing pressure on workers and trade unions. Companies responded to such pressures with a diverse range of strategies and practices which sought to reduce costs and grow profit margins, as well as increase efficiency and ability to deliver on time, increase product and service quality, while weakening trade unions by undermining them or by co-opting them. Pressures on work and labour have been exacerbated by the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), which is creating workplaces in which technology enable employers to script and oversee every decision as a strategy to squeeze innovation, improve productivity using lean supply of labour. The 4IR has seen growing GIG workers ratios, e.g., Uber drivers, online shopping delivery. GIG workers are classified as independent contractors and some of them are part of the business rationalization, through externalization, subcontracting and outsourcing of a range of functions as well as labour flexibility through casualization and labour brokers. The ongoing technological revolution continues to transform jobs, skills, and workplace regimes. Changes brought by the 4IR on the labour market translate into more pressure on workers and their organised formations.

Transformation in labour market and work process transformation are already threatening to undermine trade unionism, as unions struggle to organize externalized workers, as well as

instances of trade union cooption into professional and technocratic sphere. To avert this working-class crisis, unions must address questions of trade union organisation and working-class solidarity under the changing labour market. This means that COSATU unions must continue to work directly with workers in the workplace, but also seek to forge tactical unity and solidarity with other labour formations as well as civil society formations and informal workers.

Policy zigzagging has been more fundamentally expressed in government's articulation in the last two years, with the Presidential Investment Summit and commitment for public investment in 2019, yet with austerity MTBPS by Treasury in the same year. In June 2020, the President again announced the Covid-19 stimulus as well as the Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, again followed by opposite austerity (zero-rating) budget expenditure by National Treasury both in July Supplementary Budget and in February 2021 MTBPS.

Weaknesses in the state, corruption, corporate capture of the state and massive looting by political elites and the system of patronage, all exemplify the 'skorokoro' political scenario, signified by the hollowing of the state and the weakening of state institutions. The extent of state capture, hollowing of state institutions and massive looting have been laid bare in several Judiciary Commissions of Inquiry in the last two years. The confluence of growing social distance between political elites and the populace, corroding state capacity and indifference of those tasked with delivering services, producing sufficient levels of disillusionment especially in many marginal communities and those in the periphery of the democratic dream. The callous Life Esidimeni debacle, Marikana Massacre, the ghosting of SASA grants by people employed in the system and the recent Covid-19 PPE scandals all point to self-entitlement, individualist and materialist social values increasingly becoming the dominant social fiber in society.

These coincide with political and social fragmentation and protracted challenges facing the ANC and the Alliance over the last two decades. First, the 1996 class project, which became hegemonic in the ruling ANC, increasingly marginalized and ignored the Alliance as government's macro-economic policy shifted to the right between 1996 to 2007, leaving only the expansion of social grants as measure to reduce the devastating impact of poverty and hunger among the working-class poor. The ANC itself fractured in the aftermath of the Polokwane Conference, leading to a formation of COPE. After the 2012 Mangaung Conference another fracture following the expulsion of Julius Malema with some of the executive members of the ANCYL, who went on to form EFF in 2013, utilizing the aftermath of the Marikana Massacre as the launching pad as well as youths, either the excluded NEET, or the black middle-class youths frustrated by lack of transformation in corporate South Africa.

Next was the fracturing in the labour movement, first growing and violent competition, and confrontations between AMCU<sup>2</sup> and NUM in mining, including the Marikana debacle, and continued simmering violent takeover of platinum mines by AMCU from NUM as the majority union. Then came the expulsion of NUMSA (followed by FAWU) and Zwelinzima Vavi in 2015,

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<sup>2</sup> The September Commission warned us of this moment and painted a scenario where "Trade unions face ongoing problems like the *"five madoda"* at Rustenburg Platinum, like the Turning Wheel, like violence on the mines. There is increasing competition between affiliates for members" (September Commission. 1996:10)

who went on to form SAFTU. By the end of 2015 South Africa had five labour federations and a plethora of trade union affiliates across sectors, against pronounced fundamental principles by majority of these federations, viz. COSATU, SAFTU and NACTU of one country one federation, one industry one union. Following the ANC NASREC conference, we continue to witness a fractured ANC through factionalism, playing itself out at its NEC meetings, zigzagging in the pronouncements by different spokespersons, leaks of confidential details of discussions from what was supposed to be ‘closed sessions’, and back and forth assertions on the configuring the Alliance.

In society, we have witnessed growing trends of violence, either increase in violent crime, the scourge of gender-based violence that is out of control, sporadic spouts of violent attacks on black ‘non-South Africans’. The corrosion of trust in institutions has also resulted in massive growth of ‘faith-based’, prosperity gospel religious organisation, promising miracles, jobs, debt cancellation, etc. These have also come with growing exposure of abuse, trickery, and manipulation of the vulnerable by church leaders, either through unscrupulous demands of people to take financial risks, or sexual exploitation of women and even cases of human trafficking by leaders of these formations.

### Trade Union Outlook Options

Trade Union Option	Likely Scenario	Key features
Zigzagging unionism	Skorokoro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- trade unions zigzag from one issue to another,</li> <li>- inefficient and keep losing skilled shop stewards and staff,</li> <li>- no strategic capacity and cannot be proactive,</li> <li>- their policies are contradictory and ad hoc,</li> <li>- culture of solidarity is undermined by a new culture of self-enrichment,</li> <li>- the union movement is a victim of the societal culture, fragmentation, and conflicts, rather than an active agent for social change</li> </ul>
Moses’ unionism	Desert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- trade unions adopt a stand of permanent opposition,</li> <li>- appear very militant, preaches a simple message of socialism, and attacks all obstacles with mass action,</li> <li>- this unionism may be appropriate in the <b>desert</b> scenario,</li> <li>- but if COSATU finds itself in <b>Pap, vleis n’ gravy</b>, or <b>Skorokoro</b>, Moses unionism would be inappropriate and likely to lead to more losses than gains</li> </ul>
Bread and Butter Unionism	Desert or Skorokoro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- it abandons any concerns with broader social or political issues, and only focuses on the immediate demands and interests of its members,</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the terrain of bread &amp; butter unionism is collective bargaining in the workplace and the industry, may also extend to lobbying and engaging employers and government nationally on issues of direct concern to workers</li> <li>- it can be militant and democratic, but can also be quite bureaucratic and technocratic,</li> <li>- it could be viable in response to a <b>Desert</b> or <b>Skorokoro</b>, where the Alliance is not coherent, or has disintegrated or is stagnating</li> </ul>
<b>Social Unionism</b>	Skorokoro or Pap n' Vleis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- unionism concerned with broad social and political issues, as well as the immediate concerns of its members,</li> <li>- it aims to be a social force for transformation, with the goal of democracy and socialism (NDR),</li> <li>- its influence on society is based on its organised power, its capacity to mobilise, its socioeconomic programmes and policies, through its political and social alliances,</li> <li>- it is committed to workers control and democracy, and to maintaining its character as a movement,</li> <li>- it is proactive, effective and able to negotiate and monitor complex agreements with government, employers and other stakeholders,</li> <li>- it is able to make key contributions to national economic and social development,</li> <li>- it is viable as a challenge to <b>Skorokoro</b>, and in <b>Pap vleis n' gravy</b>, but has no real prospects in a <b>Desert</b>.</li> </ul>

### Social unionism as recommended

Both the September Commission Report and Cosatu's 2015 Plan recommend and highlight social unionism as the form of trade unionism that COSATU and its affiliate trade unions to develop. The 2015 Plan builds from the September Commission Report, highlighting key features of what COSATU and its affiliate trade unions should develop as pillars and benchmarks of a federation for advancement of the NDR.

It identifies systematic implementation of organisation building programme, by ensuring the recruitment of four million members by its 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress. It also identified defending political gains and space, through building strong ANC and SACP, and unifying the Alliance. Building strong working-class base through establishing socialist forums as platform for debates, political education and deepening political consciousness of the working class. Working-class leadership of the NDR, including in the ANC and key organs of people's power, by developing a large pool of cadres with organisational, political, and ideological depth. It also identifies partnership with strong civil society, especially community-based organisations, as well as stronger involvement of locals in local government and mobilisation.



COSATU championing clear measures to reverse rising unemployment, poverty, and inequality, by ensuring the rise of the share of the working class in national income. In this regard, COSATU must continue to push for a strong developmental and democratic state to drive growth and development strategy with redistributive focus. It also identified COSATU's role in resurgence of African trade union movement, and the federation's role in developing perspective of the international trade union movement. Lastly, it identified coordinated international policy for struggles to build a better world based on equitable redistribution of resources and closing the gap between rich and poor within and between countries. This is to be done building stronger international trade unions movement, though solidarities, improve coordination with progressive political parties, progressive civil organisations and progressive governments. This also require stronger role of trade unions in multilateral international organs like ILO and transformation of institutions like WTO, IMF and World Bank.

Widely shared prosperity, and a stronger safety net, will come when the ongoing transformation in labour market and job transformations are directed towards the larger aim of building a stakeholder society, increasing the size and role of socially or community-owned capital and community-controlled resources, and developing the role of the public sector. Social unionism can be efficient in directing the transformation of public services when various governing constituencies are not undermined by patronage and corruption and when civil society has confidence in the government. Social unionism is concerned with broad social and political issues, as well as the immediate concerns of its members. It aims to be a social force for transformation. Its goal is democracy and socialism. Its influence on society is based on its organised power, its capacity to mobilize, its socioeconomic programme and policies and its participation in political and social alliances. It is committed to workers control and democracy. It can negotiate and monitor complex agreements with government and employers. It can make important contributions to national economic and social development. Social unionism focuses on economic development, productivity, the functioning of the public service and the socioeconomic programme of the government. Reducing gender and racial wage gaps across industries, which contribute to broader equality in a society must begin to respond to the ongoing transformations of labour market.

The 2015 Plan defined a worst-case scenario for the federation and the NDR as comprising the following:

- a rapid decline in membership to below 1 million by the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of COSATU, in 2015
- the persistence of financial challenges, ultimately forcing a cutback in the union's role in a range of campaigns and programs
- the coherence and unity of COSATU being undermined, leading to splits
- the collapse of the Alliance, with the ANC and SACP also facing splits
- a full blown 'skorokoro' scenario as painted by the September Commission Report

#### [The state of the union, NDR and working-class](#)

A brief review of the federation's projections and prospects for growth, as well as worst-case scenario threats show that the federation has come short of its benchmarks for the 2015 Plan. On building a strong federation, the federation has avoided the worst-case scenario of being reduced to less than one million mark in membership. But the federation's target of four

million members by its 10<sup>th</sup> Congress could in and of itself be criticized as unreasonably ambitious, and the federation did not even make a compelling push for this number. In fact, organised labour (all trade unions combined) in formal employment in South Africa does not make the four million mark in 2020. Department of Labour numbers suggest that trade union density has receded from 40,1% in 1995 to 27,1% of formal workers by 2016. Quarterly Labour Survey figures from StatsSA put trade union membership for 2020 at around 24%. Besides stunted numbers of trade union density across all unions, the federation and the political landscape shifted significantly, from the feared split in the ANC 52<sup>nd</sup> Congress in Polokwane, fractures from the 53<sup>rd</sup> Congress in Mangaung, followed by the expulsion of ANC Youth League leaders, who formed the EFF in 2013, then the much-publicized corporate capture of the state and fractures in the ANC and Alliance, through factions leading to the 54<sup>th</sup> Congress at NASREC. The federation also went through its own fracture, reputational damage suffered during the case against then General Secretary, then the expulsion of NUMSA in 2015, who went on to forming a rival federation. Lastly, the growth of AMCU in the mining sector and the violence that accompanied its growth resulting in the Marikana Massacre, further fractured not just COSATU, but organised labour in South Africa. This is a significant fracturing, especially in light of COSATU's social unionism framing, which makes it look beyond workplace representation for its members, but also broader working-class unity and struggles for social transformation.

## Extrapolating variables for future scenarios looking into 2035

The scenarios drawn in the September Commission Report continue to be useful instruments and tools of analysis for COSATU to extrapolate possible future development objectives, uncertainties, threats and possibilities for the country, its political economy, labour market dynamics, labour organisation and prospects for socialism. In the attempt to forecast, clear scenario options should be delineated, first on broader political economy of the country, the nature of political institutions and future of South Africa's electoral democracy, the possible scenarios outlined the political situation federation How do we extrapolate variables

The September Commission Report recommended that COSATU and its affiliates should:

“actively commit itself to consolidating and extending democracy. It recommends measures to renew the Alliance and build a working bias in the ANC. It also recommends building a broad popular alliance against poverty, and consciously striving for moral leadership in society” (September Commission. 1996:25”.

As part of the research process, we propose that we test how far has COSATU, in particular its affiliates gone in advancing these recommendations, we thus propose the use of the September Commission recommendations to test this. The table below highlights the seven pillars which were identified by the commission which will be tested with COSATU and its affiliates:

September Commission pillar	How far have we gone in advancing this pillar	What is to be do? Opportunities for the future
1. Will our new democratic institutions succeed?		
2. A contested transition		
3. The ANC's role in the transition		
4. The role of the SACP		
5. The Tri-partite Alliance		
6. Mass formations of civil society		
7. Broad Alliance		

The exercise of review of 2015 Plan, and forecasting into 2035 must also entail individual Affiliate evaluation of its strength on the Three Fronts of the 2015 Plan, as well as projecting on measures to build capability and competence in the following:

- a. Political analysis
- b. Organisational analysis
- c. International analysis

The proposed Plan 2035 Benchmarks to explore and test with Affiliates

- By the 2030 Congress COSATU will be back at the 3 million members. This recruitment and organizing drive shall primarily target the Unorganized, Casual, Young, Women and Migrant workers
- There shall be a definite increase in the share of the working class in national income. This relates to wage increases, social grants, free healthcare, free education, and many other social provisions
- Unity with departed Unions will be either on course or will be achieved. Further inroads will be made on unifying labour federations, including FEDUSA and NACTU
- The SACP will have resolved and be acting on the State Power matter
- The Chris Hani Brigade political education programme shall be vibrant in all the COSATU Provinces
- Socialist Forums comprising of around 100 000 active participants who shall drive both COSATU and SACP programmes. These Forums shall be established in every COSATU Local in conjunction with SACP Districts and ANC Regions. These shall be strictly coordinated by Chris Hani Brigade graduates.
- There shall be many collaborations with Youth, Women, Community based organisations on many fronts that will extend and provide a proper social unionism articulation
- A stronger African trade union movement especially in the SADC area. A more coordinated international front utilizing the existing COSATU allies based on an equitable wealth distribution between the rich and poor within and between countries