

C14 - C28

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Volume 2

ASSESSOR

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No 19 - 10/8/87

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New "C14" ①

We meet at a time when the history of this country passes through one of its most important moments. In South Africa today, the capitalist system together with its organ of power, the racist state, are experiencing a crisis the severity of which mounts by the day. At times like these, it is imperative that all of us who are rallied as an antithetical force against the present regime should analyse thoroughly the objective conditions which shape our lives in this country. We should then reassess our strength and strategies in order to chart scientifically the course of our future struggles.

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The democratic movement picks up the reigns of a struggle endowed with rich historical experiences. A synoptic look at our history will reveal that our people through various campaigns have always engaged the enemy on many occasions. When the rulers set up the Union of South Africa in 1910, the people set up their own organisation in the form of the ANC, two years later, in 1912. This organisation was set up to oppose the government and to concretise their national aspiration. 1919 saw the Free State women campaigning against the passes. The 1935-36 Hertzog bills which actually removed the Franchise from the African and Coloured sections did not go without challenge. In 1946, opposition against the Indian Ghetto Acts in Natal was also staged by the massive participation of the people. - 1952 brought the initial stages of the boycott campaigns, and later on, when the regime sought to strengthen their position by bolstering Bantu Education, the students registered their categorical rejection in the 1976-1980 boycotts.

Presently, the state is coming with the 'new constitution' and the Koornhof bills' and this whole gimmick of reform, which the democratic movement must attend to.

The democratic movement must in the first instance adopt a particular frame of outlook if it is to face the challenges of its day successfully. That conceptual framework must be a scientific one in which case no amount of tradition and emotion will cloud its analytical processes. The democratic movement is called upon to be flexible in its approach and in this regard recognize the fact that the objective conditions in which it operates are not permanent or static at any given time, but are dynamic. There is the ever present flow and ebb represented by the regimes political twist and turn which the democratic movement must fully analyse and take advantage of.

Great challenges presenting a new set of conditions are presently facing the democratic movement in South Africa. It is imperative that in responding to these conditions, the democratic movement should be able to maintain a proper balance between its principles as against the strategies and tactics applied in order to achieve its objectives. Firstly, principles are essentially fixed and fundamental beliefs around which a general outlook is formed. The form general guides to action but are not the actual action itself. Strategies on the other hand are processes involving the proper timing and planning in order to create conditions that are suitable for the implementation of one's programme at one's own pace, taking into account the material conditions in order to change them. Whereas tactics are mere skillful procedures calculated to gain some end. Principles are therefore long term and are more philosophical and ideological; whereas strategies are more of medium term nature while tactics are actually flexible and short term as they are the tools utilised to achieve our objectives. In order to illustrate this point, let us take an example from a practical situation. As a principle, the democratic movement believes in a non-racial South Africa. The strategy it has adopted is that of opposing the government's constitutional plans. What the conference last now discuss are the various tactics

applicable to implement that strategy in order to achieve our overall principle of non-racialism and democracy. Many other examples could be quoted. It is important for our work that we understand this basic difference between principles on the one hand, and strategies and tactics on the other. It is only when we master this that we will be able to be flexible in pursuing our objectives without abandoning our principles.

Coming back to the present position of the FRONT. The UDF is a young FRONT. The question of the unity and strength should be of underlying importance to everybody not only in this meeting, but to every democrat and freedom-loving person in South Africa. So that whatever strategy and tactic we apply, these should be weighed not only against our principles, but also against causing schisms, factionalism and cracks that would weaken its effectiveness and strength, while bolstering attacks from both the left and the right.

In the present discussions continuing concerning the tactics to be adopted on the referendum which was supposed to have been called by the state and its quislings, and was to test the 'Indian' and 'Coloured' people's reaction towards the constitution, it has become clear that the state and its stooges have developed cold feet on this issue. Now PW Botha and his lackeys talk of going ahead with the elections, thus circumventing perhaps an embarrassing situation with regard to the referendum. Now that we shall be discussing the referendum issue, let us look at the crucial questions related to this issue, some of which are the following:

1. The Unity of the FRONT
2. Which tactic would best serve to enhance the Democratic movement
3. Which tactic would best disorganise the state
4. The best way of preventing/obstructing the implementation of the states constitutional proposals

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THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES:

Looking at the short track of the UDF ever since the historic launching in Cape Town. It is necessary that we develop some broad operational principles, specially because a set of new conditions are created every day. In this regard, we need:

a. To strengthen the structure and bond of the Front. Firstly at constituent member basis. Members should not only meet at council meetings, local campaigns on various issues should involve the majority of the constituent members with the working people spearheading the political campaigns.

b. To intensify our campaigns and in the process we must develop our organisations while we spread and implant the UDF in all areas where no form of activity is taking place.

c. To isolate the racist government from the people by embarking on an intensified awareness programme aimed at not only uncovering the empty promises of the state, but also at popularising our demands and the democratic front, while we neutralise the position of reactionaries.

d. We need to exercise utmost discipline especially now at this moment of unprecedented violent provocations from certain government

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protected quarters. We must never allow our detractors and enemies to have reason to disrupt our work and programmes. We have a noble task of mobilising and organising our people into a formidable front that will be able to render the useless plans of the government's reform unworkable.

e. Lastly, we must be initiators and not only reactive. We must constantly study the unfolding political and economic situation so as to keep abreast with all the low powered tricks of the oppressive regime.

In conclusion, let us recall the words of Cabral, when he was addressing the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, when he declared:

"We reject the idea of begging for freedom because it is incompatible with the dignity and sacred right of our people to be free and independent."

Let us therefore reaffirm our steadfast determination irrespective of the sacrifices involved to work tirelessly for a free and non-racial democratic South Africa.

BEW. "C 14"

PL. 4.

- ① Engage the state in action
- ② ~~Parliamentary~~ Tri-cameral parliament (local power)
- ③ Constitution broadens the base of the govt.
- ④ Ideological battle with the govt.
- ⑤ Isolate the govt.
- ⑥ Contact with ^{orgs} the masses.
- ⑦ Engage the masses in action
- ⑧ Strengthen & deepen organisations
- ⑨

① Masenko yes.

② organ. effects.

① what boycott is
practices, - same.

②



*

~ effects of better an state.

c.c./ref.

~~from~~



① Actually practically v. diff; can present
this in such a form as to make ideal.
convent-

↓
"get people to a certain level of
consciousness"

embank
in
new
phase -

test or strength etc.

work 100 hrs
harder.

C.M.C. - 80% pol.

"fear of
the
masses"

ideology - march

Tactics

- ① non-revolution
- ② effect on state etc.

Starts from reality.
(Laborat),

↓
Ideology:
practice

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J Mohamet

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DISCUSSION PAPER ON MATTERS.
RAISED BY UDF EXECUTIVE.

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A) ROLE AND FUNCTION OF AREA COMMITTEE FOR NEXT 14 MONTHS.

- 1) To receive regular feed-back from affiliate organisations re: activities and work being undertaken in various areas. This with a view to co-ordinating activities and work for greater effect. Also, to assist organisations with inadequate resources or personnel.
- 2) To liase with Area Committees from other areas in order to keep abreast with activities and issues in such areas. This would enable our Area Committe to give support to such activities and issues and to formulate programmes via which our Area Committee can actively assist in such activities.
- 3) To constantly tap affiliate organisations' views re: direction of UDF central and thus pool views of affiliate organisations in this regard. This would enable Area Committees to constantly give input to UDF Executive and Council meetings and thus keep UDF central in constant touch with views and activities of affiliate organisations.
- 4) To consider possibility of drawing in organisations not yet affiliated to UDF; but progressive in thought and deed. These organisations could be invited to participate as observers at Area Committee level and thus be encouraged to affiliate to the UDF.
- 5) To facilitate inter-action between affiliate organisations as often as possible. Also, to facilitate getting together of activists from affiliate organisations with regular frequency. This would enable UDF to form more cohesive front at activist level and thus broaden even more the democratic struggle.
- 6) To generally conduct itself in a manner that will maintain and promote the ideals and aspirations of its affiliate organisations and the UDF and, in the final analysis, the democratic movement towards freedom in S.A.

B) RESPONSIBILITY OF ORGANISATIONS TO THEIR AREA COMMITTEES. (ACCOUNTABILITY, ACCEPTANCE OF AREA COMMITTEE DECISIONS, DISCIPLINE, ETC.)

- 1) Representation on Area Committee must not affect the autonomy of affiliate organisations.
- 2) Area Committees should function in a manner that would enable represetatives to consult with their individual organisations on major issues and get mandates from their organisations. Thus, Area Committees mechanism must be such that
 - 1) affiliate organisations are given ample opportunity to discuss issues fully before mandating representatives on Area Committee.
- 3) Individual organisations should always abide by decisions taken by majority of affiliated organisations.
- 4) Area Committees should not have any disciplinary powers over affiliated organisations as it is basically a front of various organisations and not a parent organisation or anything in that vein. However, individual organisations should always refrain from conducting themselves in a manner that will be detrimental to the front formed by way of the Area Committees.
- 5) Depending on activities or issues at the time, individual organisations that intend taking up an issue or activity that encompasses other than its own constituency should consider the possibility of that activity or issue being taken up at Area Committee level instead.
- 6) Since all organisations affiliated to UDF have basically the same objects and identify with the same ideology, it would be expected that all organisations would conduct themselves in a manner that would minimise differences and disputes and thus engender excellent relationship between individual organisations and the Area Committees.

C) RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AREA COMMITTEES AND UDF CENTRAL.

- 1) Area Committees will act as go-between the individual organisations and UDF central.
- 2) The extent to which Area Committees can act independently of UDF central needs to be discussed in detail. A suggestion is : When Area Committees decide to undertake issues or activities that are not related to provincial or national issues, there should be no need to liase with UDF Executive or Council. However, when tackling a provincial or national issue on which UDF central has not made a stand at the time, UDF central should be consulted before finalising any decision. Where UDF central has already made a stand on any particular issue, Area Committees can act without first consulting UDF central.
- 3) Press statements should be left to UDF central at this stage.
- 4) The relationship between Area Committees and UDF central will probably be affected significantly after re-structuring of UDF in December or January.

D) REPRESENTATION OF ORGANISATIONS ON AREA COMMITTEES.

It has been decided that each organisation have two permanent delegates on the Area Committee with two or more rotating representatives.

E) STRUCTURE OF AREA COMMITTEES.

- 1) Media Committee.
- 2) Finance Committee.
- 3) That some form of executive be elected , either now or after re-structuring of UDF. This committee could consist of a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

F) FUND-RAISING.

- 1) Cake Sale on 1st. December 1984.
- 2) Following suggestions:
 - 2.1) Peoples Concert
 - 2.2) Christmas Cards.
 - 2.3) Disco in warehouse.
 - 2.4) Music Concert.
- 3) Where possible, individual organisations should allocate a percentage of funds collected by such organisations to the Area Committees.
- 4) Area Committees will attempt to assist UDF central with funds when possible; and will not call upon central for funds.

1. Committee for prep & distribution
2. Community Council Pamphlet
 - Paper for WDF
 - Discuss in Meeting of Affiliates to Community Council (Black Local Authority)
3. Area Committee Report
 - Mass Meeting 1st Dec
 - Freedom March 7th Dec
 - WDF release meeting 24/11/89 - Black Christmas
 - National Day of Protest - Committee + Org. involvement
4. Cake Sale - Fix outside date

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On 18/8/87: No (19) testifies that
himself is author of this
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Dr. Motlana 14/8/88

Ben "C16"
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STATE OF THE SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION

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1. The period 1979 and 1980 saw great activities by the Soweto Civic Association resulting in one of the highest levels of mobilization ever in Soweto. The 1980 rent increase in particular provided enough basis for greater mobilisation and confrontation with authorities ie. Koornhof and Thebehali. Virtually thousands of people stayed away from work and marched on the Soweto Council to confront Koornhof and Thebehali and to present a petition to them protest the increase on rentals, ~~not be increased.~~

The Soweto Civic Association was the talk of the Townships. Thousands of people took up membership of SCA and responded positively to all its meetings. The name of its chairperson Nthato Motlana became a house hold name. People were just ready to do anything that the SCA through its chairperson would ask them to do.

But after the 1980 rent boycott and the court action that failed to achieve any results, we saw the SCA loosing more and more support. Branches became lesser and lesser active to the extent that many died. Those that remained had no programmes, no skilled people and very few experienced people in leadership positions. In time most of them thought the SCA had completed its circle. They could no longer take the work of SCA forward. They needed skills, knowledge, training and, even information and facts about their own areas and the people and structures they ~~are~~ fighting against. People did not have an understanding of the Civic Association itself.

/today many.....

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Today many of the branches of SCA have died. Even their committees can no longer meet. The executive of the SCA - Committee of Ten is also in a deep Crisis. There are no proper records, reports and meetings do not take place regularly. Clearly the entire Soweto Civic Association is in a state of crisis. There exist an urgent need for these problems to be looked onto. Some amount of discipline and dedication must be put into the SCA. It is our task to deepen the understanding of our people and to develop their awareness as well as to equip them with the necessary tools to enable them to go forward.

These will include :

1. Our theory of organisation and ^{change} challenge.
2. How to involve the masses.
3. Issues around which to organise.
4. How to develop the awareness of the masses.
5. The lack of activist/organisers.
6. Explanation of a Civic Organisation etc.

2. OUR THEORY OF CHANGE AND ORGANISATION

Some people think that change or freedom can be brought about by a clique of (small group) persons in leadership positions. Persons who shout slogans, address public meetings and speak to the people through newspapers. People who decide for the masses and "work for the masses." These people monopolise skills, knowledge and information. They believe that the masses are completely ignorant and incapable of producing their own leaders to lead the struggle.

It is important that we do not fall into this trap. The danger of this approach is that it creates bureaucracy, stifles initiative, does not allow scope for democratic processes. It also does not allow for development of the masses awareness, as it denies them the opportunity to participate in their own struggle to determine their future.

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Our understanding of how change will come about is completely different from the above. We are convinced that change can only come about through active involvement by the masses. We need to involve the masses in our programmes for the struggle belongs to the masses not to us as small groups of activists or so called leaders. The UDF in its million signature campaign handbook asserts that it is the people not a few leaders who make history.

If on one hand two hundred (200) people go and confront a local authority about rent increase but do it in an unorganised manner - ie. one or two individuals at a time, their voice will be ignored. But if on the other hand Two hundred (200) people, organised residents confront local authority on the same issue their voice is likely to be listened to.

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The first group's position demonstrates the uselessness of division, lack of organisation and the dangers of individualism.

The organized groups prove that a common interests (opposition to high rents) can only be effectively ^{translated} translated into action when people are united, mobilised and organized to stand by their rights.

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Therefore, when we talk about preparing people for change, The organised group in this example have experienced something very significant - they realize that as individuals they are powerless but as an organised body with clear demands, tactics and strategy they have the power to change their living conditions. It also indicates to everyone that the burden of changing the conditions of life does not rest on the shoulders of individuals. It is a task of an organised group.

it can involve them in the struggle.

3. HOW DO WE INVOLVE THE MASSES.

We must develop programmes based on the needs and interests of the residents at a local levels. and transforms them into collective actions by the people themselves. In this way unity can be built around concrete issues, real issues that the people themselves see affecting them and can actually relate to.

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..... This will include campaigns around high transport fares, rentals, electricity, lack of proper services, high water tariffs, lack of health facilities, shortages of houses, lack of qualified teachers, lack of schools and etc. All these must allow maximum participation. The masses can be involved through street meetings, door to door work, houses meetings, street representation, area committees, branch sub committees etc.

All these must allow maximum participation by the residents. This means that decisions must be made through a process of discussion and consultation with the elected leadership with residents. It is only by consensus and after much discussion that any decisions can be made.

4. HOW DO WE IDENTIFY ISSUES

We pointed out earlier on that issues must be real and practical. What does this mean? It means that the masses not organisers must determine the issues facing them. Organisers which we see ourselves as can only speak to the masses about the conditions of their lives and on the basis of that develop campaigns around what appear to be common to most people. For instance if six (6) people complain about rentals and ninety (90) complain about increase on the price of sugar, the increase on the price of sugar constitutes an issue around which people can be organised and mobilised. The price of sugar has the potential of uniting many people in action.

There are other factors that must be taken into account in determining issues around which to organize and mobilize. The weakness and strengths of our organisations, the skills and resources required will determine what issues can be taken up and when .

There are some issues that require great skills and extensive resources . To take up such issues when their demands in terms of resources and skills cannot be met is counter productive. For our campaigns won't be sustained and those involved in the campaigns

..... demoralised because they made to do things that are beyond their abilities. Also we need to prepare well in advance for any campaign that we take up. We must ensure that is a preparedness by the masses to take the campaign.

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CDF Office Jhb.

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Basic 17"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

BORDER

P.O. Box 7087
East London
5200

The Secretary
United Democratic Front
P.O. Box 10366
Johannesburg 2000

Dear comrade,

Kindly receive the results of the elections carried out during our A.G.M. held in East London on the 18/11/84. Other documents enclosed herein are: a copy of the Secreterial report submitted to all delegates to the said A.G.M.; and also an update on issues and the situation in this region.

OFFICE - BEARERS FOR 1985:

presidents : S.V. Tshwete ; S. Ngqola.
publicity secretary: A. Hendricks.
general secretary : M.A. Stofile.
treasurers: H.K.V. Siwisa ; S. Ndzuta.
organiser: H. Maxegwana.
additional members of the executive: L. Meyers ; Y.M. Mdyogolo.

The following comrades were further elected to represent the region at N.E.C. meetings: the two secretaries

S. Ngqola
T. Gqweta
L. Meyers
H. Siwisa.

Of the 29 affiliated organisations, only 17 were officially represented at the A.G.M. This may be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, the four organisations from Fort Hare were not represented as the university was already through with its exams. But we still feel that students from the Border region who belong to these organisations should have been mandated by their comrades to attend the meeting. This will be sorted out with them next year. The same goes for students from the Teacher Training Colleges, in the region who were writing exams at the time. This category robbed us of ~~three~~ ^{two} more organisations at the meeting. Two more organisations had sent an apology in the morning (they were disappointed by their transport arrangement at the last moment). One more organisation could not get to the meeting since they could not locate the venue until when they sported some delegates after the meeting. (Their explanation). This can be attributed to the secrecy we have been forced to operate under in things like venue here - or else we never get a venue.

There were no apologies or explanation from the other two organisations for their absence.

UPDATE:

It will be clear from the secreterial report that there is some numerical growth as far as our organisations are concerned. This is ~~so~~ *especially* . . .

in places like East London, King William's Town, Queenstown and Fort Beaufort. This may be attributed to the enthusiasm of some of our activists in doing their share of the struggle. Another reason for such growth is repression itself. The masses of our people are standing up to repression and are organising themselves to resist it more than ever before.

There is some activity - albeit feeble at this stage - at Somerset East too. We hope to focus more attention on such areas in the near future.

REPRESSION AND ITS 'SUBSIDIARIES':

The bus boycott continues at Mdantsane. It has entered its 2nd year now. Most of the members of the Committee of Ten (elected to handle the issue) are facing charges.

.Our president, cde Tshwete, is still confined to 'Ciskei'. (Like cde Nqakula was before him).

. cdes Nqakula and Sifingo have not been seen for some time already. No one knows what has happened to both of them. (Both ex - members of our regional executive).

. cde N. Mapisa has also not been seen for some time. Her whereabouts and her condition are also not known to us. (An ex - regional representative to N.E.C.).

. Many of our comrades are in detention with no charges preferred against them. (Even as we write this report, some who were delegates to the A.G.M. are in hiding).

. Ciskei prepares for its annual 'independence' celebrations. People are responding negatively in the 'regionals' - scholars and nurses are being forced to make up for the dwindling numbers at these events.

.Coercion for conscription goes on. So does the militarisation of schools and other institutions. Our activists are 'monitoring' the situation.

. Removals and similar threats are going on at places like Mgwali, Wartberg, Hillside (at Fort Beaufort), some farms at Breakfastvlei (Alice), Stokenstroom area, and Ndende East London). But the people's struggle continues.

LEVEL OF ORGANISATION:

There is no doubt that the level of organisation among our people and organisations has improved in some areas. But there is still a lot to be done to inject the will to participate in and to develop a broad leadership. Our units (areas) have stepped up discussions and workshops to meet this demand.

DEFLECTIONS:

We have had none recently. The old problem of the E.L. Youth Congress has not been resolved yet. (It should be remembered here that membership of this Congress is in many ways the same people who are members of the local R.M.C. - not our affiliate - as well as the National Women's Association. I mention this to warn members of our N.E.C. and other regions the avoid being used against their comrades by other people with what seem to be counter - revolutionary tactics. This was N.E.C. resolution in Bloemfontein this year.)

FINANCES:

Transport continues to consume most of our resources. We have set up a fund - raising committee. But the future is still bleak. The Border region is a rural and conservative area. There are virtually no sympathetic 'money - spinners' around here.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES FOR ACTIVISTS:

We desperately need committed lawyers and doctors. We virtually have only one lawyer and about two doctors here (one is in detention now). We appeal to the colleagues of

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these people to urge members of the D.L.A and NAMDA in this region to get involved with people's affairs. We make this point because of the false impression some of these people create when visiting friends in other regions. The struggle must be waged at all fronts - even the front of possible quizzings amongst the ranks of the oppressed.

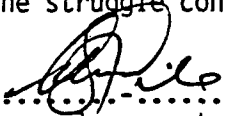
FUTURE PLANS:

We are organising a rally for the 9/12/84. But the lack of venues is threatening to wreck that already.

. The 'Black X - mas ' is being advertised, discussed and prepared for.

. We are planning for more local workshops and discussions.

We salute all our comrades at the office.
The struggle continues!


.....
general secretary

30/11/84.

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
BORDER REGION
Annual Secretarial Report

Preamble.

The first year of the existence of UDF in this region has seen a lot of developments some of which were positive progressive steps and inevitably some negative. It is however clear that the birth of this massive collection of the various forces opposed to the unsanctioned rule of the present minority regime has been an invaluable blessing to the advancement of the cause of liberation of our oppressed masses throughout the country.

We have witnessed a dramatic change in the course of events and the balance of power between the oppressor and the oppressed throughout South Africa. Through the UDF our people have been able to organise mass campaigns that have resulted in the mobilisation of scores of thousands of our people into active resistance of, not only the measures of this regime but also the continuation of their exercise of power over us without our mandate.

This then places upon the doorsteps of all involved in the Front especially those entrusted with leadership at all the various levels to maintain the high levels reached in the first year as well as build a momentum that will draw nearer the day of our liberation. To accomplish this we need to embark on a serious exercise of examining our past failures and achievements, test our strategies against our gains and losses, revise areas that have created a weakspot in our activities and determine the course for future action.

This then entails:

- * An assesment of the circumstances under which we operate;
- * A review of the methods and tactics we employed to advance our cause;
- * A critical assesment of the results of all our efforts;
- * Set out a course for future action.

Circumstances .

The situation within the ranks of the oppressor at the time of the inception of UDF have been adequately outlined in the report of the secretariat to the UDF NGC in Port Elizabeth. All that is of importance here would be to point the various aspects mentioned there in so far as they apply to our region as well as point those particular aspects that are peculiar to our region only.

It is a well known fact that repression in this area has always been excessive. At no given moment do we experience a lull in repressive measures here but there is always an unever ending invention of new assaults on the freedoms of the people. It comes as no surprise then that the launch of this regional structure had to be done under the circumstances which are now history to us all.

We are here exposed to various structures of repression which exert at differing times and to differing degrees, various pressures intended to stifle the voice of dissent. However, this has not stopped the quest of the people the realisation of their viission of a truely democratic society in our country. Indeed there can never be a time or a place where the aspirations of the majority can be suppressed for ever.

To enumarate a few of the obstacles placed in the way of the democratic movement in this area the following are worth noting:

- * Denial of venues for meetings;
- * Detention and questioning of activists;
- * Banning of meetings;
- * Attacks on people involved in campaigns;
- * Waylaying of people coming from meetings and confiscation of materials;
- * Searches in homes of members and their offices.

*The ban on all meetings of more than 20 people in the Ciskei.

To sum it up there is no difference here between a banned and not banned organisation. All activity can be disrupted in whatever manner seen suitable by the maintainers of the status quo.

On the other hand all support, physically and ideologically has been afforded those who stand in the ranks of our opposition. In the course of events it has become very clear who is on whose side. The tendencies of those who claim to be representing the aspirations of Coloured and Indian communities have shown a remarkable resemblance of the tactics of those whom we have always pointed out as their bosses. Their half-hearted denial of collaboration with the system has been shown to be the lie we have always known it to be.

The Democratic Drive.

Despite all the forces against the efforts of the people in their drive towards liberation, there has been a consistent perseverance by the toiling masses of our strife-torn country. This did not escape this region.

We saw our people going through one campaign after the other, hardly stopping to mourn or moan. We have witnessed their determination at Mgwali, Mooiplaats, Duncan Village and other places steadfastly poised against removals. We have seen them at Duncan Village and Mdantsane fighting commuter struggles. We were witness to the same strength shown at the factories in a fight for workers' rights. We have witnessed the valiant fight in our places of learning for a democratic system of education. We are not blind to the efforts of residents of Fort Beaufort for civic rights. Indeed all aspects of life can and do not escape the attention of the democratic loving masses of our country.

The tide of activity that gripped this area during the period running up to the August tricameral elections bears witness to this. All these efforts are not in vain. The fruits of some of these can be discerned even now but as in all struggles the true fruit is the logical conclusion thereof and not only the ground that the oppressor is compelled to yield from time to time.

Analysis.

A lot has been gained in the time-period covered by this report. We have seen the UDF-Border grow from the six organisations that affiliated at its launch in Grahamstown on the 15th of October 1983 to a staggering 30. This was made possible in the initial stages by the recruitment and mobilisation drive that the region engaged in immediately after its inception. The rest was the result of activities during the course of the Million Signature Campaign and the anti-election campaign.

In an area which, up until the time of our campaigns, has had a very apathetic Coloured and Indian community for some years now, we can safely say the percentage poll that was realised during the Rajibansi-Hendrickse masquerade is favourably comparable with the political trend throughout the country. This result is not out of apathy at all as the attendance by these communities especially the coloured comrades in people's gatherings has increased out of all thinkable proportions. In these communities UDF has roused people who had gone to slumber since the end of the Black-Consciousness era in this region.

In all through our affiliated organisations, we have inter-action and the co-operation of no less than 100 000 people.

This is without including the thousands who find themselves in a situation where they cannot overtly declare their support for the forces of democracy due to the height of repression in their areas.

The winds of democracy and liberation are indeed sweeping the dusty, famine-ravished tracts of land wherever our masses, sweltering in the heat of oppression, are to be found.

One can therefore ask in the light of the above information, what is the level of success in campaigns of the UDF. Indeed this is no difficult question and a justifiable one.

We have, as previously stated, engaged in several campaigns with differing degrees of success. The first of these is the recruitment drive and the mobilisation and organisation of unorganised communities. The recruitment of organisations was a commendable success. We cannot dwell too much on the belaboured actions of certain mischievous, disgruntled individuals, who in their search for power and personal aggrandizement have deliberately sought to set the masses against the course of liberation by posing as the reference section of the liberation library. Infact like the useless encyclopedias they resemble, with old and inaccurate information they have been left to rot in the archives of mischief-making and reactionarism while the people are following the thruths as layed bare by the realities of their situation.

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The million signature campaign is one sad fact in the story of our region. Despite all attempts to achieve the opposite the committee charged with this responsibility totally negated all the efforts of the various activists in our area-units. It is a sad fact that there can be no certainty today as to how many people actually put their names to be counted as areigning themselves with UDF against the common enemy. More than this, this can have the negative effect of discouraging people in future from freely entrusting us their confidence as they might not know what eventually became of their names.

With the failure of the million signature campaign was also another failure which would have been the natural by-product of the success of the MSC, the formation of new structures where these did not exist.

Another failure has been in the area of removals. Despite the setting up of a committee to see to this aspect there has been no noticeable movement in this area. This might be due in part to the fact that the two secretaries in the region, who were also part of the committee are full-time employees and as such some distance from the main areas where this evil manifests itself. However this cannot be much of a reason and viable alternatives need to be explored.

The women failed totally to meet the challenge posed to them by the fact that this is their year. Instead of taking up the front ranks they have effectively shrunk into total oblivion. This is due mostly to the petty devisions that have been sown amongst them. Now that there are moves to create more unity amongst them we hope this will mean a unity of purpose and not just unity for the name's sake.

We hope that the wave of disinformation that is going on amongst the youth will not affect their year as the women's has been affected.

Truely the gains experienced by this region have been due mostly to the activities of individuals entrusted with various responsibilities rather than the large committees that have been formed from time-to-time. This then underlies the need to seriously consider the possibility of a full-time organiser in the region.

There is a great lack of the full application of the democratic processes in this region. There are very few if any, activities by the affiliated organisations. This then makes one believe that there is very little feedback done to the masses who cannot get to be present in certain forums like the RGC. This is a sad state of affairs indeed as we need the mass-participation of all rather than the contriving of some geniuses.

The Future.

We shall in future have to concentrate on the active strength of the affiliates and have the greater stress of activity there. This is even more preferable in view of the difficulties experienced in securing venues for big regional activities which have unfortunately been the main source of inspiration in the region. Organisations cannot be allowed to be submerged into the activities of the UDF because of the very nature of the Front. They need to be clearly visible with a definite line of emphasis and action.

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Besides we must at all times maintain the base of the struggle which should at all times be the masses of our people. The bulk of our activity should for this reason be borne by them.

In electing our executive we should at all times strive to ensure that the people elected will be in a position to meet the responsibilities that go with the various portfolios into which we elect them. People who are already overburden with work elsewhere, no matter how good they are will find it impossible to perform as we expect them to and this is to the detriment of the Front. They can if necessary be called upon by the executive or RGC to perform certain tasks from time to time.

I hope then that this shall serve as a guide in our deliberations today and as a reference for the future.

All in all, on behalf of the Executive I wish to thank you all for your co-operation during the past year, which has by no means been an easy one. I hope that you shall give the incoming executive the same amount of co-operation, or even more.

The times now call for a very concerted drive and dedication towards our goal. The forces of oppression are in full awareness of the significance of our united action and they will not spare anything possible to crush us.

WE MUST BE FOUND TO BE STRONG AND UNITED!!

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b. Some Notes on the Call for a National Convention

INTRODUCTION

The UDF and its affiliates have just scored a huge victory. The apartheid regime put a lot of time and money into its 'New Deal', trying to convince South Africa and the world that apartheid was changing for the better. The huge, nationwide boycotts of the August elections, and the government's reactions (arrests, sjambokking, tear gas, baton charges) have sent the 'New Deal' into the dust bin of history.

Faced with this defeat we can expect more moves from the government. It will strike out with more arrests and bannings on the one hand. On the other it will come up with many more desperate 'new deals', offers of 'peace talks' on certain conditions, etc. In the face of these zig-zags, we have the duty to make sure we develop a clearer, long-term political understanding. We also have a duty to make sure that the many thousands of people we have reached in our campaigns also develop a clearer, political understanding.

We need to develop an understanding of how far we still have to go. We need to know what balance of forces is needed before we can draw up a real peoples' constitution so that, in the words of the Freedom Charter, The People Shall Govern.

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It is in the light of all this that the discussion of a National Convention (NC) call has arisen in our ranks. How can we in UDF and organisations begin to set the political pace? Will we always just be reacting to the government's new recipes. Or can we begin to spell out our own political demands and preconditions?

To get a better understanding of these issues it will be useful to begin with a look at the history of the NC tradition in S.A.

THE HISTORY OF THE CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION

1908-1909 National Convention

The 1908-9 NC was held in Bloemfontein to draw up a constitution for the new state, the Union of South Africa. This NC involved English and Afrikaans speaking whites and the British colonial power. This NC completely excluded the black majority of this new country.

S.A. was born, then, on the basis of Britain handing over power to a small minority of whites, while the majority of our people remained racially oppressed.

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The people take up the call for a new NC

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Within weeks of the plans for the new racist constitution being released in 1909, a number of small political organisations of Africans came together in a "South African Native Convention". The idea was to coordinate African protest. It was the first time ever that Africans began to organise on a national basis.

Out of this Convention, the ANC emerged three years later. One of its major aims was to unite all Africans in SA in protest against the illegitimacy of the new constitution. It was argued that all South Africans needed to be involved in the drawing up of a constitution. Unless all South Africans were so involved any constitution would be illegitimate. Over the years the ANC has demanded that there should be a new NC, involving all South Africans. This call has also come under discussion within other democratic organisations from time to time. Only such a NC could draw up a legitimate constitution.

The isolation of the white minority regime

At first most of the world did not listen to these views. Even up to the end of World War 2 (1945), SA's white racist regime was treated as a respected member of the international community. Later, things began to change. The socialist states grew stronger, most of Africa and Asia was liberated from colonialism. The democratic forces against apartheid grew more powerful, both inside and outside SA. Today the apartheid regime is an international embarrassment. ~~Its right to represent the people of South Africa is seen as an illegal claim, and apartheid is seen as an international crime.~~

The 1961 call for a National Convention

The demand for a new, democratic, non-racial NC was made many times over the years by the people's organisations. This demand became particularly important in 1961 when, for the second time, a new constitution was drawn up for SA. This was the Nationalist Party's Republic constitution, which once again excluded the black majority.

At this time the ANC and PAC had just been banned. An ~~All-in~~ Conference was called in Pietermaritzburg at which the national liberation movement demanded the immediate calling of a NC. The NC had to be:

- i) sovereign - this means it would have the power to make any changes it decided upon, and it would not meet under the shadow of the guns of the racist police and army;

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- ii) it was to be made up of elected representatives, with all adult South Africans, black and white, having the vote.

The All-in Conference warned the government that there would be a national general strike on 31 May 1961 if the demand for a NC was not met. On that date SA saw the biggest national stay-at-home there had ever been. SA's second racist constitution, the Republic constitution was deprived of all legitimacy.

Since 1961, various progressive, democratic organisations have frequently repeated the call for a sovereign NC. This demand has become a deeply entrenched part of SA's liberation tradition.

Attempts at right-wing co-option

Because of its importance within our tradition, it is not surprising that opportunists on the right and left have focused attention on the NC call.

Buthlezi, the PFP and certain imperialists in the US have sometimes tried to co-opt the demand for a NC. What these people want is not a sovereign, elected NC with non-negotiable preconditions. They want a get-together of 'leaders' to talk about SA's problems, while the apartheid army and police remain in place. They want us to believe that if only Buthelezi, Matanzima, van Zyl Slabbert and PW Botha (and sometimes they have the audacity to include Mandela on the list) could get together and understand each other, then SA's problems would be solved. Needless to say, this approach to the NC has always been rejected by popular organisations..

Ultra-left criticism

On the other hand certain ultra-left groupings, threatened by the popularity of the NC call, and more generally threatened by the growing re-emergence of support for the Freedom Charter, have tried to confuse people about the long tradition in calling for a people's NC. They have said that a NC would be a bourgeois sell-out. ~~Unfortunately, many sincere democrats within the ranks of the UDF have allowed themselves to be confused by the ultra-left position. We will look more at this problem below.~~

NC and the 1984 Constitution

In the past few months now that a third constitution is being put into practice, there has been discussion of the NC call within the ranks of the UDF. While there is no commonly agreed, official position, those arguing for a NC call see it as being:



- i) elected on the basis of unlimited, non-racial adult franchise; 9
- ii) sovereign - ie, having the power to put into practice the constitution it draws up;
- iii) public - ie, its meetings must be open to public observation, it is not a meeting behind closed doors.

There are also several NON-NEGOTIABLE PRECONDITIONS that would have to be met for such a NC to occur:

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- i) The suspension and demobilisation of the police and army;
 - ii) The unbanning of political organisations;
 - iii) The freeing of all political prisoners, the unbanning of all those banned, the unconditional return of all those in exile. All of these people should be free to participate in the proceedings of the NC, and also in the preparation for such a NC;
 - iv) The immediate suspension of all racist and unjust laws (like the pass laws, Group Areas, the Land Act, etc). The attempted revival of these laws will be made a punishable crime;
 - v) The suspension of the current racist constitution, and the dissolution of the bantustans.

SOME QUESTIONS

The debate around the NC call has given rise to many questions. Here we attempt to answer some of these questions.

Wouldn't it be better to call for something else?

Some people argue that, since Buthelezi and the PFP have also called for a NC, we should make a different call.

It is true that we should not necessarily get stuck with a particular word, but at the same time we shouldn't just abandon our own traditions. The fact that the bourgeoisie talks about 'freedom' does not mean that we must now find another word. Opportunists will always try to co-opt popular slogans. If tomorrow the broad national liberation movement were to popularise the call for a 'Constituent Assembly' we could be sure that the Buthelezi would soon be making the call too.

We shouldn't get involved in a simple game of words, trying desperately to stay one step ahead of those who try to co-opt and water down our traditions. That is the approach of small, insignificant groupings whose 'revolutionary' activity consists in dreaming up fresh slogans, always 'one better' than anyone else.

If other elements also call for a NC we should use the opportunity to educate the broad masses about what exactly we mean by a NC. We don't need to be so insecure about our own strength. To

Take a related example, there is a long tradition within the national liberation movement of calling for 'One Person, One Vote'. Recently the Nationalist Party has said it is trying to do just that - give everyone a vote. Rather than changing our demand, we have been able to argue very successfully that a vote for an ethnic parliament, for a bantustan government, for a community council is worthless. Rather than abandoning our demand, we have used the state's initiatives on this front to politicise the broad masses. We have shown them the difference between our demand, and the government's policy which might sound the same.

But isn't the call for a NC a bourgeois demand?
 The call for a NC is no more the property of the bourgeoisie than the word 'freedom'. It all depends what content we give it.

Far from being bourgeois, the content given to the NC (by progressive organizations) particularly the non-negotiable preconditions, are very far-reaching. The dissolution of the armed forces and the suspension of unjust laws would deal a heavy blow to the bourgeoisie in SA.

The fact that the words "NC" have been used by others is not a specific problem of this call. The same highjacking can occur with any set of words. Those who imagine, for instance, that the call for a Constituent Assembly is in itself more revolutionary than the call for an NC should note that the reactionary bandits in Mozambique, the MNR, are calling for a Constituent Assembly in that country. No set of words in themselves is waterproof. We should look to the traditions of our own struggle, and seek to develop these, educating and politicising our people around them.

Well, in that case, isn't the call for a Congress of the People a better demand than the call for a NC?

It is true that the Congress of the People, like the NC call, is part of our national liberation tradition. (This is not the case with the call for a Constituent Assembly, which means nothing to our people.)

The Congress of the People has sometimes been seen as a kind of NC. Certainly the 1955 Kliptown Congress of the People was the most democratic gathering there has ever been in SA.

But the Congress of the People occupies a different role within our tradition. The Kliptown Congress of the People was not a sovereign convention. It met, bravely, under the shadow of the

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apartheid police. In fact, the police invaded the congress and put an early end to the gathering. The Congress of the People did not draw up a new constitution, it didn't have the power, and that was never seen as its purpose. The Congress of the People produced the Freedom Charter, an 'historic document of our peoples' demands for a free SA.

Why do we need a NC if we already have a programme, the Freedom Charter?

The task of a NC would not be to draw up a programme, but to draw up a constitution for a non-racial democratic SA. The Free Freedom Charter calls for the people to govern. A NC would be part of the mechanism for transferring power to the people, and entrenching that power in the spirit of the Freedom Charter.

Wouldn't a NC be another Lancaster House?

The question refers to the Lancaster House talks which involved Britain and the various parties in Zimbabwe. Many people feel that the settlement arrived at in these talks betrayed the struggle in Zimbabwe. It led to a situation where a black petty bourgeoisie took over the government from the white regime, leaving the majority of the people, workers and peasants still powerless.

The Lancaster House talks involved the leadership of all parties in Zimbabwe, including insignificant groupings like those associated with Muzorewa. The balance of forces was completely unfair. On the one side Britain, Rhodesia's Ian Smith and Muzorewa all combined against the ZAPU-ZANU Patriotic Front delegation. When it came to elections later Muzorewa could only get a tiny number of votes. The delegates to the Lancaster House talks, therefore, bear no resemblance to the kind of NC that is being demanded here.

Does the NC involve a '4 Nations' approach?

In the first place we should note that within the broad national movement in SA has sometimes been referred to as being made up of '4 national groups'- Africans, Coloureds, Indians and whites. But no one has ever spoken of 4 separate nations. The so-called 4 nations thesis is the figment of certain troublemakers' vivid imaginations.

Nevertheless, it is true that the elections for a NC sometimes has been portrayed as being by 'national group', with each group being represented proportionately according to its relative size.

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However, this has not been the only way in which the NC has been seen. In particular, the 1961 All-in Conference called for an open, unqualified adult franchise for the NC.

Would the NC call be a campaign?

While this should not be ruled out for all time, it seems that this is very unlikely in the present. The call for a NC, with all its non-negotiable preconditions could rather be used to inform politically all our other campaigns. Our campaign against the structures of the new constitution can, for instance, involve outlining the mechanism for drawing up a legitimate constitution. Likewise our campaign for the release of our leaders and all political prisoners can be informed with the wider perspective of the preconditions for a NC.

Would a NC be a kind of parliament?

No. The NC is a temporary gathering designed to draw up a truly democratic constitution. Once this task is completed, it would dissolve.

Given the preconditions demanded, why bother with a NC?

This question is based on the misconception that the NC is designed as a round table negotiation with the present government and ruling classes. If the police and army are to be demobilized then a very different situation will have to be present in SA. In these circumstances the NC will be the gathering at which the constitutional form in which the people are to govern will be worked out. It is not a sit-down with the P.W. Bothas and Oppenheimers.

Internal Colonialism

– a faded concept.

Progressives in South Africa have for many years debated about how best to explain the nature of oppression. We all know that there is political oppression and economic exploitation in South Africa. The question is how they fit together in our unique situation. This is not an academic question only, because different answers suggest different methods of struggle for a free society.

In the last issue of Social Review, the article 'National Democratic Struggle - a struggle against internal colonialism' expresses one view of the nature of oppression in South Africa. The article said that the nature of oppression in South Africa could be explained as a peculiar type of colonialism called 'internal colonialism' or 'colonialism of a special type'.

Let us summarise their argument. The conflict in South Africa is caused by the fact that it was colonised. Whites were the colonisers and blacks were colonised. As a result, national oppression exists in this country today. Whites are still the colonisers and blacks are the colonised nation.

'Colonialism' usually exists as a relationship between two separate countries. People of one country conquer the people of the other. The conquered people lose their independence. They remain controlled and oppressed by the conquerors. Colonialism means that the people of one country are ruled by the rulers of another country.

The people with the internal colonialism approach argue that a certain type of colonialism can exist within one country (not between separate countries). They say that in South Africa the whites are the colonisers (the colonial bloc) and blacks are the colonised bloc ('bloc' means group). In other words, blacks are oppressed as a nation by the white nation.

They argue, therefore, that the central struggle in South Africa is the black struggle for 'national liberation' (like the anti-colonial struggle in Africa). The aim of the struggle is national independence of the black people, and for democracy. The strategy of the struggle is to build a national unity of all classes of the (black) nation. The ideology of the struggle is African nationalism.

We argue in this article that internal colonialism, at

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t, presents a partial picture of the South African struggle. worst it is misleading and the strategic conclusions are faulty. The South African situation is more complex than the internal colonialism (IC) approach suggests. The IC approach makes two basic mistakes. Firstly it looks at South Africa's situation but not at how the situation developed and how it stands today. Secondly it misunderstands the nature of colonialism and therefore wrongly applies the concept of colonialism to South Africa.

Why colonialism in Africa?

In spite of the fact that colonialism is a central concept in their approach, IC supporters do not discuss the meaning and nature of colonialism. Why did colonialism happen? The colonisation of Africa cannot be explained without understanding the motives behind colonisation. Historical evidence shows very clearly that basic economic considerations lay behind the colonisation of Africa.

By the late 19th century, capitalism was quite well developed in the major Western countries, particularly Britain, France, the United States of America and Germany. Many large factories had been built. However, there was an economic depression starting in the late 1870s which continued for many years. Capitalists were worried because their profits were getting smaller. They searched around for ways of increasing profits.

When trade began with Africa, capitalists in Europe realised that Africa might have great economic value to them. Africa could provide some cheap raw materials like cotton and palm oil (or soap and lubricating oil) - products produced by super-exploited Africans. In addition, some products made in Europe could be sold to Africans at high prices. A well-known example was mass-produced cotton cloth which was sold widely in Africa.

The act of capitalists exploiting the people of another country in order to increase their profits is called imperialism. It was this economic motive that was behind the interests of the capitalists of Europe in Africa.

Because of the depression, and for other reasons, competition among the capitalists in Western Europe increased in the 1870s and 1880s. Seven countries - France, Britain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Portugal and Spain - all seized colonies in Africa to protect the economic interests of their capitalists. Africa was carved up to be shared as colonies by the European countries. Britain and France got the biggest shares.

First, with their superior military power, the European colonisers conquered the African people in different parts of the continent. Once conquest was completed, governors were sent to control the colonies on behalf of the conquerers. In some cases, European settlers were sent to run mines, farms or trading companies, or to work in the colonial administration.

As colonies, nations were politically controlled by the colonising power, based in another country. The colonised people had no say in the running of their land. Political and economic decisions were made by the colonial rulers.

Decolonisation in Africa

Africa remained colonised for about 80 years. Between 1957 and 1969 most of the colonies in Africa were granted independence. Some were already independent by 1957 (Ethiopia and South Africa). Others, such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia were still to be liberated by 1969. But the central question remains. Why did European colonisers return most of Africa to political independence? One reason is that political independence did not mean economic independence, and even if African countries were free they would still be dependent. Therefore they could still be exploited.

But the reasons for decolonisation are complex. Firstly, there was pressure from Africa nationalists demanding their freedom. This pressure increased after World War 2, and in a few cases the struggle against colonialism led to violent clashes. In one or two countries armed national liberation struggles occurred. This was also happening in the Far East in Vietnam and Malaysia. Although armed struggle did not take place in most colonies, the colonists feared that it would eventually happen.

A second reason was the fact that the economic interests of the European countries in Africa had changed. Most important was the development of the multi-national corporation - companies like Ford, Shell Nestlé and Lonrho. These huge companies are powerful not only because they control large amounts of finance (wealth), but because they control technology (knowledge about production). They are powerful enough to operate in foreign countries without the direct intervention of their home governments (although intervention, through the CIA, for example, does occur). The multi-national corporations can exploit without the protection of direct colonial controls. This is a new form of imperialism - imperialism without colonies.

For these reasons, and others, such as pressure from the

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United Nations, it was politically advisable for the colonial powers to withdraw from Africa. It was also economically possible because of the changing nature of imperialism.

The Colonial State

The kind of government set up in the colonies during the colonial period varied, but there were certain common features. In some colonies there were colonial Governor Generals who ruled on behalf of the colonial power. In others there were Provincial Administrators. These colonial powers pretended that the colonies were merely provinces of the colonial country. What was true in all colonies was that democracy was absent. The people of the colony had no real say in the running of the country.

But the dictatorial colonial state could not rule by repression alone. This would have been very expensive as regards the cost of arms and armies. They had to get some collaboration from the colonised people.

That is why they colonial powers made concessions to some of the more powerful sections of the colonised people. Some were pulled into the colonial bureaucracy as chiefs or headmen (on colonial salaries), teachers or civil servants. To maintain their support, the colonial officials had to play a balancing act between the exploitative desires of the capitalists from the colonial powers and the demands of the local collaborators.

Most colonial states were also weak because they had a very small police force and army. The soldiers and police were mostly local Africans under the control of European officers.

It was a weakly rooted state apparatus. Its control lay in another country. Though it acted primarily to further the economic exploitation of the colonisers, this had to be balanced by some carefully judged concessions to parts of the local population.

Independence struggles

Economic development under colonialism was stunted. There was very little industrial development or large-scale farming. Therefore there were very low wage workers. Even in the more advanced colonies like Kenya or Ghana, by the time of independence more than 90% of the people were still on the land, mostly as small farmers. The working class was small and weak and the peasants (small farmers) were not well organised.

In many of the colonies, nationalist movements began to develop in opposition to colonialism. Not surprisingly, these

nationalist movements were led and organised by the educated Africans - the middle classes. Of course many peasants and workers also supported the movements, but they were not part of the nationalist organisations and they did not have a voice in them.

In countries where the Europeans granted independence before the struggle was very advanced, the African middle classes came to power very easily, and the life of the ordinary people hardly changed at all.

But where the struggle was harder, the middle classes were forced to look to the workers and peasants for support. There the nationalist movements incorporated demands for sharing the wealth and the land. In many such countries, after independence was won, the new government gave some benefits to the people. But many new governments forgot about the people. They were too busy helping the big multi-national companies get high profits. They were too busy setting up their own businesses and getting rich.

In countries like this (for example Kenya and Zimbabwe) the people still suffer from hunger, unemployment, low wages, little land and poor living conditions. (Colonisation has been defeated, yes; but the people are still exploited by imperialism in the form of the multi-national companies. And imperialism works together - very profitably - with the local African capitalist class which gained power at independence.

In some countries, such as Mozambique or Vietnam, however, the anti-colonial struggle was very different. There, the mobilisation and organisation of the people went very deep. At independence, the people truly won power; the land and the factories came into the hands of the people as a whole, and production was for the benefit of the people, not for local and foreign capitalists.

In countries like Vietnam, Mozambique and Cuba, the national liberation movements took up the struggle against imperialism and capitalism as well as against colonialism; whereas in countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe, the leaders thought that the struggle was over when colonialism was defeated.

In our analysis of colonialism we have shown that the political system of colonialism cannot be understood without looking at imperialism. We have shown that ending national oppression by gaining political independence is not enough; national independence on its own does not solve the problems of the people.

But the followers of IC are making this very mistake of looking only at national oppression. This causes two problems.

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Firstly, it leads them to think that the situation of South Africa is the same as that of the other colonies in Africa. Secondly, their theory draws attention only to the political system of national oppression, not to capitalism and imperialism. As a result, their strategy is not designed to liberate South Africa's people completely.

Is South Africa a colonial society?

The IC approach says that colonialism in South Africa is different from the usual type of colonialism because it is internal colonialism. But IC does not analyse in more detail the ways that South African colonialism is different. Nor does IC tell us in what way the struggle in South Africa may be different from other anti-colonial struggles. In fact, IC stresses the similarity between our struggle and other anti-colonial struggles.

But if we look at the history of South Africa, we see that it is very different from other countries in Africa.

South Africa was first colonised 300 years ago. Over the first 200 years white settlers slowly arrived and pushed the inhabitants back, but little happened. Then, in the 1860s and 1880s, diamonds and gold were discovered. Capitalism rapidly developed in the form of mining companies.

South Africa had been a British colony since the early 1800s and many of the big mining companies were British-owned. Britain had big economic interests in SA, but was politically weakened by the opposition of the Boers who ruled the Transvaal. But in the Anglo-Boer War, the Boers were defeated and Britain set up a modern capitalist state that could serve the needs of the mines.

Local settler forces were strong in South Africa and made British control from the outside difficult. Britain granted independence to South Africa in 1910, when it accepted that local whites could be relied on to run the country in the interests of the mines. South Africa was no longer a colony.

However, national oppression remained for the African people in South Africa. Only a few members of the African elite had the vote in the Cape. Others had nothing.

After union in 1910, the British could not really prevent the emergence of a local capitalist class in South Africa amongst the whites. By 1948 it was clear that the national capitalist class had developed and consolidated its economic and political power. This class was mainly involved in farming and manufacturing, but increasingly in mining as well. This capitalist class operated with the (sometimes unwilling) co-operation

of imperialism.

The oppression of black South Africans continued. Up to 1910 this had been colonial oppression. Since 1910 the nature of oppression has changed. Africans are oppressed by an alliance of white capitalists and middle classes, supported by large sections of the white working class. This oppression was no longer colonial oppression, but oppression in the interests of South African (white-dominated) capitalism.

Since 1948, national oppression has taken the form of apartheid. Central features of apartheid - the pass laws - were designed to control the black working class. But at the same time as the SA government attempts to exclude Africans politically, it has drawn them in in ever greater numbers as workers, into the heart of the SA economy. The economic and political heart of SA society now lies in the cities. It is here that the power of the oppressed nation lies.

So, if we look closely at South African society, we see that it is very different indeed from classical colonialism.

Firstly, the South African state is firmly based on a ruling class inside South Africa. This state has been politically independent from Britain since 1910. The state is supported by large and powerful classes in South Africa. The police and army are recruited from the citizens of South Africa, fighting for 'their own country', not fighting in some distant colony.

Secondly, capitalism in South Africa is far more highly developed than in other colonial countries: there is a huge locally controlled mining industry; a powerful and sophisticated manufacturing sector; and a highly developed capitalist farming sector. The South African state has developed into a large and complex capitalist state in order to regulate all of these spheres of production, and in order to control the working class.

Thirdly, because of the high level of capitalist development in South Africa, there is a large working class with a long history of struggle and organisation. It is a working class far larger than that in any colony in Africa. In all the African colonies that became independent in the 1950s and 1960s, the working class was a tiny minority - less than 10% of the population in most. In South Africa the working class is the largest single class. This has great strategic importance.

Indeed, the South African class structure is generally quite different from that in colonial societies. If South Africa is a colonial situation, it is undoubtedly colonialism of a very special type; so special that the term 'colonial' ceases to have much meaning.

What does IC explain?

The IC approach tells us about the past. It describes the act of conquest of blacks by whites, and of black resistance. This history has marked our society and shaped the forms of struggle. IC draws attention to the depth of nationalist feeling; why people see the struggle in terms of national liberation. Nationalism is a central mobilising force in our society.

But the IC approach does no more than this. Most importantly, it cannot really explain the particular nature of South African society now. What can IC say about bantustan leaders, the Labour Party, rich black businessmen and community councillors? IC talks about sell-outs - all of these people? Why? What do these people have in common? The IC approach is unable to explain who are the friends and enemies of the people.

What does the IC approach say about who can be expected to support the struggle for full liberation and who will stop short? It tells us nothing. It talks about the black working class as the 'most consistent and dependent class' in the struggle 'against colonialism', but it does not say why. It also does not say why other classes might be less dependable, as it suggests.

What can the IC approach tell us about the struggles of the workers against the bosses? The struggles of the students in the schools? Community struggles against high rents? And if the IC cannot tell us about these things, how can it link them together, except in a superficial way? It does not explain the relationship between these struggles in the struggle for national liberation.

What kind of struggle is our struggle?

The history of colonialism in South Africa has resulted in the national oppression of South Africa's African, coloured and Indian people. Clearly this national oppression still exists. The oppressed people see their absolute lack of political power as the cause of all their other problems. As a result, national oppression is the major target of people's political anger.

This means that ours is a struggle for national liberation. Our understanding of colonialism has shown that national oppression resulted from the development of capitalism as imperialism. ~~As capitalism has developed in South Africa, so national oppression has changed and been refined. Capitalism has maintained national oppression; it could adapt and find new ways to control~~

~~and exploit; and find new (black) class allies, as it has in Zimbabwe.~~

Therefore it is not enough to say we are simply fighting national oppression. If we want to solve the problems of the people - oppression, exploitation, unemployment, poverty - then we have ~~to confront both capitalism and imperialism as well.~~

~~This applies particularly to the question of the state. We said earlier that the colonial state is a form of capitalist state, and that the South African state is a more highly developed and powerful capitalist state.~~

We cannot bring about deep transformation simply by giving everyone a voice in this state, that is by doing away with national oppression. ~~One person one vote and black faces in a capitalist state can just give us a new class of oppressors - again, we need look no further than Zimbabwe for an example of this.~~

If we want real change in South Africa, we need a new kind of state - a state that gives real power to the people to change their lives; a state that serves the interests of the workers and their allies, rather than the imperialists and capitalists. And we need an idea and practice of politics that spreads right through the whole of society, rather than looking only at parliament and the vote.

In other words, we need to deepen the struggle for national liberation and take it ~~further, so that it becomes a struggle for complete transformation of all of society.~~ Such a struggle can be based only on the large and strategically powerful class located in the heart of capitalist society - the working class. IC tells us nothing about this, or how to go about achieving it.

How?

It follows from the above argument that the correct political strategy is to mobilise 'the nation' in a broad struggle for national liberation, while placing special emphasis on developing within the nation the forces for complete social transformation - which is to say, ~~the working class and its close allies (the unemployed, the youth, the students, the poor peasants).~~ We can point to three areas of work:

1. Organisation. It is very important to build grassroots organisations in the communities and factories. It is these organisations that build the power of the working people. It is in these organisations that democracy (that is control by the people) develops, and it is through them that working class leaders emerge. The grassroots organisations take the struggle

Conclusion

We have show that there are many important matters on which IC is unable to give us any guidance, and that is it therefore unable to show us the way forward.

We have argued that a proper understanding of imperialism and capitalism shows that, if our struggle is really to solve the needs of the people,

- 1) our aim must be for national liberation which transforms society top to bottom;
- 2) our strategy must be to build working class organisation, consciousness and leadership within a broad class alliance;
- 3) our ideology must be transformed so that it becomes, in fact, ~~a socialist ideology~~ embracing all the national aspirations and culture of our people.

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NATIONAL CONVENTION

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INTRODUCTION

Let us begin by placing the issue for a national convention in a historical context. In 1908 - 1909 a National Convention was held to draw up a constitution for South Africa. This National Convention came up with a constitution for the Union of South Africa. But this National Convention was a racist gathering - the oppressed and exploited were excluded and took no part in it. As a result 1912 saw the formation of the African National Congress whose aim was to fight for a democratic South Africa.

Almost 50 years later the white Labour Party introduced a motion in the Home of Assembly, calling for a National Convention "of all sections of the community to consider the establishment and maintenance of a democratic society." Liberal Party members supported the motion. The United Party's response was that the idea of a National Convention was impracticable; Verwoerd's response was that it was "positively dangerous".

The next time the National Convention comes up as an issue is in 1961 with the move to draw up a new constitution declaring South Africa a Republic.

At the All in African Conference held in Pietermaritzburg on 25/26 March to strategise opposition to the Republic, a resolution was adopted to call for a National Convention. A National Action Council was formed with Mandela as chief organiser. His mandate was to campaign for a National Convention and if this was ignored to make plans for a strike and campaign of non-cooperation.

The National Convention was to be summoned before May 31, 1961.- It was to be attended by elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour or creed, and was to have full powers to determine a new constitution for South Africa.

As part of the campaign to summon a National Convention Mandela wrote to the United Party. He stated that if the U.P. was for a democratic and peaceful solution to the conflict in South Africa, then it was their duty to back the call for a National Convention. He stressed that although the call for a National Convention raises certain questions such as (1) What shall be the basis of representation at the Convention and (2) How shall the representatives be elected, those were not the most important issues at that point. What was important was whether the U.P. was for or against a National Convention.

The situation today

Now in 1984 we are once again faced with a new constitution which is going to affect us the oppressed and exploited in a thousand adverse ways, which is going to strengthen Apartheid. We were not consulted and took no part in drawing up this constitution. For this reason the whole concept of a National Convention has once again become important to consider, discuss and work through.

Now in the past various organisations and individuals (including Buthelezi, PFP and TUCSA) have called for a National Convention, but with very wierd and watered-down pre- conditions. What we need to do is look at how the democratic movement in the 1950's and 1960's conceived of the National Convention.

The first point that the democratic movement makes is that calls for National Conventions by opportunists and liberals are simply for the purpose of devising new ways and means of continuing racial oppression and class exploitation. The democratic movement can have no truck with such calls.

Rather when the democratic movement has made calls for a National Convention representative of all the people it has done so because in South Africa a white minority illegally monopolises state power to perpetuate and defend apartheid.

The function of a National Convention would be to discuss and draw up a truly democratic constitution in which political and economic power would be vested in the hands of all the people.

More concretely two things characterize a National' Convention:

- (1) The National Convention would have to be given sovereign and unlimited authority to change South African society in all its aspects.
- (2) The National Convention would be attended by the elected representatives of the people.

Beyond this to ensure that the National Convention is genuinely sovereign and democratic there are 5 pre-conditions that have to be met:-

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- (1) The present racist constitution has to be suspended.
 - (2) All the people's organisations have to be unbanned; all political exiles have to be allowed to return immediately and unconditionally; all political prisoners banned, banished and restricted patriots have to be released. In addition all the people's leaders must fully participate in the preparation for and actual work of the National Convention.
 - (3) There has to be an immediate, complete and unconditional compliance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
 - (4) There must be an immediate repeal of the Land Act, the Urban Areas Act and in addition all repressive legislation (the Internal Security Act, security legislation and proclamations in the Bantustans) must also be repealed.
 - (5) The police and army must be disarmed and they must also be disbanded.

This then presents us with a picture of what characterizes a National Convention and what the pre-conditions are before a democratic National Convention can be convened.

Before concluding I think that one final point is important: that is that the democratic movement stresses that only when our liberation struggle seriously threatens the Apartheid regime will it be prepared to set into motion the convocation of a National Convention. This means that the liberation struggle has to be strongly intensified before a National Convention can become a reality.

QUESTIONS

- (1) Can the call for a National Convention advance our work here and now?
- (2) If yes how can we popularise this demand, making it meaningful to ordinary people ?
- (3) How do we defend the National Convention demand from attacks by anti-UDF tendencies ?

NB. A longer paper looking in more detail at National Convention and also at the whole question of Constituents Assembly is available on request. The paper is ⁺ fifteen pages long.

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Mr Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen, fellow compatriots and countrymen. Our presence here this afternoon should not be viewed as merely a gathering of remembrance. This meeting should be regarded as a token of resistance against an inhuman system of a government guilty of the most callous and barbaric atrocities ever levelled against a people. People often talk of Nazism and Fascism as if they are mere memories in the shameful pages of history, hopeful that mankind will forever be vigilant NEVER to relive those moments. But for us who live in South Africa today, ~~Fascism and Nazism are welland alive in Pretoria.~~ Their fervour brought us June 16, 1976. Their consistant weight weighs heavy in the lives of the oppressed and exploited masses of our people. In this regard, it becomes imperative that today, eight years from that fateful day of June 16, 1976, we must not be content with mere remembrances. We must take full stock not only of the causes of such brutal killings, but also command a fundamental understanding of the social forces, the national and international interconnections that characterises the social fabric of the day.

The random killings of June 16 and subsequent events were outcomes of the government's 1974 decision, announced by the Southern Transvaal Director of the then Bantu Education, W C Ackerman who announced that English and Afrikaans were to assume a 50-50 basis in Junior Secondary Schools. This was an announcement and as usual, laid no basis for discussion. We know now various deputations and discussions between students and principals were in vain, leaving the students with no option but to register their messages through a peaceful protest march. And we know today that the repressive agents of the state replied with the usual ever present nernom of brutality. The problems of education in this country, which started a long time ago were to culminate in that manner.

Bantu education as a sham system of education was not conjured up by its architects simply because the people who were to become its victims were Black by colour. It found its basis in the very economic structure that held the social fabric then. Afeter the military conquest of our forefathers the oppressor realized that until he could inculcate a pseudo culture that would finally obliterate any sense of self respect and dignity, even his military might was not enough to consistently keep thevanquished in a position of perpetual servitude. With the "discovery" of more arable land, diamonds and later gold there was a perpetual hunger for more labour, vast unskilled labour resources that require no high education necessitated a system of an inferior education was to be dished out at tribal and racially segregated institutions. With residential area separated on the basis of ethnicity, and economic power in the hands of few while political power was the domain of a White minority, the picture of racial capitalism was complete. The architects of this diabolic system thought that the future was secure in their hands. It was until June 1976 when the youth in the country exploded with a resounding note that the falacies of Apartheid and racial capitalism shook to the core.

LESSONS OF THE PAST

In our plans for the future, we are often compelled to look back at the past and without emotions subject ourselves to criticism, so that we may eliminate chance and error. Often people look at the campaign against Bantu Education as if its history started in 1976. Little do we recall that the campaign has a tradition that dates back even to the early 50's. Often when we look at student political activity, our point of departure is 1968, forgetting the earlier student organisations whose members politically graduated into youth leaguers and Robben Islanders. Barely a decade from now, we shall also have forgotten that today's victims of the Pretoria hangman are the same school uniformed young men of 1976. Those young men were missed by the notorious stray bullets in '76, only to go down as stalwarts and heroes of their people in 1984. So that what we see is the same continuity of the changing phases of struggle.

One of the lessons to learn from the bitter experiences of June '76 are that, students cannot go it alone to emancipation. When the studenta appealed to their working parents to stay at home in '76, '77 and '80, it was an early recognition of an important fact that student movement must seek links with other permanent classes and organization in the community

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The historic nature of this day lies in the fact that to-day, a wide range of organizations from the church, community, student, cultural, labour and political fields have converged around the neck of a new-look reformed Apartheid. The very presence of organization from so broad a spectrum spells the death knell of this abominable system of Apartheid, because, it is a proof to the architects of this system, and to the international world that no amount of intimidation, no amount of arrests and indiscriminate killings, indeed, no amount of political subterfuge and cheating can remove the burning desire of a united people on the march to freedom and human dignity.

An attempt to understand the logic of the racist rulers of this country is a land mine of perplexing surprises. When they came to power in 1948, they did so under the banner of racism. From then on our people have had to live under the most harrowing system ever known in this continent, law after law was passed in parliament the consequence of which was to make our people a voteless people almost non-existent in the eyes of the rulers. Black people, except in the kitchen became lepers who must be banished to forlorn backyards of this land where they were to become "nations" in their own bush republics. Black people were supposed to understand when they are racially classified and group apart. We were expected to say 'ja baas' to separate unequal education, when our citizenship is stripped off and we

are made into a non-people in the country of our origin, we were expected to say DANKIE BAAS! We are expected to remain content to eke out a life of poverty, when the glossy palaces of the ruler and his economic might are built on the blood, sweat and tears of our people. We are expected not to resist this shameful and humiliating existence, when we raise our voices in rejection we are banned, when a sense of manhood and self-respect in us prompt us to resist this unacceptable and inhuman state of affairs, we are jailed, exiled, called agitators and terrorists. All this we are expected to simply throw into the oblivion of submission and despair, because as the word goes "Mr P.W. Botha is a pragmatic leader who sees the need to scrap unacceptable Apartheid". thus the so-called "new constitution".

Surely as we gather here this afternoon, we need to stop and ponder on the full meaning and significance of these highly peddled wares of Apartheid, namely the present P.C. proposals and the Koorhof bills. We need to find their basis and in so doing relate them to the actual situation as regards the lives and conditions of the oppressed and toiling masses. In doing so, we cannot obviate the crisis in which the South African regime finds itself, which crisis is by and large the main contributory factor to these latest gimmicks of white racial domination.

The South African apartheid regime is faced with a severe economic and political crisis. The link that the local economy has with international capital has bequeathed it with such problems as the rising rate of inflation, the steady centralisation of the various sectors of the economy into fewer hands, a discernible monopoly, the steady drop in profit margins thus the reluctance of certain sections of the private sector to expand, with the result that there is a high rate of unemployment (37000 in July 82) (70000 in March 83) Also its corollary, the rising worker militancy.

From 1970 to 1976 there were 1485 work stoppages involving thousands of workers, there has simultaneously emerged a number of trade unions in recent years. The development of the system of capitalism in South Africa has been inextricably linked with racial domination. One political scientist describes it as having:

"developed according to a primarily racial formulae for the growth of capital and the control of labour. The policies of the Apartheid state have ensured that capital accumulation is largely a white prerogative, sponsored by a plentiful, cheap and repressively controlled workforce which is predominantly African, coloured and Asian"

The consequential political relations have also been racially defined, with the central state being based on the incorporation of all whites as political equals irrespective of their class position. The flip side

This coin has been that black people whether worker, student, lawyer, peasant or trader are excluded from the main political representation, thus experiencing equal political oppression.

The crisis of the Apartheid regime also emanates from the fact that, whereas in the yesteryears, the economy was based on that vast unskilled labour force, when the small white skilled labour force could get support from immigrants to maintain acceptable growth and profit margins, especially after the recessions of the early 60's. It can no longer do so due to its own transition to an economy based on more sophisticated machinery, production methods, skilled and professional labour. This development has led to the many summits between the regime and the leading figures in the private sector. At this point in time, racial politics must "adapt or die". Pressures for a "political solution" emanate from ^{both} the military and the heads of capital. The "adapt or die" manœuvre has given rise to various commissions of enquiry into the labour, education and political spheres. It has exacerbated the crisis and the crisis has given birth to "total strategy". The counter to this is a feeble political rignarole called reform. This very weak response on the part of the racist oligarchy has led to strife within itself. The flag of nazism is once again emerging within the white minority. The basis of "racist capitalism" has never recovered from the shocking fall of the colonial empires in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. It is precisely this shock that

is at the bottom of S. Africa's intransigence in Namibia. It is that shock coupled with fear that sends the SADF into adventurist strategies of destabilization of other sovereign states in our northern borders.

The picture would be incomplete if we were to leave unmentioned the pressures of the popular masses. The student movement has exposed the fallacy of Bantu education, various community organizations & community newspapers have brought into disgrace the govt's policies of co-optation. notwithstanding the liberation movement.

Perhaps we should go on to look at the so-called reform policies of the Apartheid regime. In the first place, the present govt cannot claim any legitimacy because it was not democratically elected by all the people in S.A. It therefore goes without saying that all the laws that flow out of such an illegitimate govt can only hold for those it represents. The first line of the present new constitution for the white Republic of South Africa reads thus:

"In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of nations and the histories of peoples; who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own"

As for us the toiling masses, we know that our destinies and history is presently controlled by a white minority govt, and we know for certain that it is not God who gave this land to those who oppress us, but the might of their gun, and it is through that "gun" that they are able to maintain it to the extent that they can even sell us off-beat proposals fraught with political insincerity and hypocrisy.

Those who deliberately mislead themselves into believing that the govt is reforming may choose to do so. We know that the Botha regime strengthens apartheid even more by co-opting sections of the oppressed yet at the same time maintaining white dominance. We are not prone to be hoodwinked into this trap when all evidence stands contrary to any pretence towards reform. Only in the last session the following laws were introduced:

The Intimidation Act;

The Protection of Information Act;

The Demonstration in or near Court building Act;

The Prohibition Act;

The Internal Security Act and many others.

It must be remembered that the emergency measure which was introduced in 1976 banning all outdoor gatherings is still in force. Magistrates virtually plan and control funerals. The rigid enforcement of the Group Areas Act has recently affected in excess of 30,000 people. Influx control has affected over 2 million. Even now in the light of a bitter winter, the demolition of shacks continues unabated.

The Orderly Movement and settlement of Black Persons Bill is a crude piece of Law meant to make us aliens in our country. Trade Union leaders are faced with daily harassment and detention, the number of people who either die in detention or are simply shot by state agents is increasing. Presently, there are indications to the fact that the responsibility for enforcing influx control is now to be removed from the Minister of co-operation and development and its local structures - the community councils, and is to become the responsibility of the Dept of Interior. The full meaning of this is that Black people from the so-called Homelands are to be dealt with under the Aliens Act of 1937 together with ^{The} Admission of Persons to The Republic Act of 1972. This of course is the climax of apartheid and puts the crown on the grand reform policies of MR Botha.

With all sincerity we want to ask, is this reform? It is therefore with actual daily experience that we today in this historical gathering must take a stand that we reject those proposals in their entirety and see in them fraudulent measures enforced by an undemocratic white minority govt whose aim is to rule a divided and broken people.

We reject these proposals because in them we see a democracy supplanted by a racial oligarchy. They still enhance minority rule and exude racial superiority and ethnicity. We believe that Democracy must reject racial and political inequality it must, if it is not to contradict itself, equally reject economic inequality. The basic injustice of this unequal

system does not arise from the fact that the ownership of the economic resources happen to be white in colour, although the racial dimension certainly aggravates it, but rather from the fact that in a country endowed with vast resources, the majority remain deprived and impoverished by the minority.

At this hour in the story of an unfolding struggle for Democracy in our country, there is a definite, almost urgent need for unity. All organisations of the oppressed and democratic forces must bring their heads and efforts together around a broad front that will bring to nought these latest stunts by our oppressors. An oppressed people must resist oppression because oppression begets tension, strife, suspicion and hatred. They must use various methods of removing it. In our circumstances we have a mass based broad front which will effectively frustrate and bring to failure all of the govt's mouldy proposals. In an oppressive situation like ours, various issues arise from time to time around which organs launch their programmes for the achievement of their long term objectives, in certain of these circumstances fronts are formed around specific issues in order to enhance the gains of the oppressed.

It is evident that Apartheid is still a very formidable force affecting our lives painfully. It has created differences within the oppressed and so has racist capitalism. Racial discrimination and exploitation have created the P.C. proposals, the Koorhof bills etc. These must be the basis of our united efforts. That

United effort has already taken root in the UDF. The UDF involves a diversity of organizations of various stratas and aspects of social life, with workers organizations playing a dominant role. The unity of organizations in the UDF finds ground in the actual campaigns involving the masses. We in the UDF believe that Unity is not a slogan. Unity is borne out of practice. We believe that unity must not end as a catchword of intellectuals and newspapers, but it must be forged on the crucible of work, struggle and sacrifice. Unity must be nurtured by total commitment and action. This then is what makes the UDF different from other fronts or intended fronts. We move along with the masses, we learn from them while we also teach them. Our aim is to become a true vehicle of change and not a "paper tiger" that hands down instructions to the masses from an elite position of condescension. This is a tradition of struggle that has seen decades of resistance in this country.

In conclusion, I wish to say, let us not look back for our journey has been long but our goal is at hand. No amount of arms will halt our people in their path towards liberation. We have no doubt that the Inkomati Accord is a shadowy attempt to delay our liberation. That accord failed whilst still in the minds of its schemers because it fails to address itself to the basic problems of our day inside S.A. We are confident that we

shall soon look back at that fraudulent trick as a worthless delay tactic. Today, freedom is no longer a dream that we only enjoy in speeches and poems at funerals, freedom is a certainty that blossoms in our bosoms daily because we see its attempts every day. Freedom is in court, detention and Robben Island to-day, But freedom is already victorious because it lies in the hearts of the oppressed multitudes. Let us therefore pledge ourselves to support the front-line states at their hour of agony and intimidation, let us pledge ~~our~~ ^{our} unflinching support to the Freedom Charter, and lastly, let us always respect and remember the fallen heroes. These young stalwarts who have laid down their lives so that you and I should walk with our heads high in enjoyment of the fruits of freedom and human dignity.

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER!

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT!

Thank you all.

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LESSONS OF THE PAST

In our plans for the future, we are often compelled to look back at the past and without emotions subject ourselves to criticism, so that we may eliminate chance and error. Often people look at the campaign against Bantu Education as if its history started in 1976. Little do we recall that the campaign has a tradition that dates back even to the early 50's. Often when we look at student political activity, our point of departure is 1968, forgetting the earlier student organisations whose members politically graduated into youth leaguers and Robben Islanders. Barely a decade from now, we shall also have forgotten that today's victims of the Pretoria hangman are the same school uniformed young men of 1976. Those young men were missed by the notorious stray bullets in '76, only to go down as stalwarts and heroes of their people in 1984. So that what we see is the same continuity of the changing phases of struggle.

One of the lessons to learn from the bitter experiences of June '76 are that, students cannot go it alone to emancipation. When the studenta appealed to their working parents to stay at home in '76, '77 and '80, it was an early recognition of an important fact that student movement must seek links with other permanent classes and organization in the community

Adm: I.p.o.
J. Mahamed Jus NB.

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24/9/87

Bew "C21"

Our movement has come through difficult times - days and years often thought we shall not again see the open political organisation of our people until the eve of liberation. For a time the tremendous struggles waged seemed to be crushed by the oppressive regime and with the greater part of our leadership, restricted, harassed, banned, banished, detained jailed and even murdered here and beyond our borders.

In small gatherings and comradesly meetings as we are attending tonight the flames of liberation were kept burning in our hearts. It is people like Anne + Josy, and of course many others, that gatherings such as these have helped kindle those flames of freedom to burn more brightly.

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24/9/87
Tonight we are thankful to them, that after a difficult year they have once more brought some of us together in their home. It is in gatherings like these of the old guard and of the youth - a gathering of those who were active in the workmen's clubs, the trade unions, the Communist Party and the Congress Movement and of those active today in JODAC, DPSC, Black Sash and Affiliates of the UDF - that our tradition of struggle and total commitment shall live forward and sustain all who cherish the dream of a just and democratic South Africa

2 After the long night we have been through we are justly proud of the organisations we have created and particularly of the UDF. We have tremendous admiration for our people who against great odds are waging a valiant struggle against oppression. We are witnessing that struggle sweeping through the factories, the townships, in the schools and universities in the mines and rural areas, but we are also very conscious of the struggle being waged in the so-called suburbs against ~~oppression~~ repression and conscription to man the oppressive army, as well as the education and skills which are being brought to all our people. We are very proud of these achievements. But we must also remember these are achievements that have grown from seeds sown by the old guard and that we can jointly prepare the ground for greater achievements tomorrow.

3. We value this gathering also to help us cement our comradeship across the generations; to build rivalries into comradesly bonds; to build wider and wider circles of comradeship knowing that our country can not be liberated until we have built ourselves into strong comradesly chain across our country.

4 At this particular time as we enter the new year we are reminded of the harassment and persecution of our comrades and of the many who have been banned, restricted, banished in detention, in prison and those who have been maimed and killed. We remember particularly our leaders, Mandela, Sisulu, Mchizi, Kathrada, Goldberg and others imprisoned for so many long years but we also remember our young people Barbara Hrgon, Rob Adam, Mandla Mtembu, Karl, Tsotso and so many others who are languishing in the oppressors prisons. We remember particularly those who have been robbed of life. There are so many but I would like to repeat remarks I made at the burial of Jabulani Ngweni, who was ganned down in Manzini by the Swaziland Police and branded an ANC dog whose body could not be treated with the customary respect for the dead. I ~~repeat~~ ^{with respect} that ~~those who want to repeat~~: We say to those who want to see that this country is at war; a war waged by the oppressors against the oppressed. Let the rulers ~~and~~ and those who have sided with our enemy, that there is not going to be peace in this country until we are all free. This land is the land of our birth. It is the land of our forefathers. It has absorbed the sweat, tears and blood of our loved ones, just as our soil will take Jabulani. Its every blade of grass, its

every drop of water and its every grain of sand is a precious part of our very being. The death of Jabulani is proof that there is not going to be peace until we have claimed our heritage and liberated our country from racism, oppression and exploitation. His death like those of Solomon Mahlangu, Mogoerane, Madodi, Mtshanyane and those murdered in Maputo, Maseru, Cangozi, Harare, Luanda, Gaborone, Manzini, Mbabane or here in the Vaal, Swaziland, Gungahlele, Durban or so many other places is testimony that the rulers have set this country firmly on the road to violence and conflict. But we shall not be deterred from struggling for a free and democratic South Africa.

We are clear that the year ahead demands great commitment from us all. As we go our various ways during the year I trust we shall derive great strength that each one of us here shall spare neither effort nor courage until we have liberated our country. I wish you strength and courage and that you will go well.

Adm. Ppo.

J. Mohamed Jnr NB!

No (19) 1078/87

(20) 22/9/87

Steenia Durcan 315788

The Crisis And Our Tasks

I am going to speak briefly to you about the crisis facing us and our tasks. But first, Mr Chairman ^{Blaw C 22}, comrades, I am honoured to be able to say these few words to this historic gathering - and this day is going to be an historic event.

This day signals another step forward in our valiant struggle for freedom and democracy. This day shall kindle more brightly the flames of freedom burning in all our hearts and that are spreading the length and breadth of our country. This gathering mirrors the growing unity of the struggle that is sweeping through our country: from Lamontville, KwaMashu and Mdantsane on our eastern coast to Vryburg, Kuruman and Zeeuws on our border with Botswana; from Mitchells Plain, Tiroloer and Crossroads on our most southern coast through the complex on the Reef - Soweto, Mamelodi, Lenz and Western Township - to Pieterburg, Tzaneen and to our most northern border. The flame of that struggle has spread right across our country from south to north.

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The signs are clear, for those who want to see, that like the heaving and swelling of the mighty sea the oppressed are rising. When those waves roll more and more in unison they will amplify each other into a raging storm. The signs are clear, for those who want to see, that that storm shall sweep away onto the rubbish dump of history racism, exploitation and the oppressive regime under which we suffer.

and bring a new South Africa.

But I must also warn, and all our people must also understand, when all those waves of the struggle roll in disunity and discord our efforts will be dissipated into futility delaying the new South Africa we live and strive for.

Those who rule over us, those who reap the benefits of our labour and those who have plundered our resources to build an affluent ruling class and powerful nations abroad are reading the signs of the oncoming storm. Make no mistake about that. They understand that the broken bodies and starved minds and spirits that roam the ghettos, the squatter camps, the human dumping grounds are crying out more and more loudly for redress.

They can no longer implement their policies as arrogantly as they used to do unconcerned with the consequences. Gone for ever are the days when they could simply encircle us load us on lorries and dump us wherever they choose.

They understand that that storm can not be contained by their arsenals of murderous weapons. The armoured cars, mirages and machine guns can not produce the lifeblood of this country - gold, diamonds, coal, iron ore, agricultural products and all the many other goods. The jugular vein of that economy is the downtrodden but struggling Black workers on the factory shop floor, the mine complex, the building site, the communities in the townships and ghettos as well as our struggling students and scholars. Make no mistake

the rulers understand this very well. They spare nothing to try and destroy the growing unity - setting white worker against black worker, skilled worker against unskilled worker, urban worker against rural worker, one religious group against ~~the~~ another, students against parents and one community against another. We have been driven into so many compartments to keep us apart in the hope that we shall not learn the tremendous strength we have as a united people.

Our experience on the factory shop floor, in the many struggles in the community and in the schools have brought us together in a national struggle for total liberation. We have also learned the lessons of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and of other ~~the~~ oppressed people that those who rule over us by the gun are not as invincible as they would like us to believe and that we are not as weak as they like to pretend. They are whistling in the dark to keep up their spirits and to frighten us.

The rulers therefore have to sharpen their efforts for looking for allies in our ranks. Thus they make renewed efforts in their so called new constitution to coopt sections of the coloured and Indian middle class as junior partners and defenders of the existing regime where the vast majority of the oppressed will be forced to be double cheap labour. They are attempting in the Koorhof bills to coopt sections of the urban black workers

against the vast majority of oppressed workers. We must understand that we are being offered a few crumbs, poisonous crumbs, in return for our birthright. The vast majority of our people have spoken with one voice

- we shall not be betrayed by the Hendrickses, the Curries, the Rajbanses, the Thebechadis and the like;

- we shall not trade our birthright, the right to determine our future and the destiny of our country for your poisonous crumbs;

- we shall not let you divide our struggle for total liberation;

- we shall not let our children be conscripted into the hated army to impose the will of our oppressors on us or to die fighting their brothers and sisters who had to flee beyond our borders

we shall not accept a constitution imposed by a minority ruling class and that there will be no peace in this country until we meet in a national convention with all our leaders, now held in prison or exile, to determine our constitution based on the Freedom Charter.

If we have understood what we are up against—the bannings of our meetings, the detention and harassment of our activists, the seizure of our posters, banners and pamphlets and the repression of our views—then our tasks are clear:

- We must strive in our individual trade unions to defend our people and struggle for improvements

in wages and working conditions but we must strive most resolutely to link hands across industrial boundaries and build a united trade union federation. A trade union federation that can address itself to the question of capital and labour;

- We must strive in our individual community organisations to fight the battles of housing, rents, health facilities, transport services, security of employment, security of the home, youth services but we must strive most resolutely to link hands across our various organisations to address the fundamental problems of our community,

We must strive in our individual schools and SRC's to better the quality of education and fight for our right of assembly but we must strive most resolutely to link hands across our individual youth organisations so that we can address the problems of the youth

But when we have done this, we must above all, if we do not want to engage in disjointed action and dissipate our energies in futility, strive most resolutely to unite workers, community and students into a massive anvil on which the fundamental conflicts of our society can be hammered out. It is the duty of each and everyone here, and in all the many venues our people are meeting today, to go out mobilize and organise our people into that massive anvil.

let us go forward with a new determination to fight for our liberty. In our day to day struggle

let those of our people who are in the oppressors prisons, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlangeni, Kathrada, Goldberg and the many others, serve as constant reminders that we are still held in the land of our birth;

- let those who had to flee beyond our borders and who are hounded from their refuge serve as constant reminders that we have yet to win our freedom;

- let those who have been so cruelly robbed of life, Mabhangu, Magoerane, Mosholodi, Motung and the many others who fell in Caringa, Maputs, Maseru and elsewhere inspire us with new levels of courage, strength and determination to grasp our freedom and see the dawn of a new South Africa coming shining through.

I.J. Mohamed

Talk delivered at the WDF
Peoples Rally, New-Ul-Islam
Hall and Patis-dor Theatre
Lenz, Johannesburg 30/10/83

Adm: Ipo.

J Mohamed JNB

I do not know whether this speech was ever delivered by prof Mahomed.

Nr (19): 11/9/87
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22/9/87
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The Broad Struggle

Mr Chairman, ^{honoured President of the UDF, Oscar Mpetha} and Comrades we meet here ^{Box 49-6023} today as our people are meeting throughout the length and breadth of our country. We meet because we refuse to allow our oppressors to trick our people into working the system of our oppression. But we are also meeting because our country is in crisis. We meet so that we can act in unity and as a united oppressed people to face that crisis. I have no doubt that in the days and months ahead we shall require strength and courage and we shall have to mobilise all our energies to meet the crisis overtaking our country.

To avoid defeat we need to understand clearly what it is that faces us and what our tasks are.

In the first place, that crisis is a conflict between ruler and ruled, between oppressor and oppressed. It is a struggle against those who play God over our lives and deny us the right to determine our own lives and the destiny of our country. It is a struggle for our rights to determine how we shall be ruled and by the leaders of our choice. We are not claiming this right in some distant foreign country. No, we are claiming our rights in the land of our birth, on the soil that have absorbed the blood, flesh and breath of our ancestors, the land whose every blade of grass, every grain of sand and every drop of water is a precious part of our very being and is the heritage of our children.

That conflict therefore is about claiming our birthright and that of our children and the generations to come.

In the second place, that crisis is also the conflict between exploiter and exploited, the conflict between those who own the wealth of our country and those who toil in the mines, in the factories and on the building site. It is a struggle against those who live in unbelievable wealth and luxury by the vast mass of our people who create that wealth but lead a miserable existence. We see daily the abundance of goods we produce and we read about the mountains of meat, butter, cheese stacked away and lorry loads of food destroyed to keep prices, and profits, high while many thousands of our people are hungry and even starving. We see daily how the few enjoy that abundance we produce side by side with our people roaming the ghettos with broken bodies, stunted development and old long before their time. We see vast lands in the hands of the few side by side with rural people without even a vegetable patch to grow a few miserable vegetables. We see massive factories and giant machines, grand offices and shopping complexes created by the sweat of our labour often manned by foreigners while many thousands of our people are denied the most menial opportunity to earn a miserable livelihood. We see grand facilities to educate the few in luxury while many thousands of our children roam the streets unable to read and write and who must battle each other for a place in school.

In short Mr. Chairman and Comrades we are oppressed as a people, held in the land of our birth, but we are also exploited as workers and denied the benefits of the wealth we created. It is a two-sided edge they use against us. Those who rule over us have proved themselves totally incapable of ruling. Their role in society is a totally reactionary one. The time has come that racialism, oppression and exploitation be dumped on the rubbish dump of history. Our people have declared their dedication to rid our country of the scourge of racialism, oppression and exploitation. The actions of our people speak loud and clear whether it be on the factory shop floor, the squatter camps, the dumping grounds, or the church and school.

Those who rule over us, those who reap the benefit of our labour and those who have plundered the resources of our country are seeing the dark storm clouds of the oppressed peoples anger on the horizon. Those who impose their will on us because they have guns are fast realizing that their prisons, armoured cars, mirages and machine guns are not going to stop us from achieving our freedom. Gone are the days when we meekly submitted and voiced our anger in private. Gone forever are the days when as unorganised workers, community or students they could simply impose their will on us and to hell with the consequences. They are no longer sleeping comfortably. They understand that the gathering storm can not be stopped by their arsenals of murderous weapons.

Those murderous weapons can not produce the lifeblood of this country - gold, diamonds, coal, iron, meat, maize and other food or all the many other goods of an industrial society. That lifeblood is produced by the toiling masses. Those masses have learnt of their massive strength as an organised working class. Our experiences in the factories, in the many struggles in the community and in the schools have brought us together in a national struggle for total liberation.

The rulers therefore have to sharpen their efforts at looking for allies, quislings and traitors in our ranks. They are redoubling their efforts to divide us. Thus they have renewed efforts in their so called new constitutional proposals to make us a party to our own oppression. They are attempting to coopt sections of the coloured and Indian people as junior partners and defenders of the apartheid regime. They are also attempting to coopt the African people through the Local Authorities to police the townships, control the lives of the people and hound them from their homes implementing influx control. Under the pretence that we will control our own affairs we shall be made to impose the oppressive laws of the whiteman on our suffering people. In their next move they are going to attempt to coopt sections of the urban black workers under the Koorhof Bills against the vast majority of oppressed but struggling workers. The beast that is destroying us by imprisonment, starvation wages, bulldozed shanties, long working hours, totally inadequate health facilities is suddenly pretending

that they are giving us genuine local administration. At this very moment that beast is destroying the Bakwena Ba-Magopa like it is trying to destroy the people of Crossroads, Kooigrond, Kipton and elsewhere. We know that we are being offered a few crumbs, poisonous crumbs, in exchange for our birthright. The vast majority of our people have spoken with one voice - We shall not sell our birthright for your poisonous crumbs.

- We shall not be betrayed by the Hendrickses, the Raybanses, the Thebehadis and the like.
- We shall not let you divide our struggle.

Our tasks therefore are clear

- We must carry the voice of our people into every factory, township, church and home.
- Each and everyone must go out and ensure that the voice of our people shall ring across all corners of our country.
- We must build our people's workers, community and students - into a massive anvil, an anvil on which the beast that is destroying us will meet its end.

(19) Let our pride in the response of our people fire us with a new determination to destroy the local Authorities and bring our struggle for freedom to a new height. As we join hands in our day to day struggles for freedom

- let our leaders and youth who are incarcerated in the oppressors prisons, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeke, Mhlangezi, Kathrada, Goldberg, Lubisi, Mashigo, Manana and all the many others kindle the

the fires of freedom to burn more brightly in all our hearts } ²⁵ 22/9

(19) 12/8/87
~~5/11/87~~
- Let our brave sons and daughters who had to flee from our country and who are being hounded from their refuge ignite the flames of freedom in the hearts of all our people.

Tears etc
- Let those who have been so cruelly robbed of life Mahlangu, Mogoerane, Moshodi, Motlonyi, Joe Qwabi, Ruth First, Griffith Mxenge and all the many others, always remembering those who fell in Cassinga, Maputo, Masem, Manzini and elsewhere inspire us with new levels of courage, strength and determination to grasp our freedom and we see a new dawn of a free South Africa come shining through.
Amandla!

I.J. Mohamed
Talk ~~to~~ given at Regine Mund
Society at SCA anti-Local
Authorities Meeting
27-11-83

C24

Adm: Ifo.

I Mohamed JWS

(20) 30/9/87

- Compiled by
- 1) Prof. I. Mohamed
 - 2) Mr G. Du Plessis
 - 3) Mr B. Jardine
 - 4) Mrs A. Mulligan
 - 5) Marcus Moses
 - 6) Elvis Daniels

A.

BUS JOURNEY TO Port Elizabeth

1) Discussion on participation in referendum elections

- besides TIC & Anti-PC delegates,
few other delegates had discussed
the issue in their organisations

hence

- issue of mandate was raised
ie whether delegates could actually
commit their organisations to a
decision at the conference.

+

- point was made that majority
of conference would be APPARENT
MAJORITY not reflecting REAL
MAJORITY OF UDF MEMBERSHIP.

It was noticeable that several comrades had been
persuaded by arguments FOR participation.

2) Discussion on conscription issue

again, very little discussion had occurred on this issue. Some points made included the following:

- (a) cannot go into racist army & going to jail is unproductive so will have to leave country
- (b) (a) will only apply to activists & is not a feasible mass option
- (c) if (a) occurs, organisation inside country will be drained of young activists.
- (d) going to jail may be heroic but it implies being removed from society (& ∴ activity) for several years. Again, it is not necessarily a mass option.

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(e) we must organise mass resistance to conscription.

- politicised can be appealed to on political basis.

- mass of young people, even though not politicised, & hence not id a position to reject SADF on political grounds) nevertheless fear concept of war, ie. being maimed & killed ∴ there is basis from which to organise them. (note: should be careful when exploiting this fear not to move

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people away from preparedness to fight + die FOR LIBERATION!

⊕ We must start now to plant seeds of defiance because in heat of campaign repression will be heavy

Also!

We must start making our mass organisations less dependent on young activists

ⓐ one of organisational options is anti-conscription committee ~~center~~ based in church/mosques

B:

FRI 16/12/83

1) Arrived in P.E. at ~ 15h30. rest of day spent finalising accommodation arrangements

2) Great problem was lack of opportunity to meet ~~other~~ comrades from other regions.

3) Some comrades commented on fact that some of us had to sleep in a church hall in a WHITE SUBURB instead of in homes in A TOWNSHIP. some points made were:

No 20

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no effort must be spared to



accommodate delegates in township,
even if we have to sleep under
kitchen table. In our case, at
least ~ 60 families would have
had time to converse with a VDF
activist

(20)

30/9/8

Also!!!

- in this way people in the townships
would get used to sheltering strange
"revolutionaries".

4) Discussions on reteradum continued late into
the night.

afternoon session DISCUSSION ON "I" & "C" REFERENDUM

(note: Frank Chikane's letter never read at conference)

When procedure was announced, we realised that we would not have an opportunity to express our viewpoint to the the whole conference, only in the discussion groups. This was a problem since, as mentioned previously, numerous delegates had not discussed the issue. When our documents were confiscated (the document reflecting a full Anti-PC viewpoint) it was a ~~severe~~ blow to our cause.

The afternoon started with a regional caucus. In transvaal delegation; Anos Masondo was elected to present full report. This excluded any arguments, for or against participation. The ~~wording~~^{wording} of the report was approved by delegation.

This discussion ended in a division about whether it would not have been better to have 2 people presenting the full report, one arguing for & the other against participation.

One the delegate proposed a resolution that all organisations will be bound by the decision of the conference. This resolution was opposed. Unfortunately the

C.

SAT. 17/12/83

morning session

1) presidential report

2) secretarial report etc

group discussions

on - UDF as a front ^{rel. betw. 1st level} ^{works, + UDF's wh} ^{they are, what should} ^{they be)}

- how to strengthen

- comm. council elections - how
can campaign be carried
forward.

- groups too big

- time too short

At this stage, Prof. Mohamed & Elvis had
discussions \bar{c} NEC members about Anti-PC document
which was found technically problematic. All
copies were confiscated.

1) problem if press acquired copy
because would exaggerate division

2) "paper" did not go through
proper channels viz. via Tol

Prof. M. explained to NEC origin of document.

After the report it was decided to give each of the divided regions an extra 10 mins to motivate :
5 mins for + 5 mins against

For Tol. Firoz Lalhalla motivated case for participation, Prof. M. motivated case against.

(problem about TIC & ACC reaction + "poseuse" comment about from N. Pahad)
Mrs Board also spoke briefly against participation.

Then NATAL used up another 10 mins to motivate its case.

the point is that in terms of time, the case for participation enjoyed an overwhelming advantage.

Then we broke for group discussions

- case for participation was well articulated : of ^{large} number of people who motivated their case in very consistent manner
- boycott position was not prepared consistently, many advocates of boycott participation were confronted & arguments for participation at CONFERENCE

discussion ended in conflict. The resolution was withdrawn, & re-introduced by another TIC delegate. The atmosphere was totally not conducive to discussion. The second motion was allowed to fade.

(note: may now to discuss whether organisations' affiliation is permanently bound to whatever "OAF" does)

Eric Mordant presented his paper. Then we convened for the large open session. ^{Natal delegation} ~~Eric~~ reported 100% agreement about participation, & proceeded for their allotted 10 mins. to motivate for participation.

N. Cape ~~will~~ reported majority support for participation.

Border region reported 100% rejection of participation.

N. Cape was divided \approx a ratio of 4 organisations ^{against} participation vs ~~against~~ 3 for participation.

OFS was 100% for participation.

E. Cape was divided.

T.V.I. was divided.

from gov. discussions, following options

1) Boycott

2) participate

3) flexibility of tactics for diff organisations

also: that discussion had reached level of conflict & we should concentrate on keeping UDF intact.

After report back, straw vote was taken:
transvaal
E. Cape
OFS
W. Cape
border region
N. Cape
Natal

FOR PARTICIPATION	AGAINST
13	1
6	1
35	37

66s

overall result:

55

45

because of close vote, commission was erected.

recommended 1) that issue be taken back to regions for discussion, decisions then communicated to nec which will make final decision.

2) diff. regions/organisations be allowed flexibility of tactic

MILICA SITUATION CAMPAIGN

- Was launched (Jan. → May '84)
- signatures will not be presented to any group (authority) YET.

CONSCRIPTION

paper not presented ∴ of time problem

TRIP BACK TO JAB

- 1) tension + suspicion betw. delegates of opposing viewpoints
- 2) greater no. of people voicing boycott positions.

C25

Adm: Ipo J. Mohamed
Jh

No (19)

1078/87

No (5)

1118/87

(20)

309/87

54 (c)

Mr Chairman and Comrades, I am honoured to be able to address this conference of our youth in AZASO and to bring you greetings from the Transvaal Anti-PC. We are proud of you for the hardships you had to face and the struggle you have waged under great odds to acquire the education which is handed to the youth of white South Africa in splendour and luxury and which they often trample under foot or used to enslave their fellow youth. We salute you for the struggle you have waged that all our youth, Black and white, can take their place in the ranks of the free youth of the world. But we particularly salute you for the proud tradition of struggle you have brought to our movement for liberation from racism, oppression and exploitation.

You can witness today a rising tide of anger and determination to break the bonds of racism, oppression and exploitation. There is a growing unity and struggle which is sweeping throughout our country. From Lamontville, Kwanashu and Mdantsane on our eastern coast to Vryburg, Kuruman and Zeerust on our borders with Botswana, from Mitchell's Plain, Crossroads and Lange to Pieterburg and Tzaneen on our northern borders the flames of freedom burning in

H hearts and minds of our people are daily
 burning more brightly. The anger of our youth
in the schools of Cradock is mirrored in the
schools of Atteridgeville as a growing crisis of education
facing our country. The anger of our people
 in their plastic shelters at Crossroads is
 mirrored in the lands of the Ba-magopa or the
 people of Leandra as a crisis of land and
 security. The angry marches of our people
 in Mitchell's Plain against rising prices and
 demands for a decent livelihood is reflected
 in the strikes in the motorcar plants on the
 Witwatersrand + Pretoria or of angry miners in
 Natal confronted by armed police as a crisis
 of production where those who produce the goods
 are no longer prepared to be robbed of their
 sweat and labour to fatten the rulers. The
hero's funeral given to Clifford Brown in East London,
branded as a terrorist is mirrored in the crowds
of Soweto, Mamelodi + Atteridgeville marching to
June 16 commemorative services in the face of
armed police in their hippos + sneeze machines
and with gun and police dog as the crisis
of a people determined to determine their own
destiny in the country of their birth. This
 heaving and swelling, like the mighty sea,
 is embracing wider and wider circles of our
 people - in the schools, colleges + universities,
in the churches, mosques and community, on
the factory shop floor, building site and
mine complex. As these waves roll more

and more in unison they are going to sweep away racialism, oppression and exploitation. We must remember also that coupled with this rising mood for change there is also an economic crisis. There is a marked decline in the real growth rate of the economy, while prices are rising because the capitalist wants his pound of flesh. The state is unable to resolve, or even lessen, the problems of education, unemployment, escalating cost of living, grossly inadequate housing etc. It can not provide the schools, houses, hospitals and jobs needed because it has to feed a growing war machine in Namibia, on our borders and a massive police force within our borders. There is bound to be growing social conflict between oppressed and oppressor.

Those who rule over us, those who reap the benefit of our labour and those who plunder the resources of our country are seeing the dark storm clouds of our people's anger on the horizon. Those who impose their will on us because they have guns are fast realizing that their prisons, armoured cars, mirages and machine guns are not going to stop us from achieving our freedom. Gone are the days when we meekly submitted and voiced our anger in private. Gone for ever are the days when we as

unorganised workers, community or students they could simply impose their will on us and to hell with the consequences. They are no longer sleeping comfortably. They understand that the gathering storm can not be stopped by their arsenals of murderous weapons. Those murderous weapons can not produce the lifeblood of this country - gold, diamonds, coal, iron, meat, maize, clothing and all the many products of an industrial society. That lifeblood is produced by the toiling masses. Those masses have learnt of their massive strength as an organised working class. Our students have learned that their crisis of education is not going to be resolved on the classroom floor but in the political arena. We have learned from the victories of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe that as an organised and united people we shall win our liberation.

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The rulers understand that all this spells an end to oppressive South Africa where we are docile cheap labour to produce the wealth to keep them in luxury. They are sharpening their efforts to look for allies, quislings and traitors in our ranks. The striving is never before to divide us. For their oppressive system to survive, and remembering the coming economic

crisis they have to broaden their social base, But their dilemma is that while they have to enlarge their social base they also have to retain the support of all those who benefit by this exploitation of the Blackman. Thus at every stage of the racial tricameral parliament the voting ratios are loaded to give the whites a comfortable majority over Coloureds and Indians and with Africans not even featuring. Indians and Coloureds in their separate chambers will simply be providing white South Africa with a broader political base to perpetuate the apartheid system - because that system is entrenched in the new constitution. Coloureds and Indians will be party to passing the orderly movement bill against African people whether they like it or not if they participate in the tricameral parliament. Even more, the rulers would have ~~achieved~~ succeeded in making Coloured and Indian people enemies of the African people and thereby destroy the unity we have achieved over a long period of struggle. That constitution will ensure that we are party to imposing all the hated apartheid laws on our people and condemn them to poverty, disease, unemployment, starvation wages, and education for enslavement. They would have succeeded in giving our movement a terrible blow and we will face a long hard struggle to recover.

That constitution will make greater and greater demands on our people to man the racist army and fight on the borders to protect apartheid. ~~the~~ The dirty task of encircling our townships with machine guns, as in Western Township, will fall on our shoulders so that they can invade our homes and pull out our sons and daughters who are struggling for change. Those who are going into the tricameral parliament will be responsible for the blood of our children.

In the Kromhof Bills they are going to attempt to coopt sections of the urban African oppressed against the vast majority of exploited African people by selective privileges. We are all being played off against each other - the slave in the hutch thinking he is better than the slave in the field or the slave in the dining room and bedroom thinking he is better than both of these.

We dare not be fooled by the beast that is destroying us by imprisonment, starvation and slave education that suddenly he has great concern to help us run our so called own affairs. That beast which is at our neighbors door today will tomorrow tear us apart. We have heard the cry of the people of Namibia as they struggle for their

birthright. We must unite and fight a common struggle. The struggle against the constitution is not a coloured or an Indian issue. It is a struggle of all the oppressed people and those who cherish a vision of a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

You must go out, in all your organisations, to the people of Easterns, Landuin, Lenz, Bosman and tell them

- the constitution offers you a junior partners in oppression and exploitation
- you must tell them the constitution offers them cooperation to implement the orderly movement bill to force Africans out of the towns

You must go out to the people of Tierolles, Mitchels Plain + Chatsworth and tell them

- the constitution offers them a position of quishing and traitor against our struggle for liberation

- you must tell them that constitution will conscript your men to fight our sons and daughters who had to flee our borders

Let our leaders and youth who are incarcerated in the oppressors prisons Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlengeni, Kathrada, Goldberg, Lubisi, Mashigo, Momo and all the many others unite us in

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our determination to kindle the ~~flames~~ flames of liberation in the hearts of all our people

- Let our brave sons and daughters who had to flee our country and who are being hounded from their refuge kindle the flames of freedom to burn more brightly in all our hearts

Let those who have been so cruelly robbed of life, Makhlangu, Mogoerane, Moshodi, Motany, Joe Qwabi, Ruth First, Griffith Mxenge, Jennet Schon and all the many others, never forgetting those who fell as Cassiga, Mapita, Mxeni, Muzini and elsewhere inspire to blow these flames of freedom into raging fires of liberation until we see the dawn of a new and free South Africa coming shining through

Amandla!

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30/9/87

I.T. Mohamed
Talk to be given at AZASO
Conference opening session
Orlando East.
4/7/84

Adm: Ipo.

J Mohamed Jnr

No (19) 11/9/87

No (20) 22/9/87

Jabulani Ngebo

No 20 / 22/9/57

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Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to the parents and family of Jabulani Ngebo for the young son so cruelly robbed of life. All those who cherish the dream of a just and democratic South Africa mourn with you. We in the United Democratic Front and all its affiliates say this is our son, our flesh and blood.

2. We shall remember that this young man was killed by apartheid. Like so many of our sons and daughters he was driven from our country by the hated apartheid system. Those young people have seen too many of our people brutally killed because they dared to protest against oppression and being held in the land of our birth. Our sons and daughters have seen our people driven out of the towns and cities by influx control laws of those who rule over us with the gun; they have seen families suffering from melancholia unable to keep body and soul together while the vast majority of white South Africa live in luxury and wealth with an overabundance of food; they are painfully aware that the inferior racist education to which they are subjected is designed to make them cheap drudge labour while white South African youth would be educated to occupy positions of authority and privilege. Our sons and daughters have left our homes and country to wage the struggle that we all shall be free. Many

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have left to do the much that they felt had to be done. But the hated apartheid system has pursued our people beyond our borders and enlisted others in their murderous deeds.

3. We say to those who want to see that this country is at war; a war waged by the oppressors against the oppressed. Let the rulers understand that there is not going to be peace in ~~the country until we have~~ in this country until we are all free. This land is the land of our birth. It is the land of our forefathers. It has absorbed the sweet tears and blood of our loved ones, just as today it shall be the final resting place of our son Jabulani. Its every blade of grass; its every drop of water and its every grain of sand is a precious part of our very being. This death here today is proof that there is not going to be peace until we have claimed our heritage and liberated our country from racism, oppression and exploitation. This death like those of Solomon Mahlangu, Mogoerane, Moshodi, Motauy and those murdered in Moputu, Mosem, Casriza, Harare, Laanda, Gaborone, Manzini and Mbalane and so many other places is testimony that the rulers have set this country firmly on the road to violence and conflict but we shall not be deterred from struggling for a free and democratic South Africa. We shall not be deterred from

claiming our birthright. We want those who have joined hands with our oppressors to remember that. History will teach a cruel lesson to those who join hands with the oppressor. The noble people of Swaziland who had given our people refuge are slowly being chained to our oppressors.

4 We say also to those in our country who have not opened their eyes to what is happening around them - today it is the life of young Jabulani that has been snuffed out. But the beast at the door of the Ngwenes may be at your door tomorrow to tear you and your loved ones apart. We must unite in a determined common struggle to liberate our country so that the young life of Jabulani and all our many martyrs shall not have been in vain. Long life our struggle toward to a free and democratic South Africa Amandla!

I.J. Mohamed

At Funeral of Jabulani Ngwenes
Meadlands, Swaziland

Sunday 30/12/84

C27

Adm: Ipo
I Mohammed Ikb

An Assessment Of Likely Events Part "C27"

Our society is in crisis on a number of fronts. A growing social conflict around the national question; the economy in decline; Southern Africa conflict unresolved; international opposition are the main areas that point to the likely developments. It is emphasized that attention is drawn to certain possible developments so that we must be aware of the factors that may have a bearing on our opposition to apartheid and economic exploitation.

1. The National Question

The State must continue to attempt to resolve the social conflict, so as to create stability & confidence in the regime, by illusions of power sharing with the oppressed. It must broaden its social base by cooption of sections of the oppressed and, further shifting its powerbase from the landowners and white labour to the owners of capital, but at the same time it has to drive home the message that the social conflict can only be resolved within the parameters it prescribes - the fabric of the existing social system.

On the otherhand the struggles of the oppressed to resolve the National Question must escalate. The balance of power is slowly shifting in favour of the oppressed. Thus the social conflict must grow. We indicate some points of conflict without further motivation.

Tricameral Parliament. The integration of coloured and Indian middle classes, and later possibly also urban African middle classes, into the oppressive state must grow. So we shall see growing conflict between those who support the regime and the mass of the oppressed at all the many levels the tricameral parliament operates.

(ii) Black Local Authorities Opposition to Community Councils must escalate and take various forms: Public protest; protest marches; boycotts, stayaways, etc.

(i) Local Government The control of Hospital, Education, Social Services by the new local authorities must give rise to conflicts at these levels. The Houses of Representatives + of Delegates are likely to run into difficulties at these levels

(iv) Education The imposition of inferior education, education for enslavement, and the inability to provide education universally, particularly in the African Community must be a time bomb.

(v) Relocations of People The forced + coerced removal of African people to resettlement camps, the homelands and the so called independent states must continue to be a serious problem.

(vi) Repression + Detention. This must continue for reasons given in opening paragraph.

(vii) White Farmers + Lower Level White Manpower. The shift in the state's social base away from these groups must continue to generate conflict at this level and inability of the regime

to meet the aspirations of coloured and Indian Middle classes.

2. The Economy.

The rate of growth of the per capita income must continue to decline over the long term with the result that living standards of whites must decline and black hardship must increase. In short the economic base for resolving the social conflict is collapsing. Over the short term also weakness in the gold price + value of the Rand must add to the balance of payments problems, rising inflation, decline in investment capital with consequent decline in growth of industrial production with large scale unemployment as an attempt to correct economic ills. Over the long term here lies the essential weakness of the South African situation. In the short term some of the points of conflict that may arise are:

- (i) Unemployment Resultant conflict on factory shop floor + in community
- (ii) Increase in Cost of living. Subsidies on essential commodities will probably be cut back. Poverty levels must increase, decline in living standards, must undermine confidence in ability of Government to rule, both locally and abroad.
- (iii) Housing, Rents Costs and inability to provide housing or reasonable rented accommodation must become even more serious
- (iv) Electricity + Other Services. Costs must increase + have failure to provide.

- (v) Relocation of Industries to homelands - new local authorities to give an economic base must become costly and disruptive.
- (vi) Rural poverty & migration Rural poverty must increase, because of rising costs, the shift in social base to entrepreneurial class. Relocation of industries, ~~must~~ ~~abandon~~ as well as ~~the~~ industrial growth in certain areas at expense of others must lead to migration, home removals etc.
- (vii) Health & Other Services Here cutbacks are already taking place ~~and~~ and must continue to do so. Insecurity for such workers and inadequate provision for population.
- (viii) Security Services - There must continue to be a drain on resources + must add to growing conflict.
- (ix) Township Uprisings The above, and other issues, must fuel township dissatisfaction and uprisings.

3. The Southern Africa Conflict

Attempts to stabilize the South African situation must prove the dubious benefits provided by South Africa to neighbouring States is an attempt to firmly tie them to Pretoria & control their independence and direction of development. South Africa may continue to be the vehicle for foreign control through regulating Capital Investment, commodity prices and security of these states.

Conflict should arise around the following

- (i) Army A growing army with conscription of coloured + Indian youth + recruitment of African youth. These must strive to win the hearts and minds of the people but will also be involved in conflict situations in the townships and outside our borders.
- (ii) Police Growing police presence in townships and rural areas engaged in so called counter insurgency activities. Clearly a growing conflict with communities may arise
- (iii) Security Service - General diversion of resources into coordinated security services to maintain strict go and firm control of subcontinent by Pretoria
- (iv) Conscription - Mounting conflict here
- (v) Armed Conflict Pretoria agreements in Southern Africa (Nkomati + the like) would probably result in growing ^{internal} armed conflict with an internal base, with development as in the early 1960's.

4. International Opprobrium

It is becoming more and more clear to international Capitalism (as well as the local breed) that unless the growing conflict in South Africa + hence in Southern Africa is resolved that ultimately fundamental changes must take place which will threaten their interest in this part of the world + hence change the balance of forces. Hence

- (i) Opposition to Apartheid. Further isolation of regime to influence it to change. Also opposition to attempt its collapse.
- (ii) Alliance with Apartheid. Use of a growing ties with South Africa through technology, capital and other expertise as blackmail to bring about certain social liberties to stabilise the capitalist base
- (iii) Internal Armed Conflict. International opposition may also lead to growing armed conflict with an internal base
- (iv) Armed Conflict in Namibia, Angola etc. In an attempt to maintain its position South Africa may be sucked further into these conflicts.

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PUBLICITY AND THE UDP

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Publicity means making public. It means that knowledge is made known to a wider group of people than those already in the know. Central to publicity is media, by which is meant newspapers, leaflets, newsletters, stickers, banners, posters, ~~and~~ public demonstrations, ~~and~~ placards, ~~and~~ flags and songs.

Media in our country can be divided into two camps: those on our side and those against. On the opposing side we have the state radio and tv, the commercial newspapers, the advertisement leaflets that try to rip off our pockets, anonymous smear pamphlets like those put out to confuse us about the UDP launch, and the leaflets and newsletters put out by sell-outs, reactionaries, racists, and the like. In this hostile camp, we can expect two kinds of publicity about our organisations and our struggle: either ~~we~~ ^{we are} ~~are~~ ignored, or ~~we~~ ^{we} tend to be misrepresented.

This does not mean we refuse to have anything to do with the media in this camp. No, we try to use it where we can, we complain when we are misrepresented, we fight for decent publicity in these media. All this is important because the resources for media production in the hostile camp are far greater than what we can muster, and we would be cutting off certain chances of publicity if we did not try to find the cracks in the hostile camp and ensure that our publicity gets through these.

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Yet, at the same time, we know that for truly decent publicity we need to rely on the media in our own camp. These media are those put out in the form of community and student newspapers, as stickers and brochures coming from our civics, unions and women's organisations, and the UDP's media.

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However, if we look around us we see that very often we do not make full use of our own media. Some of us think it is too difficult to produce media - but if only they would try, they would see how easy it is. Others of us do produce media, but do not really use it to its best capacity. For this group, it is enough if the media looks good (no matter really the content, or even if it gets outside the office). Indeed, producing media for this group is often only a matter of the prestige it gives them. Then there is a third group amongst us who - perhaps in reacting against the second group - do not produce any media at all because they cannot see the use of ~~us~~ doing so. For them, media is a waste of time.

For all of these groups, it would be useful to actually take a moment to ask why is it that we need publicity, why is it that we need media, what is the ~~xxx~~ purpose and role of our media? In a nutshell, how can media help our organisations?

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Media can fulfill many functions. For example, one of the roles of the media produced by those hostile to us, is a dis-organising and confusion-sowing role. But there are other roles they play which we could learn something from: their media helps to mobilize their forces, it helps to educate their forces, and through these roles, it helps to unify their forces. We have, then, mobilizing, educating and unifying.

Media can play a very important role in mobilizing people. This is largely through propaganda. To mobilize people, however, we need to remember that we have to start from where they are. If some people do not ~~yet~~ identify themselves as being oppressed, then we can't ^{push ahead and} hope to mobilize them as supporters of a movement against oppression.

Propaganda and mobilization has to hit the nail on the head of where people are - it has to give them an identity that will be possible for them to see themselves as. Propaganda can't try to address people as 'freedom-lovers' if the people don't feel a need to have this kind of identity. The reason why these points are important, is because all too often, the activists producing ~~and~~ ~~the~~ propaganda tend to forget that the audience has a different level of consciousness to their own. Propaganda must harmonise with the level of consciousness of the audience if it is going ~~to~~ to successfully play the role of mobilising them.

This question leads us on to the question of our audience. Many people will read our media: some will be sympathetic, others will be potential supporters, still others will waver, and then there will also be some hostile. When we are aiming at mobilizing people, we have to think about which of these groups we are trying to mobilize and for what. For example, we might decide that our sympathizers need morale-boosting, and that they need some mobilizing. On the other hand, we might decide that our main target is to try to mobilize outsiders to support our ideas and organisations. In both cases, our propaganda would be different.

The difference between propaganda and education is that while propaganda aims to give people a shared identity, education builds on this. Education adds an outlook, a package of knowledge, and a way of understanding, to this identity. Education, then, is most successful when an audience is sympathetic, and when goals and principles can be taken as given. So education is thus in a way dependent on prior mobilization for its success. Neither education or mobilization are absolutely distinct from each other -

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but ^{media} can emphasize one or the other. The question is what should we emphasize at any one time - education or mobilization? This obviously depends on what the needs of the time are - but it also depends on who we are aiming our media at. If education depends in a way on prior mobilization, then it is clearly going to be difficult to pitch education at unmobilized people. What these people need is mobilization. The question that then arises is - have we got enough media to mobilize new people, as well as to mobilize and educate our own members and supporters? It would be super if we did - but if we haven't enough money to do this. then we have to choose: / ^{shouldn't} we concentrate on our already mobilized supporters, ~~rather than~~ try to mobilize outsiders? The point is that we have to be clear on our aims and our audience.

We come now to the question of media unifying social forces. One can create - or hope to create - a unity through mobilization. What this involves ^{is} giving people common symbols and most importantly a common identity, so that they can all feel they are 'freedom-lovers' or 'democrats' or whatever. Unity through education is a more developed thing. Here one is educating people to have not only a common identity, but also a common outlook and understanding. Education also involves people realising why it is that unity is important, what that unity ~~means~~ means, and ~~what~~ what the state's plans to counter this unity are.

Our media then can help mobilize, educate and unify our forces. But it is important that we don't therefore over-estimate how important media is. Media can help organisation - but it can never replace organisation. Through mobilizing, educating and unifying our forces, media indirectly helps to strengthen our

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Organisations. But for media to really be effective and successful in mobilising, educating and unifying, it cannot work alone. The most powerful combination is when media and personal contact go together. We cannot stand on street corners and give out UDF N.S. and think that we have ~~thereby mobilised, educated and unified~~ the people. Media is only helpful if we have people to go with it, to make sure the media has the effect we want it have. The point about media is that taken alone, it is very difficult for audiences to respond to directly. It is only through personal, unmediated contact that people can discuss their uncertainties, raise their questions, - and get immediate feedback on these. In contrast, a newsletter or pamphlet does not answer the hundreds of doubts, queries, fears and suspicions that people have. It is also important that personal contact fill in the content of media - try especially to bring education into the mobilization. Only personal contact can discuss what the real content is of a slogan like 'APARTHEID DIVIDES, UDF UNIFIES', and what is really meant by 'a free non-racial and democratic SA'.

which is so don't use through lack of media consciousness

So for media to ^{be effective and} ultimately strengthen organisation, it needs to be combined with personal contact. Now, this personal contact does not come out of the blue - it has to be organised. What this means is that for media to help organisations, it itself needs its own organisation. To produce media and distribute ^{it} can indeed be a very important tool of organising people. Skills - both technical and political - are learnt, and the very processes of ^{planning} producing and distributing media help to mobilize, educate and unify people.

This direct contribution that media makes to organisation is very important given the need to keep on a process of mobilizing, educating

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and unifying people when media is not being produced. The media structures in such times can be used to plan ahead, and more importantly to gain feedback.

For media to strengthen organisation, however, personal contact and media organisation are not themselves enough. ^{The organisation that goes} into producing and distributing media cannot be a substitute for organisers to organise. ^{stop organising} We must never let people on the heels of personal contact alone on the 1000s of issues not covered in the media but which are ongoing on the factory floor, in the classrooms, house to house. Producing and distributing media also cannot be a substitute for our organisations doing important fundraising, minute-taking, liming, chairing, seminars, and other sorts of organisational work. These other sorts of organising are what is needed to actually bring people into structures and to keep them there with tasks and responsibilities, and to keep them involved. If people are not involved in this way, not only are organisations not strengthened, but the people themselves grow cynical of hearing all mouth, but seeing no action. We need to remember that to best use the media mouth, we need a strong body to support it. Often, the best form of mobilizing, educating and unifying, and of strengthening organisations is not the rhetoric, but the deeds which people see and are involved in. In order to give media its correct importance while not letting it replace other organisational tasks, we need to take seriously the structuring of portfolios in organisations. Not everyone can - or should - become involved in media work, if this means other work is neglected. The idea of having publicity secretaries with a publicity ~~parifmkm~~ sub-committee around them is the logical answer here.

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We now come to the question of UDF and its media. UDF is a front, not an organisation. It exists to bring together many organisations, in order to broaden their horizons, strengthen the organisation in each group, and to help ~~xxxxxx~~ co-ordinate action between them.

A political front is greater than the sum of its separate organisations, but this is not automatically given by a formal structure. It is a process of building this that depends on the real organic unity and strength of affiliated organisations in the front. The danger is that a political front can become different from the sum of its parts in an artificial way, and certainly no stronger than the sum of the separate parts. This is where the front cannot be held together as a front of many organisations, and where it tends to becoming a separate organisation. This can be a real problem where there is no strong base to support this organisation.

UDF began with a bang that woke many people. It echoed all over the country, and many of us saw this exciting profile as our direction. We need however, to pause, and evaluate our resources as to whether UDF can at this stage play a mass national political role for the oppressed people as a whole. Are we making sure that we are doing enough to build the front first, that we are strengthening the affiliates? Perhaps it is time for affiliates to aim at the public-at-large, or - better - for them to aim at the outsiders who are nonetheless part of their specific constituency; and for UDF to aim itself mainly at its affiliates.

So UDF media should help communication amongst affiliates so as to pool their experience, broaden their horizons, and raise their level of understanding. While UDF media emphasizes mobilizing, educating and unifying affiliates, affiliate media might well aim at mobilizing, educating and unifying the specific constituencies of each affiliate. But it is important to remember in this distinction, that it is up to the affiliates to use both media (UDF and their own) to translate mobilizing, educating and unifying into concrete organisation on the ground.

In the recent local authorities campaign, UDF media should have linked the issue to the Koornhof bills, and to the constitution, and from there to the successful struggles against the C&C elections in other parts of the country. Affiliate media at different levels (eg. branches of civics, a single civic's media, several civics' media) should have completed ^{anted} this. While UDF media should have been used by the affiliates to educate and mobilize their own activists, the actual campaign media picking up on local problems, aiming at the township constituency, advertizing local events, quoting local people, and calling for a local boycott - all this should be handled at affiliate level. Only in this way will affiliates be strengthened in the long term.

A similar program could be devised for the media handling of the possible elections in Coloured and Indian areas next year.

We now come to the issue of how national and regional UDF media differs.

UDF media needs to be understood not only in terms of the needs of a front, but also in terms of it being a national front. Here it is clear that UDF media has to put great stress on trying to unify people - across race, class, ~~and religion~~, ~~and sex~~ and region. It has to unify them such that they all see that they have a common source to their problems, that is the central apartheid government and the social order it protects. Unity here involves focussing their grievances and demands on a single spot.

But unifying is not easy. We have very different problems in each part of the country, there are different levels of consciousness and organisation in different areas, and different groups of people face different problems. The task facing UDF media is to show African people in Transvaal ^{affiliates} that the UDF co-ordinated boycott of C&C elections in the Western Cape is part of their struggle too. It is also the task of showing ~~the~~ ^{in affiliates nationwide} coloured and indian people that the issue of the local authority elections campaign is ~~the~~ relevant to them. Next year, we have to show that Koornhof's laws are important for all non-racial democrats ^{in affiliates} to know about, and that the new constitution with conscription for coloured and indian youth is also important to all.

The problem can be illustrated by a real example. One part of the country says their task is to get people to identify themselves as being oppressed. Consequently, their media needs from UDF media meant that articles should be along the lines of 'every day we face high rents, high bus fares, high food prices, poor working conditions, etc.'. Another part of the country says that this propaganda would bore people in their area, as the people there already identify themselves as ~~xxx~~ oppressed and they want to know where to go from there. In other words, education was the need in the second area. Now, the question is, can one meet both needs adequately with a single ~~national~~^{national} such as UDF NEWS? What is useful for some groups is useless or even counterproductive for others.

The significance of this is that UDF national media needs to be planned and judged from a national perspective, not from the localized needs of different groups in different parts. The question is, does UDF national media adequately respond to the national political conjuncture, even if it is not entirely to the suiting of ~~the whole membership or constituency~~^{the whole membership or constituency} of ~~the~~ of organisations in the UDF.

However, the question still remains as to what the role and use then is of national UDF media. Some people might argue that in this stage of our struggle, we don't really need national UDF media - especially given the problems of making it ~~xxx~~ useful nationwide. Against this we would argue that national media is needed, and that there is a way of making it useful nationwide. UDF does need national media because it needs to build a national consciousness. We cannot only have ~~media~~^{UDF} media that mobilizes, educates and unifies at the level of regional consciousness. But in order to build national consciousness out of the unevenness that exists, we need to plan our steps carefully. Clearly, it is difficult to get national media to be suitable for every affiliate to be able to use to successfully mobilize, educate and unify their entire constituency. It may even be difficult for national media to 'click' successfully with the ~~xxxxxx~~ grassroots organized members of affiliates. Perhaps then, in building national consciousness, UDF media needs as a first step to aim at the more advanced activists in the affiliates around the country. In terms of national media and the present state of our struggle, this first step will be more politically cost-effective than national media being aimed for whole memberships or constituencies. It will be vastly more cost-effective than the present situation where national media is going to mass levels.

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If we have uneven needs and problems at ^{an affiliate and} a mass level round the country, ~~then~~ and if we ~~fall~~ fall between several stools by trying ^{our national media down in} to cater for all these, then we should scale ~~it down~~ ^{in terms of its audience}

UDF media also needs to be seen in terms of it being decentralised. UDF is a front of decentralised organisations. At the moment, we have centralized UDF media, and decentralised affiliate media. If we are to build a strong and real functioning unity, however, we need affiliates to start combining and doing joint media work. We need, perhaps, area UDF committees - each with its own media-subcommittee complete with radio machine and skills - supplied perhaps by one of the stronger affiliates in the area.

To sum up then,

- a. Media can help strengthen organisations by mobilizing, educating and unifying
- b. But for media to do this it requires its own structures.
- c. Media, and structures around media, cannot replace organisational work of other varieties.
- d. UDF's media at this stage should aim at affiliates.
- e. Affiliates must translate this media into stronger organisations on the ground.
- f. Affiliates must complement this media with their own constituency specific media.
- g. UDF national media at this stage of the struggle should aim not at affiliates as a whole, but at activists in the affiliates.
- h. UDF media production should be decent. ed.