

ASSESSOR

- C 52 (19) + (20) Memorandum jointly prepared for Executive Committee.
- C 57 21 Variety of notes made in writing pad
- C 59 19 Circulated to Rep. Secs for discussion in regions
- C 62(1) 19 + 20 Memorandum jointly prepared for distribution among the affiliates
- C 49 (19)

C45

Adm: Faint
UDF Office Jhs.

Row "C 46"
J. de U.

MEMORANDUM TO EXECUTIVE MEMBERS.

FROM SECRETARIAT

02 AUGUST 1983.

SUBJECT :- CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORTS TO PREPARE FOR NATIONAL LAUNCHING.

1. The secretariat, as mandated by the Exec on Tuesday 02 August, arranged for a meeting of the Organising Committee Task force. This meeting was held on Wednesday 3rd and attended by ± 60 people from different areas. The following exec members also attended JM; J & V; ER; BN; AB; CC & TM.
2. The agenda was as follows :- 1. The tasks to be performed before the launching 2. Regional Co-ordination 3. Distribution of the publications 4. The organising committee.
3. The response was very enthusiastic. The most important ideas which arose were 1. Setting up regional meetings and 2. The organising committee.
4. In this regard, there is work for the Executive Committee. It is expected that Exec members would address the various regional meetings. The following meetings are being organised :- RITHLONE - Friday 5th 7.30pm St. George's HELMELINE HALL, 17th AVE, ELSIES.
T - Friday 5th 7.30pm - Kenomifon ; NORTHERN SUBURBS - Friday 5th 7.30pm ; MITCHELLS PLAIN - Friday 5th 8pm ; SOUTHERN SUBURBS - Friday 5th 7.30pm ; PAARL - Friday 5th TOWNSHIPS - Saturday 6th 8.00pm.

It is hoped to attract all people who would work within the campaign and to use this opportunity to explain the work to be done up until the conference, and to inject enthusiasm.

to ensure that people want to work and understand what the tasks that they're performing. The suggested agenda is :-

1. The character of the launching conference
2. The tasks and how it will be achieved
3. The Organising Committee
4. General.

Since there are 6 meetings organised for Friday 5th, we would appreciate the participation of all executive members. (This explains the purpose of this memo).

To assist exec members, we outline the points which should be discussed under each item.

1. The Character of the Launching Conference.

The conference starts at 9am on Saturday 20 August at Rocklands Civic Centre. This will be for delegates from each region i.e. representatives of all the organisations affiliated. The conference will discuss 1. Constitution 2. Declaration 3. Elections. 4. Policy 5. Regional Reports.

At ± 5.00 pm the rally starts. Here, we hope to attract ± 5000 people. It is an important historical event. The people's direction will be decided upon. We must leave no stone unturned to attract everybody to the rally. The speakers include Boesak, Oscar Mpetha, Helen Joseph, Thozamile Gqwetha

and, Albertina Simulu & Steiker Nazeem Mohammed
This is going to be the highlight of the campaign.
However, before that → there is work to be
done.

2. The tasks between now & the 20th August.

1. Publications

- 1.1 A national newsletter should be available this weekend. It looks like W. Cape will print 80 000 copies. This will be evenly distributed through all areas with the exception of Mitchell's Plain (20 000 copies). We must try & distribute this by 10th Sunday. Mitchell's Plain therefore needs a workforce of ~ 300 people. (Please call for volunteers. All areas are asked to stand down a few people — volunteers are asked to meet at the Sentgeur Civic Centre at 9am & to bring their own sandwiches). Are there volunteers? Is transport necessary?

Where should newsletters for the region be dropped?
Can people work out a systematic means of distribution? How will people be approached? Are there people who can co-ordinate within the region?

- 1.2 A regional newsletter & at least one pamphlet will be ready before the launching. This will also need to be distributed.

2. Sweaters.

The first batch of 500 will arrive on Wednesday 10th

How will these be sold? How will the money be
collected?

3. Posters.

These are ready and will have to be placed at
carefully selected places. Who will take responsibility
for this task in the region?

4. Accommodation.

We need to find homes for \pm 250 people from
other centres. The younger people can be accommodated
in a church hall, we must try to accommodate the
older people. Where? Any offers?

5. The Important Task - ORGANISATION!!!!

We have the big job of getting people to the hall.
We will obviously have to arrange buses (5 per area).
We must motivate people to attend the rally.
How? What will we tell people? Can the
churches & mosques assist?

Buses need to be booked well in advance, and
FUNDS need to be raised. The UDF can try to get
special discounts BUT, we will need an estimate
well in advance. It might be an idea to
get a commitment from people in advance - collect
names (useful later) & possibly a donation.
Point out to people the organisations which are involved
in the UDF \rightarrow there is a place for everyone

3. THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE.

There is a suggestion that we set up a co-ordinated team of 4 to 6 people per region. They will meet after work i.e. 10.30pm say every 2nd day. At these meetings co-ordinators will from the different regions will meet together with representatives of the sub-committees. They will report on progress, discuss problems and look at the tasks that lay ahead. It is expected that they will consult regularly /daily with people working in the areas. This is a very important task. It is the only way that we can ensure that all areas are working properly and that all problems are being sorted out.

Are there nominations for people who can fulfil this job for the region?

The meetings should be rounded off with a big THANK YOU to people who attended especially at an odd time & at short notice. And a word of inspiration of course.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXEC MEMBERS.

1. NORTHERN SUBURBS.
2. CAPE TOWN
3. DAARL
4. ATHLONE
5. SOUTHERN SUBURBS.?
6. TOWNSHIPS
7. MITCHELLS PLAW.

UDF POLICY.

The inter-regional Executive meeting held in Johannesburg on 30 & 31 July 1983 discussed the policy of the UDF. It was broadly agreed that the Declaration would be the guideline. However, it has become necessary to interpret some aspects of the Declaration to ensure that the UDF has a consistent approach nationally.

1. INCLUSION OF ORGANISATIONS.

The most important principle is an unqualified acceptance of the whole Declaration.

1.1. With specific reference to organisations which attended the National Forum [held at Hammanskraal on 11/12 June] the following points were agreed.

a) The NF is not an alternative to the UDF. It was not constituted as a front, and will not meet until Easter 1984. The UDF should therefore not be caught up in bickering with proponents of the National Forum.

b) Organisations which attended the NF, should be allowed into the UDF if they accept the declaration and are prepared to subject themselves to the overall UDF discipline.

1.2. With reference to big organisations which are not part of the UDF as yet, eg. the trade unions. The UDF should attempt to ensure that there is a full understanding of its workings within these organisations. A ^{national} delegation should arrange to meet with the unions, before the launching.

2. EXCLUSION OF ORGANISATIONS.

2.1. The UDF believes in a unitary South Africa.

This is contrary to an acceptance of the homelands as 'independent states.' Clearly therefore, the UDF cannot accept into its ranks organisations which operate within the framework of the homelands either as functionaries of these so-called governments or those who profiteer from this vicious system.

2.2. The UDF believes that the government must be based on the will of the people.

As a starting point therefore, we assert that the present state in South Africa, at all levels from central to local government, is undemocratic.

Organisations which operate within or work the state machinery i.e. within parliament, provincial councils, management committees or community councils are therefore unacceptable.

2.3. The UDF believes in a non-racial South Africa.

With this principle, goes support for organisations fighting for the cultural and sport isolation of the apartheid South Africa. Organisations which wilfully break this boycott cannot therefore be seen to be working towards the same goals.

Whilst it would be necessary to exclude some organisations as per the above, exclusion should not become a fetish. The inter-regional executive meeting was unanimous in the approach to win over people and organisations. This would make go for the struggle as a whole. Every case, or application to the VDF for inclusion should therefore be on individual merit.

3. RELATIONS TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

The VDF unequivocally rejects the intervention by imperialist countries in our struggle. Ideas like the 'constructive engagement' of the Reagan & Thatcher administration governments should be rejected with the contempt it deserves.

- * The unions had expressed that, in most cases, they exist nationally and would therefore have problems in relating to regional structures. To facilitate the linking up

C46

Adm: Leonard *cpo.*

R White Port Elizabeth

RESOLUTION PASSED BY REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE U.D.F. EASTERN CAPE
REGION AT CONFERENCE HELD ON 4 DECEMBER 1983

Ben "46"

Motions forwarded by:

NUSAS. (Rhodes) (On militarisation & Conscription)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The increasing militarisation and rapidly expanding role of the SADF in S.A. Society and in Southern Africa as a whole;
- (2) The state's intention to extend conscription to "coloureds" and "Indians" with the introduction of the 1983 Constitution Bill;
- (3) The courageous stand taken by those refusing to participate in the SADF;
- (4) The increasing access of the SADF to school & school-children.

Believing:

- (1) That the role of the SADF is fundamental in upholding apartheid, both through the use of force and to win the hearts and minds of the people.
- (2) That the SADF is engaged in a civil war.
- (3) That the SADF is illegally occupying Namibia against the wishes of ^{the} majority of Namibians.
- (4) That the SADF is involved in offensive activities designed to destabilise Southern African countries as they attempt to build stable and democratic societies.
- (5) That the conscription of "coloureds" "Indians" will be one of the prices tied to Botha's 'new deal'.

Resolves:

- (1) To condemn the SADF's ongoing destabilising and repressive actions.
- (2) To extend our support for the stand taken by Conscientious Objectors.
- (3) To support the call for an end ^{to} military conscription in all its forms.
- (4) To raise awareness on the military issue throughout our Society, but in particular amongst school & university students, and to resist the intrusion of the military into our schools and universities.

Proposed: Nusas

Seconded: Macwusa & Gwusa

(Women)

Two endorses the stand taken on women by National U.D.F

Noting: that Women are half the population of South Africa and that Women in South Africa suffer three types of oppression.

1. Political oppression which is common to all blacks in S.A i.e. the denial of right to vote for or choose the type of Government.
2. Economic oppression as Women workers are even more exploited than men workers. They are paid lower wages for the same job are treated as temporary staff and can be fired at anytime especially if they fall pregnant
3. Social oppression which stems from the idea that women are born inferior to men and therefore have to play an inferior role in Society.

No nation can be free unless the Women too are free, and that we women must stand shoulder to shoulder with our men folk in the common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination.

We (Pewo) resolves to join the United Democratic Front to oppose the constitution and Koornhof Bills and to fight side by side for a United Democratic and Non Racial South Africa

Mover: Pewo

Attention on Dummy Bodies:

This conference noting:

1. That the Pretoria regime enjoys no legitimacy amongst the vast majority of South Africans.
2. That to effect the policies of racialism in the community, the government has created puppet structures like Management Committees, Community Councils and Black Local Authorities.
3. That these puppet bodies enjoy minimal support in the community, evidenced by the shockingly low percentage polls in so-called elections.

Believing:

1. That these dummy bodies can never serve the interests of our people.

Resolves:

1. To reject with contempt these dummy bodies.
2. To build with renewed vigor our democratic mass-based community organisations, as the democratic voice of our people.
3. To renew our commitment to struggle for a non-racial democratic S.A. based on the will of the people.

NUSA (On Unemployment and Economic Downturn)

This conference noting:

1. The present government causes perpetual exploitation, high unemployment (which results in malnutrition, starvation, etc.) by their economic system.
2. That the present government ignores and mocks the workers after collecting the wealth produced by them.

Believing:

1. That the government should stop camouflaging exploitation with terms such as "Economic Downturn"
2. That our lives and health deserve precedence over extravagances and billions spent on the S.A.D.F.
3. That the wealth of the country should be shared amongst the workers who produce it.

Resolves:

1. To demand that workers (producers of wealth) of this country should decide on the utilisation of such wealth.
2. To demand jobs for the unemployed.
3. To demand that those who are unemployed be supported by a monthly grant equivalent to a decent living wage.

(On Detentions, Bannings and Harrassments)

Notings:

1. The governments frantic all-out attempts to co-opt South Africans into its reform plans.
2. That detentions, bannings, harrassments of those opposing apartheid continue unabated particularly the detention of one of our national patrons (Father Smangalis Mkatshwa) by Ciskei.
3. The banning of SAAWU and the harassment of other trade unions.
4. The brutal repressive actions of the Sebe regime against the communities in the Border region opposing its existence.

Believing:

1. That harassment, detentions and repression in general will escalate as more courageous South Africans will oppose the Governments entrenchment of Apartheid.
2. That the responsibility for the Sebe regime's excessive violence against the peaceful bus boycott lies with racist Pretoria as it creates illegitimate Bantustans with puppet leaders.
3. That the banning of SAAWU and harassment of other trade unions is an escalation of repression against workers.

Resolves:

1. To call upon the Government to turn from its path of conflict with the majority of our people by implementing the New Constitution and Koornof-Bills.
2. To work for a just and democratic S.A. in spite of harassments, detentions and violence inflicted by the government.
3. To reject detention without trial-therefore demand the release of all detainees unconditionally.
4. To demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners.
5. To demand the free operation of trade unions in order to alleviate oppression of the workers.
6. To demand the eradication of the Bantustan system of puppet leaders, acting as a buffer for the government against the legitimate demands of the people of S.A.

Education: Nusas (Rhodes)

Noting

- (1) the struggle of students at most major tribal colleges
- (2) the solidarity boycotts in Ciskeian schools
- (3) the brutal Inkatha attack and the violent police & repressive action against the students by university & school administration
- (4) the Government's recent White paper on the de Lange report in which separate education remains the cornerstone of S.A.'s future Apartheid Education policy
- (5) the admissions criteria & subsidy formula which will serve to severely limit the number of black students admitted to "white" universities
- (6) the expulsion of school teachers i.t.o. the provisions of the coloured & Indian persons education Act which prohibit teachers from being involved in political work.

Believing

- (1) that the students' struggle for affective & democratic participation in the decision-making process of the institutions of education are part of the ongoing struggle against inferior education in this country
- (2) that the repressive measures continually waged against the student movement are part of the overall state strategy to ensure control of education at every level
- (3) that the current "reform" initiatives are nothing more than a tightening of that control and a way of ensuring that education is streamlined to serve the needs of the capitalist economy

Hereby resolves:

- (1) To fully support the struggle of the students' movement
- (2) To encourage the building & strengthening of ongoing and United Student Organisation
- (3) To call on the N E C to address a letter of protest to the Dept. of Education and Training and the Dept. of Internal Affairs regarding the treatment that is meted out to teachers involved in community organisations
- (4) To continue the fight and demand for a single, non-racial & democratic system of education based on the needs of the people in a free and United South Africa

Mover: Sue Lund - Nusas

PEYCO (On Constitution & Koornhof Bills)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The attempts by the Botha-regime towards reform, by way of the new Constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) The co-option of certain sections of our community into an unacceptable governments.
- (3) The reform initiatives as the most cohesive attempt to undermine the democratic Organisations of the people.
- (4) The growing strength of the democratic movement inside S.A.

Believes:

- (1) That the hardships experienced in our daily lives at present will continue unabated under the so-called new "dispensation".
- (2) That the needs of our people can only be addressed by the establishment of a non-racial democracy in this country.

Therefore Resolves:

- (1) To reject and resist attempts to co-opt our people by actively campaigning against the constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) To work towards the drawing-up of a democratic constitution which will allow the participation of all South Africans, and which is therefore based on the will ~~of~~ the people.
- (3) To call for a national convention for the purpose of drawing up such a constitution, preceded by the release of all political prisoners, unbanning of banned persons and the unconditional return of all political exiles to allow participation of our leader in the drawing up of the constitution.

Proposed: Feyco

Seconded: Descom

GENERAL RESOLUTION ON (forced Removals)

Noting:

- I. With indignation that the government is still continuing with forced removals and resettlement.

Resolves:

To urge affected communities and our people to intensify the resistance to removals and we declare our full support for affected communities.

SPECIFIC RESOLUTION ON RELOCATION & FORCED REMOVAL IN VEEPLAAS, RED LOCATION
XABA, LANGA.

This Conference Noting:

- I. The forced relocation of families from Veeplaas and Red Location to Motherwell and those of Xaba and Langa residents to Kwanobuhle in Uitenhage.

Believes:

- I. That such uprooting of people will impose intolerable hardships on them, and that such actions is a violation of the basic right of people to determine where they wish to live.
2. That forced removals are but one of the most evil manifestations of the apartheid-system.

Resolves:

- I. To condemn the removals in particular, and the government policy of relocation.

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Found
Adm: UDF Office
Johannesburg.

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARIAT ON THE LAUNCHING OF UDF BORDER REGION

(By General Secretary)

September 24, 1983.

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1. Introduction.

1.1) The first attempt to launch the UDF in the Border region on 24 September, 1983 met with escalating State repression. A ban was imposed on all UDF, Saawu and Cosas meetings in the East London district by the Chief Magistrate of the said district. The order was effective from 6.00 am Friday 23 September 1983 - 6.00 am Sunday 25 September 1983.

1.2) Effect of Ban

Because the order was unexpected, it left many members of the interim committee confused and demoralised. Most of them did not turn up for the committee meeting scheduled for 5.00 pm on Friday to finalise the strategy and programme for the Saturday launching meeting.

1.3) Response to Ban

I phoned the president to discuss our press comment. The publicity secretary being not available, I asked regional secretaries of the Front to release a common statement to newspapers in their regions.

2. Interim Committee.

2.1) Further plans

A meeting scheduled for Saturday morning could not take place. The police drove away everybody coming near Mosazane Hall. As a result it was difficult to find the interim committee members.

On Saturday night a meeting was held between myself and five members of the interim committee. With the martial law operative in Mdantsane we could not meet until later than 10.00 pm. The hours between 10.30 pm and 4.00 am were declared curfew hours.

2.2) Determination to form UDF (Border) structure

Determined to form the UDF in the Border Region, the interim committee looked into new strategies to beat State action. A list of organisations accepting the UDF Declaration was prepared. Fifteen organisations were found to be committed to forming UDF Border Region. Eight remaining organisations were either not consulted or still undecided.

Organisations committed to forming the UDF Border Regional Structure were identified as the following:

1. South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu)
2. East London Youth Organisation
3. East London Youth Congress
4. African Culture and Community Development Ass.
5. National Women's Association
6. Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso)
7. Detainee Support Committee (Descom)
8. Congress of South African Students (Cosas)
9. Victoria East Council of Sport
10. African Food and Canning Workers Union (Afcwu)
11. Border Council of Churches (BCC)
12. Catholic Students' Association (Casa)
13. Anglican Students' Association (Asa)
14. Black Students' Movement (BSM)
15. Fort Hare Black Staff Association

We assessed the total number of organisations in the Border Region and found a total of 23 organisations. With fifteen of these organisations supporting the front, we agreed that it was possible to form a region. It was decided that an attempt through consultations be made to draw in the remaining eight organisations. Once consultations were completed, organisations could then hold a meeting of delegates to elect the Executive Committee of the UDF Border Region. With the executive committee elected, the Region could then attempt a mass rally to popularise the UDF.

3. Needs of the Border Region.

3.1) Material

- The region is experiencing serious financial problems;
- it needs assistance from structured regions both in terms of donations and advice on methods of fund-raising;
- it desperately needs UDF sweaters/T shirts;
- needs video cassette of UDF national launching;
- needs documents explaining history and front formation of UDF.

3.2) Other

These are just my observations. It seems like there is a need for discussions on:

- what a front is;
- why the UDF was formed;
- how the UDF operates;
- how organisations affiliated to UDF could be autonomous;
- democracy and/or decision-making within the UDF.

4. Conclusion.

Two meetings have already been banned in the Border Region since September 23, 1983. However, the regional structure was finally formed, and there have been new developments. The region would be expected to report regularly on developments in Border

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Aden: Fount. 4p.
L Meyer (East London)

(20) 20/9/57

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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. 20
2/9

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 perculiar 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 vission 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 grieve. 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.

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 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 devissions 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 definate line of emphasis and action.

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!!

C49

Adm: Found UDF office
VRYBURG.

No 19 : 3/8/87

STATEMENT BY THE COMMISSION ON THE FEASIBILITY OF A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PROPOSALS.

WHEREAS democracy is the means by which the free will of the people is expressed in electing their chosen representatives to govern, in the processes through which they rule and in the allocation of resources for the benefit of all the people; AND WHEREAS, these truths are cherished by the whole of the civilised world and are goals for which women and men have given up their lives and are willing to die;

AND WHEREAS, the constitutional reform proposals devised by the minority white government for South Africa, avoid recognition of these fundamental needs of democracy in that:

- they have been imposed without genuine consultation with and active participation by the people of this country.
- they make race and ethnicity the only criteria for the right to take part in government.
- they do not begin to redress the intrinsic economic and social inequalities which have been the deliberate result of centuries of white domination.
- they, in fact, perpetuate and consolidate economic and racial exploitation and entrench the apartheid state.

AND NOW THEREFORE we, democrats assembled on this 23rd day of January, 1983 at the Selbourne Hall in Johannesburg, South Africa, do hereby unanimously

- reject in their totality and without qualification the constitutional and reform proposals.
- form ourselves into a united democratic front (UDF) to oppose

the/.....

How C 49!!
the implementation of this devious scheme disguised to
divide the people.

WE declare that the broad principles on which this UDF is
constituted are:

- A belief in the tenets of democracy referred to in the
preamble
- An unshakable conviction in the creation of a non-racial,
unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic
considerations as formulated in the bantustan policy.
- An adherence to the need for unity in struggle through
which all democrats regardless of race, religion or colour
shall take part together.
- A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with
and reflect accurately the demands of, democratic people
wherever they may be in progressive worker, community, and
student organisations.

We further undertake to work according to the following
guidelines:

- The mobilisation of our people for the rejection of these
constitutional reform proposals should complement and re-
inforce the ongoing day to day struggles on basic issues
which face workers, communities and students.
- A firm acceptance of the existence of dangers at the local
council level in the proposals which entail the retention
of the Group Areas Act, maintenance of racially exclusive
local areas, concentration of control in favour of the rich
and exacerbation of poverty.

- An acknowledgement of the threat to the attainment of decent living standards by the African majority by these proposals which would facilitate forced removals, aggravate impoverishment in the bantustans and allow the continued escalation in rents, transport costs and food prices.
- A clear understanding of the utter failure of these proposals to address the problems of rising unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions and weakened collective bargaining powers.
- A true appreciation of the inability of the reform proposals to restructure and redirect education in this country to conform to the demands of democracy. In fact they maintain and consolidate racially separated and unequal education.

AND NOW THEREFORE

We pledge to fight together side by side against the government's constitutional and reform proposals.

Opposition to legislation

C50

Adm: Fomd .fo.
Tenki Sekonya Soweto.

(16) 879187

VIA VOLLEDIGE BEWUSSTUK, SIEN BEW."U10-d"

BEW"50"

1. DATE : SUNDAY 18TH NOVEMBER 1984
 2. VENUE . DUBE YWCA
 3. ATTENDANCE : CF ATTACHED COPY
 4. PROGRAMME : CF ATTACHED COPY
 5. QUESTION GUIDES : CF ATTACHED COPY
 6. CONTENT OF PROGRAMME
- A. INTRODUCTION: The following pattern was used (a) NAME
(b) AREA
- B. BRIEF REPORT FROM INDIVIDUALS ON ORGANISATIONS

No (16)
8/9/87
✓

NAME OF ORGANISATION	PRESENT ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROB.	FUTURE ACTION
1. SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION	Preparing for the SCA AGM, ON THE 1st of December 1984	+16		+60		
2. SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS	- Busy with the Revival of branches - Seminar on "IYY" 25th - 26th Nov 1984	6 functional branches	+80	+40		
3. LENASIA YOUTH LEAGUE	Preparing for a seminar to be held on the 9th of DEC 1984			+20		
4. TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS	- Consolidation of political and - organisational gains * Seminars on a) history of congress. b) history & conditions that led to the FREEDOM CHARTER. c) THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT NB: ATTENDANCE in the 2 afore-mentioned seminars varied from 100 to 120 people.					

VIR VOLLEDIGE STUK, SIEN
BEW. "U 10-d"

Rev^a C 504

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FRONT (U.D.F)

The TASK GIVEN TO US IS A DIFFICULT ONE. We have been requested to prepare an input paper on the "STRUCTURE OF THE UDF". Not the "STATIC STRUCTURE" but a paper on the present "developing structure" of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

The UDF was born and ultimately launched at a time when the NATIONAL FORUM had taken the centre of the political stage in the media. All of a sudden, the Coopers' and the ALEXANDARS', had become the NATIONAL POLITICAL HEROES. The launching of the UDF regional structures, the massive national launch of the UDF at MITCHELL'S PLAIN shattered this myth and the DEMOCRATIC FORCES assumed their rightful place.

More than 600 organisations had come together to lay a foundation for greater UNITY. Unity all forces seeking a "single, non-racial, unfragmented SOUTH AFRICA. SA South Africa free of BANTUSTANS and GROUP AREAS" "A creation of a TRUE DEMOCRACY in which all South African will participate in the Government of OUR country".

In accordance with the afore-mentioned ideals Community, women's, Students', workers', SPORTING and other ORGANISATIONS HAD COME TOGETHER to say NO to the REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTION - YES to the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

The United Democratic Front is structured such that it allows the maximum possible participation of organisations in decision making and in effecting such resolutions. Its structure takes into account the history of organisations within the front It seeks to allay fears caused by nature of each organisation and the numerical strength of such organisations. Each organisation is accepted and treated as on equal. The key question not power over this or that organisation. The dominant factor, especially in the TRANSVAAL, is UNITY. Other regional structures ie. NATAL, the FREE STATE, NORTHERN CAPE, EASTERN CAPE and the WESTERN CAPE are structured slightly different though similar in many respect.

Such a structure will not remain as it is. Conditions, whether they be political, economic or social they never remain the same. If a structure is to respond adequately to the demands of the ever changing conditions, it must be dynamic. It must change as the situation changes. It should take into consideration the concrete realities in any given situation. This remain the challenges to which we should respond.

UDF is not a/.....

The UDF is not a "UNITARY STRUCTURE". It may be dominated by one particular ideological position, but has no single common or all embracing ideological position. It is an organisation of organisations. It is made of different organisations welded together by the broad principles out-lined in the UDF DECLARATION. The FRONT consist of, among others, TRADE UNIONS, POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS, STUDENT ORGANISATIONS, WOMENS' ORGANISATIONS, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS, YOUTH ORGANISATIONS and SPORTS ORGANISATIONS.

The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT is a product of specific conditions. It did not emerge from a vacuum. Nor is it imposed on organisations. It has grown organically from the struggles waged by the democratic forces at workplaces, schools AND UNIVERSITIES, Civic level, mosques and churches.

For ONE WHOLE YEAR, the UDF TRANSVAAL policy making body has been, and to date continues to be the GENERAL COUNCIL. Here issues are examined, referred to individual affiliates where, a mandate is sought for the support of this or that idea. The decisions are a TRUE REFLECTION of the thinking of MEMBERS in these organisations. It should be noted that DEMOCRACY or rather THE PROCESS THEREOF has not at times been fully utilised or engaged in within INDIVIDUAL ORGANISATIONS due to numerous factors. The FRONT has, however, stood unwavering in support of DEMOCRATIC DECISIONS at all levels.

The GENERAL COUNCIL is made of TWO DELEGATES from EACH AFFILIATE. OBSERVERS have been allowed to gain entry into the GENERAL COUNCIL MEETINGS. On occasions they have contributed in the discussions. The DELEGATES have, however, not allowed OBSERVERS to STIFLE or INFLUENCE discussion on serious policy issues. ONLY DELEGATES are allowed the right to cast votes. Numerous SUBCOMMITTEES such as the MEDIA, EDUCATION, FUNDRAISING and REPRESSION have been formed to fulfill specific needs of the UDF and or INDIVIDUAL UDF AFFILIATES.

The UDF EXECUTIVE and the ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES do relatively well defined tasks.

After doing an EVALUATION of its activities, the UDF adopted the AREA COMMITTEES as MEANS through which the FRONT will seek or is seeking to be more effective in its work.

Such committees have been formed in:

- PRETORIA
- VAAL
- SOWETO - LENASIA - ELDORADO PARK - NOORD GESIG
- WEST RAND/.....

- WEST RAND
- JOHANNESBURG
- EAST RAND

These committees constitutes of delegates from individual affiliated organisations. Discussion on numerous issues including among others, the role of OBSERVERS and non-observers is still being considered by individual AREA COMMITTEES. This discussion by its very nature is serious and "INVOLVED". It is worthwhile to consider these following points:

(a) DECISION MAKING -

- * Can the area committee take decisions on behalf of organisations
- * How are decisions to be taken
- * What should the power of each Area Committee be
- * Where does this power start where does it end.

(b) DISCIPLINE -

- * What should the level of disciplined political conduct be
- * Who should liase WITH THE PRESS
- * What should the relationship be between the AREA COMMITTEES; in the Area Committee and how should organisations within the AREA COMMITTEE relate to organisations outside the FRONT.

(c) PROGRAMME OF ACTION -

Much more important we should beware of the danger of making the AREA COMMITTEE a TALK-SHOP. Action should be built into it. We should be able to transform the UDF through the AREA COMMITTEE into a meaningful and VIABLE WEAPON of CHANGE. At all cost by all means we should refuse to make the FRONT a futile debating forum. If we do work at mass-level success is guaranteed.

Activity presupposes a PROGRAMME OF ACTION. Without such a programme nothing CONCRETE CAN BE ATTAINED. Such a programme be based on identified achievable realistic goals.

Whilst the AREA COMMITTEE should not be or be seen to be on the side-lines, It should not interfere with the autonomy of individual affiliates. Nor stifle individual organisations by "dominating the show" or "stealing the line-light". The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT should - strengthen and build such organisations. For the FRONT is interested in UNITY of all the DEMOCRATIC FORCES. It seeks

- to highlight those positive aspects that unite us as against points of difference that are negative and divisi
- to fight/.....

- to fight individualistic tendencies which are not open to criticism
- to fight gossip
- to promote accountability ie. seeks to make sure that activists and leadership preserve the image of both the UDF and affiliates or individual organisations affiliated to the UDF.
- to make us patient, tolerant, and to respect one another's viewpoints.

(d) FUNCTIONS:
role

- What do we see the Area Committee playing?
- What are the DUTIES of such a committee?
- * What are its RESPONSIBILITIES?

These and more are KEY QUESTIONS that requires urgent attention. Our FRONT, the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT has inspired the imagination of the masses. But do we understand the political mood in which the country is in? Are we in control of the situation, do we find ourselves being passively dragged into the vertex of the whirlwind unwillingly and without proper understanding?

The state and its surrogates has continuously warned and threatened the UDF. Indeed, some of the UDF affiliates have been nearly crippled. Scores of our activists are languishing in prisons. More are being detained on a daily basis. The situation tense. anything can happen at any given moment.

The discussion today therefore should be looked at seriously. Our future is ^{indeed} dependent on today's deliberation.

C51

Adm: Focuss

N I C Office: Durban

Rev 'CSI'

BRIEFING DOCUMENT

1. WHY HOUSE VISITS :

- 1.1 The anti-detentions issue is merely the next phase of our Campaign against the Constitution.
- 1.2 Educating the community about the issue being a major need in this phase, the house visit is the most effective means of doing this. (We need to reach every home).

2. OBJECTIVES

Educate the people

- about the Consulate occupation
- about detentions / security laws
- uselessness of Constitution / MPs etc.

2.2 Organisational

- popularise UDF / NIC / UCC
- consolidate workforce / membership / volunteers

2.3 Mobilise people for action

- assess what people are prepared to do
- feel people out on specific forms of action

3. APPROACH

3.1 Introduction - from NIC/UCC

- come to talk about Consulate drama
- or about a very important issue

3.2 We need to both pass on certain information as well as make an assessment of how people perceive the issues. Probe and lead people on views/ ideas they express.

3.3 Be polite and speak as simply as possible. If it feels as if you are encroaching on people's privacy or time, ask whether you can come at another time, and leave.

4. CONTENT OF VISIT

- 4.1 Are you aware of
 - candlelight night
 - don't vote campaign
 - Consulate drama

4.2 Do you know why this action was taken?

4.3 Background to Consulate issue:

- UDF/NIC/UCC call - don't vote
- massive community rejection
- detention of leaders nationally
- detention orders declared invalid by Court - 6 leaders released
- government issue re-detention orders
- 6 leaders enter British Consulate

4.4 Why the Consulate?

- leaders are not fleeing justice
- chose the Consulate to highlight unjust detention laws and challenge the S.A. government - the SA government cannot enter British territory
- expose British government for its non-intervention in resolving the issue
- can speak to press, lawyers, family etc. from safety of Consulate

4.5 Repression - national pattern

- Throughout the country the government is harassing and detaining Congress and UDF leaders.
- Need to stress that they are our leaders - fighting for our rights
- reform is a farce - this repression shows that the government is not interested in real change
- new MPs totally ineffective - failed to respond

4.6 Achievements so far

- support internationally
- attention of British government and the United Nations
- overshadowed opening of new parliament
- widespread of the community - rally and candlelight night

4.7 How can you support leaders

We have shown that the community is behind them (rally & candle light night)
We need to continue to demonstrate our support. Canvass the following ideas

1. attendance of mass meeting
2. write letters - press/consulate
3. hold placards etc (see pamphlet)
4. telephone/telegram to British Consulate protesting role of British government in not intervening

- #### 4.8 Ask people if they want to volunteer to become members of NIC/UCC; become part of a zone structure; any other assistance to the organisation; contribute resources etc to organisation.

5. CONCLUSION

Keep an eye for any other responses people might come up with. Finally the aim of each visit should be to make an evaluation of

- whether people support our organisation
- how are they responding to political issues
- have the events of the last 2-3 weeks resulted in a change/advance of their awareness generally.

C52

Adm: Taurus
U D F offic jobs

Memo jointly prepared by Nos

(19) + (20) for EC

(20) - 22/9/87

Moloi 27/4/88

3. OFS.

Ben C "52"

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Since the UDF national launching conference in Cape Town on 20th August 1983, there has not been any form of contact between the national office and those delegates who attended the conference.

The communication breakdown is due to the fact that none of the delegates' address or telephone numbers are available. Also because of the pressure of work in the last two months both ~~the~~ officers of the UDF have not been able to make a follow up.

3.2 WELKOM - COSAS MEETING on 7th October 1983.

Despite the communication break-down ^{with} the rest of the Orange Free State, new ground was broken in Welkom. On 7th October the General Secretary and the Publicity Secretary were invited to speak ^{on} ~~about~~ the United Democratic Front at a Cosas meeting.

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Two main issues were discussed at that meeting viz. ~~the~~ historical overview of resistance in South Africa and the history and nature of the UDF. The two subjects were handled by the publicity secretary and the General Secretary respectively.

The students emerged out of the meeting clearer on the UDF and also with a renewed determination. They resolved to carry on with consultations with individuals and organisations in their locality, with a view to forming a UDF area committee. Already on the same day they had sent a delegate to talk to people in Bloemfontein and Brandfort.

INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS:

INDIVIDUALS

A number of individuals prominent in Thabang^{location} such as Teachers, Lawyers, Community Leaders etc. were identified. We met some of them in the evening to discuss explain the UDF. Also present was an Azapo member who accepted the UDF declaration. In ~~the~~ overall this grouping had no problems with the UDF. Their immediate concern was opposition to the Black Local Authorities Elections.

However community organisations, in particular the Thabang Rent Action Committee ^{is} weak. Cosas is the strongest of all organisations.

.2.2 LIST of organisations

The following organisations were identified in the Thabang location.

1. Azam
2. Cosas
3. Azapo

- 4. National Union of Mine Workers
- 5. TRAC.
- 6. OFSATA and
- 7. several Church youth groups in the eleven existing churches in the org area.

3.2 NEEDS

- 1. Pro to starting facilities
- 2. help - financial ^{aid} to reprint membership cards of Cosas.
- 3. Asking for UDF T-shirts.

SKILLS

They want to be help helped to workshops on -

- 1. UDF -
- 2. ... youth to deal with youth organisation
- 3. posters, banners and pamphlet making etc.

Followup Program:

Arrangements have been made for the Publicity Secretary and the TVL Secretary Moss Uikane to go to the OFS on Wednesday 9th November 1983.

4. UNIONS

4.1 FOSATU

A UDF delegation comprising Publicity Secretary, General Secretary & the TVL joint Secretary - Mohamu Valli met the entire Fosatu NEC at Wilgespruit on 17th September 1983.

4.1.1 AFFILIATION:

Fosatu felt that besides their commitment to joining the federation of unions they could not affiliate to the UDF because

they have within their ranks people who do hold the same views as the UDF and are therefore afraid that ^{affiliation to} they the UDF may cause a split within Fosatu. This was stated by Mr. Joe Foster - General Secretary. He also picked out differences between Fosatu and the UDF (Western Cape Region). He claimed that they were attacked by our region in the Western Cape. He also read a ^{part of} paragraph(s) from a letter written to them by our region in the Western Cape which said that Fosatu had excluded itself from the UDF.

4.1.2 Areas of Co-operation.

The UDF delegation made it clear that affiliation to the UDF was not a condition for working/co-operating with the Front. We pointed out that whilst affiliation to the UDF would be an advantage to the Front, was not a priority.

We identify identified areas of co-operation such as:

- common campaigns against sales tax
- joint campaigns for ^{extension of} workers rights to farm and domestic workers.
- exchanging literature
- sending speakers to each others meetings

4.1.3. AFCWU

A meeting was held with the African Food and Canning Workers Union delegation in Benoni (Actonville) on 9th September 1983. UDF was represented by Cheryl, Popo, Yunus, and Derrick and Teror.

4.1.3.1 AFFILIATION: AFCWU indicated their willingness to co-operate with the UDF. However they could not affiliate at this stage as their priority was a Federation of unions.

We agreed an area of co-operation similar to those we agreed upon with Fesatu.

4.1.3. Cawusa: We have had discussions with Cawusa shopstewards. They ~~are~~ Their workers at ^{the} Grand Bazaars are currently on strike and have asked for UDF support in all provinces where Grand Bazaars operate. They are calling for boycott of the products of Grand Bazaars.

5. Commission on Education:

Mr. Gertis Nkondo appointed to provide terms of reference on education has been ill and could not prepare his report. He has promised to have it ready by within the next week.

Adm. Funds
TIC Office files

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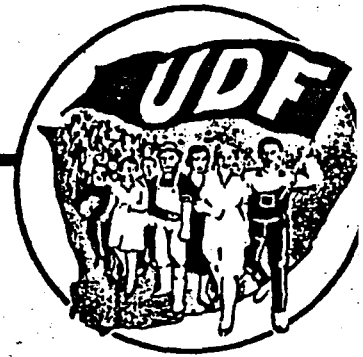
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28/10/87

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



- **REPORT**
- **FUTURE PROGRAMME**
- **BUDGET PROPOSALS**

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

MOTIVATION FOR FUNDING

November 1984

INTRODUCTION

No 19
17/8/87

In the 14 months since the launching of the UDF, tremendous gains have been made inside South Africa by way of strengthening the democratic movement whilst simultaneously cutting back on the legitimacy of the minority apartheid regime. This is not merely a hollow boast, the admissions of apartheid's Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange, concur with this view. The campaigns of the UDF had thwarted every attempt by the apartheid government to regain its composure. Significantly too, the struggles between town and country became one. (The UDF campaigns will be dealt with in more detail later.)

The methods used by UDF activists viz. personal contact with our people in their homes, disseminating publications and mass rallies. It should be borne in mind that the SA government is extremely repressive - detention and harassment of UDF leadership, banning of meetings and publications are their methods, whilst mass media like newspapers, radio and television biased completely in favour of the regime are the order. Also most forms of protest like demonstrations, marches etc. are banned. Our gains inside the country have been made against this background.

Internationally too, the UDF had succeeded in placing the struggle against the apartheid regime in sharp focus. We were rewarded for our efforts by the 'Let Live' award and the work of democrats internationally to counteract the attempts by P W Botha to seek international support.

It is therefore easy to understand why the apartheid regime, faced with a major credibility crisis has unleashed its anger on the UDF by way of a threatened ban. It is even easier to understand precisely why the voice of democracy represented by the UDF must be fully supported and extended.

This motivation is divided into 4 sections, namely:

SECTION ONE : REPORT

- 1.1 Chronology
- 1.2 Campaign
- 1.3 Methods
- 1.4 Resistance - General

SECTION TWO : THE PRESENT POSITION

- 2.1 Democracy Vs the State
- 2.2 Growth of the UDF
- 2.3 Relationship to Non-Affiliates

SECTION THREE : UDF AND THE FUTURE

- 3.1 Resistance to Removals
- 3.2 Housing and Local Government
- 3.3 Struggles in the Education Sphere
- 3.4 Food prices, Unemployment and Farmworkers
- 3.5 Anti-Conscription Campaign
- 3.6 Anti-Repression Focus
- 3.7 Relief Work
- 3.8 International Youth Year

SECTION FOUR : BUDGET

- 4.1 Head Office
- 4.2 National Functions
- 4.3 Regions and Development
- 4.4 Notes on the Budget

SECTION ONE : REPORT

1.1 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

AUGUST 1983

20 National Launch

SEPTEMBER 1983

7 Roundup of Campaign Against Coloured and Indian Management Committees

21 Bus Boycott - Mdantsane

OCTOBER 1983

7 Anti Ciskei Protests

24 Success in Supreme Court Application Against Ban of UDF Meeting

29/30 National People's Weekend

NOVEMBER 1983

Campaign Against Black Local Authorities Elections (National Campaign)

DECEMBER 1983

4 Black Local Authority Elections - National Poll Below 10%

7 Launch UDF Eastern Cape Region

16/17 National General Council

JANUARY 1984

8 Launch UDF Border Region

22 Launch of Million Signature Campaign (National)

FEBRUARY 1984

Million Signature Campaign Launched in all Regions

MARCH 1984

Million Signature Campaign Intensified Nationally
State of Emergency Declared in Cradock

(Chronology of Events Continued)

APRIL 1984

- 4 Launch of UDF West Coast Region
Celebration of 30th Anniversary of the
Women's Federation

MAY 1984

- 1-6 May Day Rallies
Million Signature Campaign
Anti Election Campaign

JUNE 1984

- Million Signature Campaign
Anti-Election Campaign
Anti-Forced Removals Campaign

JULY 1984

- Intensification of Anti-Election Campaign
29 Launch of UDF South Cape Region

AUGUST 1984

- 9 National Women's Day Rallies
12 Anti-Removals Rally in Western Cape
Joint Transvaal Civic Rally
Northern Transvaal Rally
21 Detention of UDF Leadership Nationally
22 "Coloured Elections" - Poll 18%
28 "Indian Elections" - Poll 15%
18/19 UDF First Anniversary Rallies Nationally

SEPTEMBER 1984

- 3 Stay at Home in the Vaal Triangle
Beginning of Uprising in the Vaal Triangle

OCTOBER 1984

- 5 Le Grange Threatens to Ban the UDF
11 State of Emergency Lifted in Cradock
22 South African Defence Force Deployed in the
Vaal Triangle

1.2 CAMPAIGNS

1.2.1 MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN (MSC)

A decision was taken at the December National Conference to campaign for one million signatures. The motivation for this campaign was broadly to educate our people about the dangers of the new constitution and the 'Koornhof Bills' whilst simultaneously campaigning for support for the UDF.

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15/9/87

This campaign was launched at the end of January. By the time of the elections, some 350 000 signatures had been collected. The target was not reached for two reasons. Firstly, police harassment was intense - scores of activists were arrested and charged with petty offences. Secondly, the campaign was over-taken by the more direct campaign against the elections.

However, the campaign proved invaluable as a means of consulting the people and giving an orientation to the anti-election campaign. Also, a more solid basis had been laid for the anti-election campaign because large communities had been primed. (At the time of this report, the future of the MSC is being discussed nationally.)

1.2.2 CAMPAIGN AGAINST FORCED REMOVALS

To date, some 3 000 000 South Africans have been forcibly removed under a battery of laws in fulfillment of the apartheid policies. Most current removals are taking place in rural areas. This militates against a campaign taking a single and unified form.

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The work against forced removals had taken the UDF into the rural areas. Organisation has increased against forced removals, with the name of the UDF foremost in this resistance.

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18/8/8

Some of the campaigns, e.g. Huhudi, had successfully resulted in staving off removals and many campaigns, e.g. resistance to Khayelitsha still continues.

The UDF attaches much importance to this area of work because of its ability to link town and country and spread resistance to give our struggle a more national character.

(Campaign Against Forced Removals Continued)

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The National Executive Committee had decided to employ rural organisers to work specifically on removals. Unfortunately, this decision had not been implemented due to insufficient funds for salaries and vehicles.

1.2.3 ANTI ELECTION CAMPAIGN

This campaign was launched to show mass rejection of the new constitution. It had absorbed most of the UDF's energy and resources. The results of the election poll percentage show undoubtedly the success of this campaign.

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18/9/8

The government, in spite of its heavy propaganda campaign and severe intimidation, only achieved a poll of 15% of the Indian population and 18% of the Coloured group. Closer examination reveals results which are even more disastrous for them: in the Cape Peninsula where approximately 1/3 Coloureds reside, the poll was a mere 4%.

Our victories in this campaign seriously limited the ability of the government to proceed with their 'reform initiatives'.

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Successes were achieved by linking day-to-day struggles with political issues thus elements like food prices, housing, education and the threat of conscription were important facets of this campaign.

1.3 METHODS

As outlined earlier, the methods used by the UDF to reach the people were: personal discussions, mass rallies and media.

1.3.1 PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS

Often these took place in the privacy of people's homes. Though time consuming, it proved to be a fool-proof method of communication. Often large teams of activists were brought into specific areas to work intensively. This aspect of the work involved a high-level of co-ordination and resources fuel, catering etc.

Dupl

(Campaign Against Forced Removals Continued)

The National Executive Committee had decided to employ rural organisers to work specifically on removals. Unfortunately, this decision had not been implemented due to insufficient funds for salaries and vehicles.

1.2.3 ANTI ELECTION CAMPAIGN

This campaign was launched to show mass rejection of the new constitution. It had absorbed most of the UDF's energy and resources. The results of the election poll percentage show undoubtedly the success of this campaign.

The government, in spite of its heavy propaganda campaign and severe intimidation, only achieved a poll of 15% of the Indian population and 18% of the Coloured group. Closer examination reveals results which are even more disastrous for them: in the Cape Peninsula where approximately 1/3 Coloureds reside, the poll was a mere 4%.

Our victories in this campaign seriously limited the ability of the government to proceed with their 'reform initiatives'.

Successes were achieved by linking day-to-day struggles with political issues thus elements like food prices, housing, education and the threat of conscription were important facets of this campaign.

No 2

18/9/8

1.3 METHODS

As outlined earlier, the methods used by the UDF to reach the people were: personal discussions, mass rallies and media.

1.3.1 PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS

Often these took place in the privacy of people's homes. Though time consuming, it proved to be a fool-proof method of communication. Often large teams of activists were brought into specific areas to work intensively. This aspect of the work involved a high-level of co-ordination and resources fuel, catering etc.

1.3.2 MASS RALLIES

Following a tradition of large rallies which started with the launching in August 1983, a series of rallies were arranged regionally or locally at various times during the past 14 months. By and large these rallies were very well attended with crowds of between 1 000 (local) and 12 000 (regional).

The spirit of unity and resistance which dominated these gatherings had and in fact, continue to have, spin-offs in the community by way of support for the UDF.

1.3.3 MASS MEDIA

Given the extent to which state controlled media is weighted against the democratic movement, the UDF also had to place a major emphasis on mass media. So successful was this aspect of our work that some 35 bogus pamphlets allegedly state produced, were disseminated against the UDF.

UDF media included: newsletters (UDF News), pamphlets and flyers, T-shirts, posters and bumper stickers.

Needless to say, advancing the UDF ideologically and countering state propaganda was extremely costly but nevertheless necessary and advantageous.

1.4 RESISTANCE - GENERAL

No (19)

It is extremely difficult to detail the many instances of localised resistance which the UDF and/or its affiliates have been engaged in over the past 14 months. Resistance to increases in rents, food prices or busfares, demands for adequate education, campaigns against detentions, etc., whilst often such campaigns are waged by UDF affiliates, the association with UDF in itself provides these struggles with a form, content and linkage.

In essence, this is the major advantage of a front of established people's organisations. The ability to campaign in so many situations around problems so directly experienced by our people, is undoubtedly a strength of the UDF.

SECTION TWO : THE PRESENT POSITION

2.1 DEMOCRACY VS THE STATE

The UDF was conceived as a body which would co-ordinate active struggle against the Apartheid government. Many organisations had been waging struggles at local levels around higher rentals, the housing crisis, rising electricity rates, "dummy" bodies, etc, but these were being conducted in isolation from one another. Today these organisations are united to a mammoth force under the banner of the UDF.

The challenge which faces the UDF today is to build a truly national voice, to strengthen the unity that action over the past 14 months has already forged and to advance the struggle for National Liberation.

The important victories scored by the people have not gone unnoticed. The South African government has been at pains to adequately respond to the situation. Their responses have included: use of military force against our people, continued harassment of activists, detention of UDF leaders, a campaign of disinformation, the recent threat to ban the UDF and many other forms of continual repression.

The tide of resistance cannot be turned back. Our resistance must continue to grow in order to even further weaken the apartheid government.

2.2 THE GROWTH OF THE UDF

The UDF was launched with three structured regions: Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape. We now fully fledged UDF structures in the following areas as well: Eastern Cape, Border (East London and environs), Northern and South Cape and West Coast. A fairly solid basis has been laid for new formations in the Orange Free State, Northern Transvaal and the Karoo. Embryonic structures exist in the Boland and Namaqualand. (See Appendix A)

The areas (geographically) where UDF presence is weakest is in the Bantustans ('independent homelands'). Here, the allies of apartheid have crushed every attempt at organisation to the point of UDF being banned in the Transkei. Also, the severity of repression precludes possible organisation.

The list of affiliates has grown from 400 to 650. The precise membership of our affiliates remains extremely difficult to quantify.

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(The Growth of UDF Continued)

Much of our work is handled by the regional structures and a fair degree of regional autonomy exists. National co-ordination is extremely costly and insufficient funds has limited the extent of our national work.

2.3 . RELATIONSHIP TO NON-AFFILIATES

Some analysts have argued that the strength of the UDF was constrained by its inability to secure affiliation from sizable organisations like the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

At this point in time, these organisations are still not affiliated. This has not however precluded us from campaigning together and, in the course of events, developing a healthy working relationship.

Such working relationships obtain with all progressive trade union groupings as well as with all other democratic organisations working for change in South Africa, for example the South African Council of Sport (SACOS), the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Black Sash.

SECTION THREE : UDF AND THE FUTURE

At this point in time it is somewhat difficult to project with precision what the campaigns of the UDF over the next period will entail.

What is clearly identifiable however, are the issues which will be taken up as manifestations of the constitution and Koornhof Bills. These issues are outlined below:

3.1 RESISTANCE TO REMOVALS

Intensifying work of the previous period and working to the point of a campaign of a more national character. Building UDF structures in the rural areas.

20 28/10

3.2 HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Major changes of a detrimental nature await our people

(Housing and Local Government Continued,

as the government, with an ailing economy, implements its constitution in reality.

This campaign is likely to be fairly protracted and will largely be determined by regional conditions such as the strength of civic organisations.

STRUGGLES IN THE EDUCATION SPHERE

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It is likely that the past campaigns for an adequate, equal and relevant education will be intensified. Our affiliates from the educational sphere have already launched an 'Education Charter' campaign to consult our people on the nature of the educational system demanded.

Also, as a spin-off of the new constitution, the government has decreed that 'the community shall bear the cost of education'. We understand this move as a further attempt to weight the educational system against our impoverished communities. This campaign will afford us the ability to unite parents and students more around common problems which confront them.

It is likely too, that this might become a specialised area within the UDF.

3.4 FOOD PRICES, UNEMPLOYMENT AND FARMWORKERS

These areas of work are at this stage fairly tentative. What is abundantly clear however is that economic trends spell disaster for the SA government. As is customary in such societies (capitalist), the burden is passed onto the workers. Thus increasing food prices and unemployment are two of the new arenas opened as the SA government struggles to recoup its losses.

The organisation of farmworkers is an entirely new terrain which still has to be vigorously researched.

3.5 ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

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As outlined earlier, the anti-conscription campaign was an important buttress to the campaign against the elections. The government will however have to implement the conscription of Coloureds and Indians in its attempt to strengthen itself militarily.

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Note
read with pb
Anti conscription (over)

(Anti-Conscription Campaign Continued)

Extensive preparation is necessary to prepare the community for a more intensive campaign. Whilst the campaign in essence might not be immediate, the preparation is.

ANTI-REPRESSION FOCUS

The UDF has succeeded in bringing detention without trial into sharp focus. This was facilitated by our Detention Action Committees and also the Durban Consulate saga.

We will continue to focus on repression since we are convinced that we can rally the support of our people against arbitrary repressive state action.

This area of work will thus assume an increasing importance in the period ahead.

3.7 RELIEF WORK

The UDF was forced to provide relief to affected communities of the Vaal. The nature of the relief work included legal and medical assistance as well as providing food.

The financial outlay for this was high. We believe however, that it was necessary in order for the UDF to demonstrate to the masses of our people that we are interested in all of their lives, not just in their support at mass rallies.

It is clear that as the struggle intensifies in our townships, the need for relief work will intensify.

3.8 INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

It is widely acknowledged that the UDF has a strong youth membership. We will undoubtedly be requested to assist in funding the activities around International Youth Year.

Our youth groups are being encouraged to arrange for their own funds. This will not preclude appeals in the course of the year. We feel it necessary therefore to hold some money in reserve to guarantee the smooth and successful functioning of the programme for International Youth Year.

(UDF and the Future Continued)

In essence then, we project our work in the next period to focus on issues pertinent to our people. We are committed to linking up these struggles into national campaigns. Simultaneously, we believe that this form of struggle lends itself to the development of organisations. Central to our approach will be correcting the existing unevenness amongst organisations by firstly providing more resources to the development of organisation in the rural areas and secondly addressing the lack of resources in the African townships which so restricts the growth of organisations.

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SECTION FOUR : BUDGET

Below is an outline of the UDF National Budget. Each item is detailed in sub-section 4.4 "Notes on the Budget" contained in this motivation. This budget is for 6 months only.

4.1 HEAD OFFICE

Salaries (5½ x R600,00 x 6 months)	R19 800
National Office Rental (R500,00 x 6 months)	3 000
Postage and Telephones (R850,00 x 6 months)	5 100
Printing and Stationery nominal	2 000
Records (Photographic & Audiovisual) nominal	900
Equipment (Purchases and Maintenance)	18 000
Resources and Information Procurement & Publication	2 000
Officers Travel Vehicles, Fuel & Maintenance	21 000
Sundries	3 200
TOTAL FOR HEAD OFFICE	<u>R75 000</u>

4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

See next page.

4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

National General Council	R30 500
National Executive Committee	14 000
National Secretariat	6 630
National Air Travel	10 000
Nationally Sponsored Rallies	16 000
International Relations	12 000
National Media	50 000
Education and Training	7 000
International Youth Year	20 000
Special Campaigns	43 000
Relief Work	15 000
Incidentals	5 870
TOTAL FOR NATIONAL FUNCTIONS	<u>R230 000</u>

4.3 REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Transvaal	30 000
Western Cape	30 000
Natal	20 000
Eastern Cape	15 000
Border	15 000
Northern Cape	10 000
South Cape	7 000
Development Fund	23 000
TOTAL FOR REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT	<u>R150 000</u>

BUDGET TOTAL R455 000

4.4 NOTES ON THE BUDGET

4.4.1 HEAD OFFICE

The UDF Head Office serves as the linkage between the different regions. In addition, its role can be broadly defined as initiating campaigns, information and contact with the International Community. Head Office employs two officers, viz. the National General Secretary and the National Publicity Secretary as well as an administrator.

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i) Salaries

This item covers the salaries of the above three persons @ R600,00 per month. Currently, the two officers are in detention and alternate persons have had to be employed. The National Executive Committee has also decided to employ an Information Officer on a part-time basis.

This accounts for the 5½ salaries.

ii) Office Rental

This sum is somewhat higher than our present rental. Unfortunately the present office of the UDF is so small that efficiency is often affected. We are hoping to obtain larger space.

iii) Postage and Telephones

Self-explanatory

iv) Printing and Stationery

Self-explanatory

v) Records

The glorious history of the UDF lies largely dissipated over the length and breadth of our country. The Head Office needs to take responsibility for collating photographic and video material.

vi) Equipment

Currently, the UDF functions on reasonably archaic equipment. The motivation here covers the purchase and maintenance of a word processor, telex facility, photocopier and printing unit for administration and elementary publications. Also an overhead projector, Caramat projector and videorecorder for purposes of Education and Training.

(Notes on Budget - Head Office Continued)

vii) Resources and Information

No 19
17/8/87

Our Information Officer would have the responsibility of procuring, translating and disseminating information crucial to campaigns. This sum would cover such responsibilities.

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24/9

viii) Officers Travel

The UDF currently owns two cars. A third vehicle would have to be purchased. These vehicles are needed to travel to different parts of the country for organisational and educational tasks. The sum covers the purchase of an additional car, fuel, maintenance and insurance.

ix) Sundries

Self-explanatory

4.4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

There exists within the UDF a divide between National and Regional functions. The regions advance campaigns and the UDF within the province. A fair amount of money for this work is raised locally. UDF National tends to the overall development and advancement of the Front. (This division will be clarified later.)

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i) National General Council

The National General Council is the highest decision-making body in the UDF. The NGC last met in December 1983, thus we are due to schedule another NGC meeting. The NGC brings together delegates from all UDF affiliates to determine policy and elect the National Executive Committee.

Transporting, accommodating and feeding 1 000 delegates explains the high cost of this exercise.

ii) National Executive Committee

The NEC is comprised of approximately 30 people. Its functions are to tend to decision making between NGC's. The NEC has met 7 times in the past 14 months. The frequency of meetings is determined by the constantly changing conditions and the need for the UDF to respond adequately. Here too, transport costs are a major contributor to the sum budgeted for.

(Notes on Budget - National Functions Continued)

iii) National Secretariat

The National Secretariat is the administrative co-ordinating structure and is best situated to determine how the officers' time is utilised. The National Secretariat also arranges the agendas for the NEC meetings.

iv) National Air Travel

Officers and speakers often have to travel across the country. It is possible to drive distances up to 500 km, beyond this, time and other factors necessitate air travel.

v) Nationally Sponsored Rallies

The NEC decides from time to time to take responsibility for special rallies. A major focus or a breakthrough into a new area would be examples of this. In such cases, 'National' bears all costs incurred.

vi) International Relations

Whilst the item is self-explanatory, the budget caters for production of material for International consumption, and occasional air travel.

vii) National Media

The bulk of our media is produced regionally. What should be noted however is that we are presently constructing a national movement. This item covers production of UDF NEWS, special pamphlets, stickers, posters and T-shirts.

viii) Educational and Training

Self-explanatory

ix) International Youth Year

The report explains the relationship between the UDF and the I.Y.Y Committees. This should clarify the item.

x) Special Campaigns

The report does clearly indicate the campaigns around which the UDF work will proceed in the period ahead. Often, regions will not be in a position to entirely take responsibility for these campaigns, thus National would have to initiate. Also, the differential allowances for

No 19
17/8/87

(Notes on Budget - National Functions Continued)

(Special Campaigns Continued)

these campaigns will allow for more countrywide resistance with a sharp focus on the 'African' sector where financial and other resources are extremely limited.

xi) Relief Work

Again, the report explains the nature of this work adequately.

xii) Incidentals

Self-explanatory

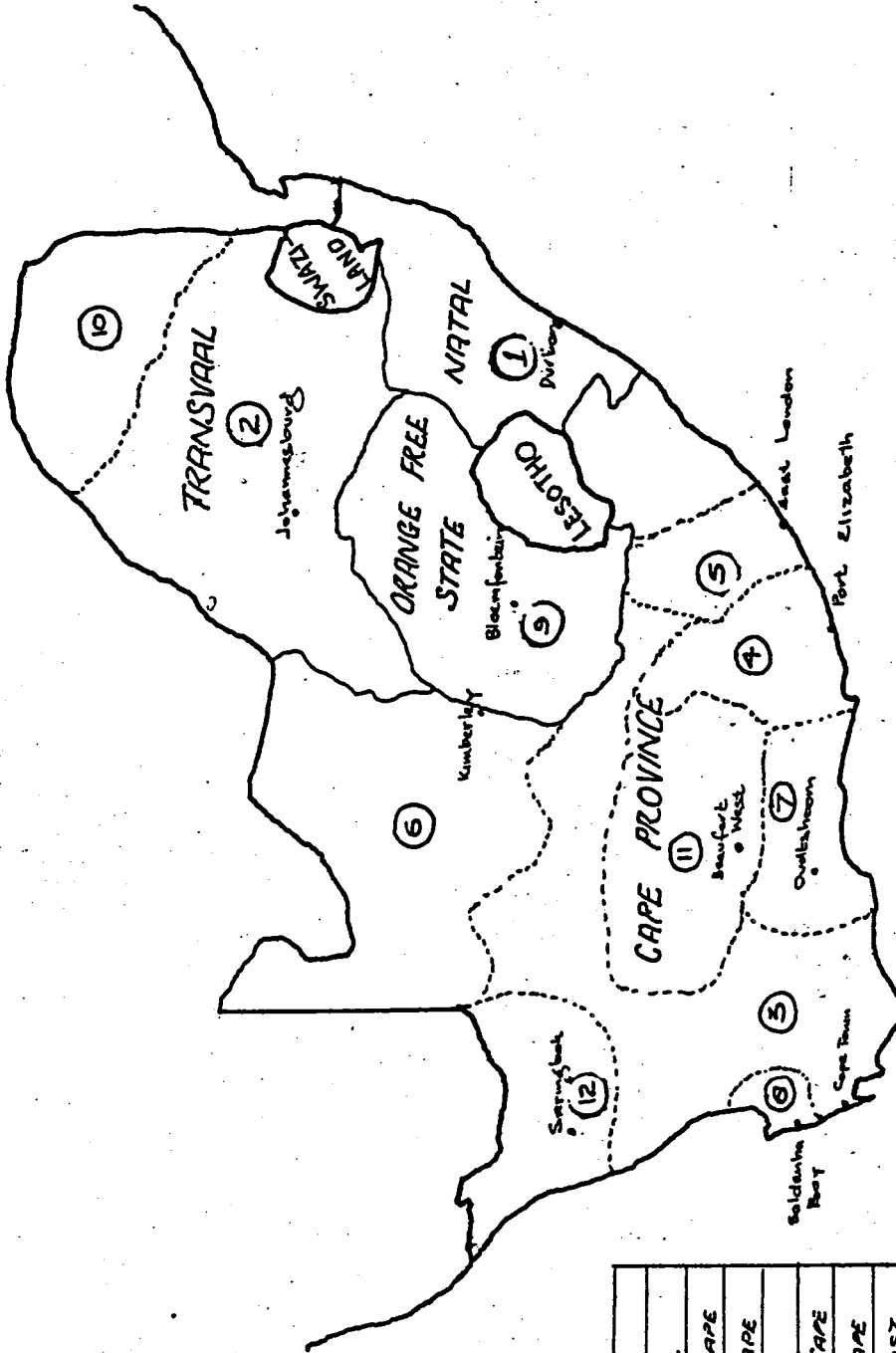
4.4.3 REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Allocations are made to regions using the following criteria: Population Density, Distances Travelled, Financial Resource Base, Present Organisational Strength and Development Potential.

These grants serve for the items like the salaries of rural organisers, transport costs and development.

A sum of money is retained for new areas of development.

APPENDIX A : APPROXIMATE POSITION OF UDF REGIONS



1	NORVA
2	TRANSVAAL
3	WESTERN CAPE
4	EASTERN CAPE
5	BORDER
6	NORTHERN CAPE
7	SOUTH CAPE
8	WEST COAST
9	ORANGE FREE STATE
10	NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
11	KAROO
12	NAMABUALAND

Adm: Ifo.

M Valli, Lenasa

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educated people who can't even speak English language. All the speakers there spoke in English and nothing was translated into the un-educated people's languages. The UDF, like other intellectuals organisations, had forgotten us. I am a worker, and the kind of work I do's the lowest kind. I've been to school but I just went to school up to standard five. But in the trade union movement, I and all other workers, even the workers who never been to school, feel at home.

We are not degraded or forgotten as if we don't exist. We don't measure people by education, by the kind of work a man does, neither by collar or by colour, we are all equal in the trade union, and we believe and practise democracy.

Because of these circumstances, including those ones already stated by the unions in the Cape Times, it is not wise for the unions to join any other organisation which is not a worker's organisation. Therefore the trade unions have decided to form a workers federation, even before the UDF idea. But up to this day they are still very busy with it, because they have to make sure that it is not built in the air, and is also controlled by its members. (the workers). Building up a good thing is not an easy thing, and a foundation is a very, very important thing because the whole structure has to balance on the foundation. So it needs to be a firm foundation.

This does not mean that the unions don't support the UDF and many other organisations which are also fighting for human rights. It does not even mean that the trade union members can't join those organisations, that is encourage by the unions, although those organisations are not controlled or fully-controlled by un-educated people although most of the money in those organisations may be coming from them (the un-educated people).

Yours in the struggle for a better day.

M Mbothwe, 'The Dustman'.

THE UDF ON THE UNIONS

*Lahore
Bulletin
20/2/87*

The SALB interviewed Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, at Khotso House, Johannesburg on the 13th October 1983.

What is a united democratic front?

It is an alliance of a wide spectrum of organisations: workers', youth, church, sporting organisations and so on. The UDF is an alliance specifically in opposition to the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills. It is an umbrella body seeking to co-ordinate organisations previously acting independently.

Does this involve an alliance of different classes?

An alliance of classes is built into the United Democratic Front. For example workers' organisations and professional organisations contain different classes. But the United Democratic Front is essentially an alliance of organisations.

How was the UDF formed?

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At the time when the President's Council proposals and the Koornhof Bills were put forward opposition to them was coming from small, unco-ordinated organisations. At the anti-SAIOC (Anti-South African Indian Council) meeting in Johannesburg in January Dr Boesak suggested that a united democratic front should be formed.

The call was well received and organisations represented at the meeting such as the Natal Indian Congress, the Joint Rent Action Committee and individuals who were members of the Cape Housing Action Committee contacted their members in other regions. The idea was passed on and mobilisation took place especially in Natal, the Transvaal and

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the Western Cape. In these areas UDF regions were being formed at meetings in April, May and June.

Further consultation led to the decision to launch the UDF nationally, even though not all the regions had been formed, because of the urgency of the situation. At the time of the national launch, on the 20th of August, the only fully structured regions were the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape. The other regions did their best but were not properly constituted.

Now we are organising in the North Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and Border region and the Free State. Apart from meetings being banned we are continuing to make strides in gaining support.

The UDF took nine months to form itself whereas the union movement has taken ten years to reach its present position. How do you account for this difference?

The UDF has organised organisations, it has not had to organise individuals in the same way as a trade union, which is more difficult and takes much longer. The strength of the UDF depends of the strength of the organisations which constitute it.

rate
of
growth
U.D.F.
union

To what extent have you gained support amongst workers?

We are not satisfied that we have achieved as much trade union support as we had hoped for. But we see the participation of workers in the UDF as important. The more workers come in the closer we are to gaining a truly national character. South Africa is still under colonial conditions and the struggle against imperialism is a struggle against capitalism. For this reason the working class must provide the backbone of the struggle.

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The question of sizes of organisations must be considered. For example professional organisations tend to be smaller than trade unions. In this regard organisations must receive representation.

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proportionate to their strength in numbers.

What do you mean by "a truly national character"?

We mean by this that we are non-racial, which means we embrace all races, and that we bring together all classes. The presence of workers and the middle classes in the UDF is well discernable, but a significant section of the working class in some major independent unions still remains outside our fold.

Do you feel, then, that whites have a contribution to make in the struggle?

Yes, for example students who were members of Nusas (the National Union of South African Students) became stalwarts of the union movement.

Does your term "national" also include all regions in South Africa?

Yes, by "national" we mean all classes, all regions and all races.

To what extent does the UDF have a presence in the Bantustans?

We need a presence in these areas, but there the repression is worst. We have a strong presence in the Ciskei, but support for the UDF there is heavily suppressed.

Is your support in the Ciskei mainly through Saawu (South African Allied Workers' Union)?

Yes, mainly through Saawu but we have other support, as was shown by the numbers at the launching of the UDF in that region.

The Transkei is very different. Our supporters there can't express their support because they fear the consequences. In Zululand Gatcha (Buthelezi)

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claims that everyone belongs to Inkatha. It is difficult for anyone to show support for the UDF. But as support grows for the UDF in the urban areas amongst contract workers our message will be carried back to these areas.

What are the structures of the UDF?

The Transvaal region, for example, has a president, two secretaries, a treasurer and other executive members. Each region is affiliated to the national executive. The three regional presidents are also national presidents, but this is not a requirement, they just happen to have been elected to both positions. If an issue arises one of the two regional secretaries will call a regional general council. This is made up of delegates from the organisations affiliated to the UDF. The regional executive committee is elected by the regional general council. It does not include representatives from each affiliated organisation as this would make it too unwieldy. The executive committee runs the day-to-day affairs of the UDF.

In a few cases there are organisations which are national. Clause 5 of the UDF Working Principles provides for these organisations to affiliate nationally. The terms of their membership is decided by the national executive in consultation with the regional councils.

When an organisation has affiliated to the UDF it retains its independence. It cedes its independence only in regard to opposition to the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

Could you briefly explain the UDF's programme of action?

We have set broad objectives, some activities may be possible in the Western Cape and others in the Transvaal. In the Transvaal, area committees are being established. There are to be workshops, door-to-door campaigns and mass meetings. The mass

meetings give people a feeling of belonging together, but the door-to-door visits are the most important because people can ask questions. We are planning a peoples' weekend at the end of October at which there will be vigils focusing on the legislation. This will be part of the build up to regional or provincial rallies on the eve of November the 2nd.

How do you see the role of the UDF differing from that of other organisations, particularly the unions?

* | The unions mainly handle the problems of working class people at the factory floor level. Some people have criticised unions for not taking up political issues, but the unions are not well equipt to handle political issues.

The members of trade unions can also participate in other organisations which take up other issues, for example the pass laws, bus fares, rents. Such issues require a different type of organisation.

Some unions, such as Saawu the Food and Canning Workers' Union, GWU (General Workers' Union) and others have taken up such issues in the past. With the emergence of the UDF do you see the role of these unions changing?

These unions were in the past expected to take the lead. Workers turned to the unions, but this could have jeopardised the unions. Now they can encourage workers to join other organisations which take up these issues. Some unions have done this. To link to the community organisations is not to sell out. The UDF can be used to fight issues that unions cannot directly fight.

The criticism has been made by some of the independent unions that the UDF is dominated by middle class people and that workers find it difficult to participate. The language used is

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English and workers can't compete with the debating skills of the middle classes.

It is true that the middle class tends to take over leadership and dominate community based organisations. The question is whether the working class can win genuine allies from the middle classes, for example intellectuals. Workers must join not only to give the UDF numbers but also direction; to make their voice heard. Where possible workers must also assume positions of leadership. The challenge for the UDF is whether it can evolve effective democratic processes to enable every constituent organisation to participate in the running of all the affairs of the front.

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The criticism is also made that decisions are taken and then put to meetings for ratification, not for discussion.

Whilst it is true that we are not without shortcomings, some of the criticisms come out of ignorance. People who do not take part in the UDF cannot know who took the decisions because they were not at the meetings. If workers are not there the decisions will be taken by those who are present. But once they join they will decide. Where the democratic processes are not followed the workers will ask, "Who took that decision?"

If the unions came into the UDF they could take up the programme of action and participate in the way they want to, but for the time being those in the UDF will decide issues.

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At the national launching of the UDF some unions affiliated and others decided not to affiliate but nevertheless gave their support. This suggests that the support for the UDF is very wide amongst the independent unions, but that there are differences over the best way of giving support. Why do you feel that the unions should formally affiliate to the UDF?

Resistance to the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills should not be restricted to one class. It is not merely workers who are affected but a combination of people; of classes. If the UDF creates a wider unity then the unions should join.

Some unions have said that joining the UDF may have divisive effects within their organisations because their members have differing political affiliations. It is also argued that the fact that some unions have joined and others have not is making union unity more difficult.

We have not made any union join. Every union will consider whether or not to join and the democratic processes within the unions will take their course.

The disunity amongst the unions is disappointing. We sent a letter to the feasibility committee giving our solidarity to the unions in their search for unity. We also stated that workers must be organised beyond the factory and need to form an alliance with other classes and that the UDF is the best forum for this.

It seems then that there are a number of possible ways in which workers could join the UDF: they could join as individuals or through their unions joining or through a federation of unions joining. Why in fact does the UDF see it as necessary for unions to become members?

The problem with a loose affiliation is that it is not easy to co-ordinate and to mobilise people. The situation would be greatly improved if unity on the factory floor and unity in the communities could be achieved. Combining unity at both these levels would greatly enhance the struggle. It would be easier to take decisions and to take action if the trade unions had already formed themselves into a single federation.

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CCAWUSA ON POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

The Commercial, Catering and Allied Worker's Union of South Africa was to discuss the question of affiliation to political organisations at its National Conference on the 5-7th of November, but failed to complete the agenda. The following resolution was submitted by one of the union's branches to the conference.

- a) Because CCAWUSA's membership consists of people who support different political organisations, conference resolves that the union should not affiliate to any particular one.
- b) However, conference expresses its support for all organisations fighting for a free, equal and democratic South Africa. CCAWUSA should encourage its individual members to take part in the activities of such organisations in their personal capacities.
- c) When such organisations hold meetings or have projects whose objects are in line with the principles and policies of CCAWUSA, the union or individuals mandated by the union may participate in these as CCAWUSA or representatives of CCAWUSA.

CUSA ON POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

The General Secretary of The Council of Unions of South Africa sent this resolution to the SALB in response to a request for a statement on its position in relation to political organisations.

During March and August this year the CUSA office had received a request from the National Forum Committee (NFC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and one other agency for its views and commitment on the Constitutional Proposals.

The three requests were put to the National Executive Committee during April. It was agreed that the matter be discussed at the Joint Executive Council (JEC) of CUSA on the 30 April 1983.

The requests together with a draft resolution was prepared for the JEC meeting. A lengthy debate took place on various aspects. Amongst other issues discussed were the following:

- 1) the nature and philosophy of the organisations requesting the commitment
- 2) the content of the CUSA response in the resolution
- 3) the commitment CUSA was able to provide and
- 4) the nature and content of the Constitutional Proposals

The following resolution was then unanimously adopted:

"Having examined the proposals of the regime on the constitution,

Having further examined the basis of the call by various organisations regarding the constitutional proposals,

Noting that the Nationalist Party is presently in disarray and that these proposals may therefore be changed to impose White rule under different

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guise even through a referendum,

Knowing that the White opposition forces and parties are themselves divided and without any effect. . .

The Council of Unions of South Africa now therefore:

- * wishes to place on record its complete and total rejection to the proposal
- * pledges itself to participate in every forum to work towards the achievement of a just and democratic society
- * calls upon its members to lend their individual support to all efforts of community organisations to end this foolish plan
- * pledges itself to all forces and all efforts to work towards a common citizenship in an undivided democratic and just society."

Following the response of various unions and the nature of press reports together with intransigent positions adopted by some sections of the community CUSA is involved currently on an ongoing examination of its attitude and role in the UDF and the NFC.

BUREAUCRACY IS KILLING TUCSA

Introduction

For those in the labour movement who doubt that the most important problem facing workers can be the bankruptcy of their own leadership, the experience of the Trade Union Council of South Africa is worth examining. In TUCSA, more perhaps than in any other union body in the country, the voice of workers has been reduced to a whisper in the grip of bureaucracy.

Here I will examine the leadership crisis in TUCSA and suggest remedies to the problems. The history of TUCSA is well documented and will not be repeated here. However it is important to note that the current leadership of TUCSA, which includes ex-Sactu (South African Congress of Trade Unions) stalwarts like Lucy Mvubelo and Norman Daniels, for the most part have been around for a long time. It is this almost entirely white "old guard", (1) which completely dominates the leading bodies in TUCSA and, together with its allies, many of whom occupy the leading positions in the most powerful TUCSA Unions, comprises the heart of TUCSA's bureaucratic machine. (2)

The performance of this bureaucracy at TUCSA's 29th Annual Conference in Port Elizabeth (P.E.) last month (where they completely monopolised proceedings) was, despite the fact that S.A. is in the midst of one of the most turbulent periods in her history, not substantially different to previous years. Except in one crucial aspect.

As they bowed more deeply in the direction of big business and "verligte" government, they attacked the emerging union movement and in particular the unregistered unions. The climax of this attack was their overwhelming support for a resolution calling on the government to ban all unregistered trade unions. (3)

Adm: Ifo.

M. Morobe: Soweto

(20) 17/9/87

L. Plutsky 24/2/88

UDF

How "C 55"

Interview with ~~Terror~~ Lekota?

Q Is UDF beginning to focus on rural areas?

A We have taken a decision to intensify our organization in rural areas in the period after the election.

Q Are there many rural organizations affiliated to UDF?

A It is true to say that we have strong support in the rural areas, ^{tw} a large part which still has to be converted into formal organization. But if you go into areas like N.Cape we already have organizations like the Huhudi Civic Association which is affiliated to UDF.

Q But Huhudi is a township?

A In a sense it is, but in a sense it is really in-between. We have these townships like Onverwacht which are neither rural nor are they ^{real} towns. ~~urban~~.

In the Border areas, ~~xxxxx~~ the Mgwali Residents Association which is based in a rural freehold area, is affiliated to UDF.

Q In the past, it seems that rural resistance has been around issues like removals and betterment planning, which immediately affect people's economic position. Is it possible to translate this local resistance around immediate issues into long-term ~~the~~ political organization?

A These communities are organising around immediate issues, but these organizations have the potential to carry the struggle far beyond the immediate short term issues. As the bantustan policy matures, the question of additional land for African people is going to become a daily issue. The process of consolidation and the fact that ^{only} 13% of the land has been set aside for African people, has meant that this small area is literally overflowing. We can't see ^{how} ~~that~~ the government can calm this situation. These pressures, like the overcrowding in areas like QwaQwa, for instance, are generating so much unhappiness that it is inevitable that organization around these areas will take place. ~~These communities~~

Q If you look at communities that are moved, you find that once the removal takes place, organization breaks down. Can this be countered?

K I think there are many ways to counter this. If you take the removal of the Magopa ~~xx~~ ^{people} removal for instance, the lack of amenities like water supply ~~for instance~~ ^{in the place where they are moved to}, are issues around which people can be organised and around which resistance can continue to be generated. We must have the foresight to realise, that once the removal is over, this is not the end of the struggle. The failure is in the follow-up. I think we should be wherever the people are moved to.

Q Do you think that the only reason why people, like those from Magopa, become disorganised, when moved, is because there are no ~~ixi~~ ~~alternative~~ structures to channel their dissatisfaction?

Well, the removal of Magopa had a dynamic of its own. There were some sharp tensions within the community. There were some people who were prepared to settle at Pachsdraai and who were prepared to follow the schemes of apartheid. There were others who were more resolute, who would not co-operate and those people moved to Bethanie.

Some people carried on, some became disillusioned in that they saw the efforts of a lifetime disappear over night. The type of ~~ix~~ disorganization that exists, must be understood by the fact that it has only been a short time since the community has been moved and that the community is recovering from this disruption.

However it is true to ~~xxx~~ say that in Magopa we did not find the solid type of local organization of the Mgwali Residents Association, for instance.

The Magopa ~~they~~ ^{people} seemed to have come together because of the removal. It seems that no one was interfering with them before the removal as they owned ~~xx~~ the land. In other words the people were not confronting the types of issues which face the people of Soweto and around which organization can take place ^{high rents for} instance. When the people of Magopa were moved ^{they face problems of a different nature}, it meant that new forms of organization had to take place. While before the people of Magopa were organizing as landowners, now they must organise as tenants or as landless ^{people}.

UDF

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a In Soweto , day to day , the people are facing local authority and the state and are ~~forced~~^{forced} to make demands around ^{some like} the rent issue which you mentioned. But the ~~people of rural people~~^{are subject to} ~~are unlikely~~ ~~even to see the agents of Pretoria~~^{agents for industry}. What power do these people have to organise themselves ?

diff. pres.

X This is true of these areas, people do not have immediate provocation by the state. This makes for difficult organization. But people still have to pay tax. And if we look back across this century we see the struggles that were waged around hut tax for instance. If we look at Bophutswana we see donkeys are being killed because it is said that the people have more donkeys than they need- there is immense potential for organization around issues like these. For instance the question of the amount of land allocated to people must have potential for organization . And of course the question of political rights, the fact that rural people are restricted to certain ~~part~~ parts of the country, unemployment in these areas & the need for people to challenge influx control by moving to urban areas where there are jobs.

20
17/9

People are going from the Ciskei to the Western Cape for instance and then being taken back to the Ciskei. We must not forget that these people are members of unions in the towns and that through this their political consciousness is raised and this leads them to have a critical look at the circumstances in which they have left their children and their wives in the rural areas.

2-9-72
L. van der
W. van der

All this is petrol which generates heat and must generate action through organization.

a Is it possible to organise in areas where chiefs and tribal authorities exist ?

In most cases the chiefs are paid by the state. Therefore it is most likely that they will align themselves with the state. However the institution of chiefs is dying. As the pressures of the capitalist economy penetrate even those rural areas , more and more people are making a break with the tribal ties of loyalty to the chief who are being seen to be serving not the community but themselves.

What we are going to see is the building of new leaders, not on the basis of old traditions. It will be a slow and painful process.

Q But doesn't the type of control that chiefs have over rural areas prevent organization?

A That may be so in some areas. I have my doubts though, to what extent the chief can prevent people from having meetings if the majority of the people want to attend. This problem when it arises will be surmountable, depending on the strength or weakness of resistance within communities. It is an issue to be considered but I think each situation has its own dynamic. That has been our experience.

Q What are the difficulties for UDF of organising in rural areas?

A The main difficulty is one of resources. These communities are located far from cities. Secondly most of the men in these communities are staying in the cities where they work - so it is a destabilised community. Magopa is a good example. Many of the able-bodied men were working in Johannesburg. Those left behind were old ^{na people} and children. And even when men could go back they were only there for a day or two.

All the government did, was to wait for ^{at home} this time to expire and then go back. The other problem is that those men who do remain are probably the people in the employ of the state of the chief - and therefore the balance of men is kept on the side of the chief. It makes it possible for the chiefs for a considerable period of the year to have the area under their own control.

A further problem of rural areas is that they are out of public attention. They are not immediately accessible to the outside world.

In the isolation and desolation of the rural areas, ~~unwanted people can be kept out~~ the chiefs and the state can terrorise communities into submission. These are real problems.

Q UDF seems to have ~~been~~ merely been responding to crises in rural areas, like the removal of the Magopa people. Is it likely that UDF will set up alternative structures in rural areas, before crises take place?

We are now contemplating that if we have the resources we will employ rural organisers who will set up structures, monitor what is going on and ~~pass~~ ^{feed} information to these communities. It is

only through structures that resistance can become active.

Q Will UDF attempt to organise in the rural areas of the so-called independent bantustans.

A These are parts of South Africa and we will organise in these areas as much as in the rest of South Africa. In some of the bantustans we have a very strong following, like in the Ciskei for instance.

A few weeks ago a few members of the Bophuthuswana assembly raised a storm in which they attacked ^{one of our speakers} me for having addressed a meeting in the bantustan, saying that ^{the} I had come to initiate a battle against apartheid when in fact apartheid was dead in Bophuthuswana. We will continue to move in and organise in areas like Mabopane ^{by the way} because the condition of the people there makes it imperative that we do so. We not only intend to organise in the homeland, it is our obligation. Those bantustans are a part of apartheid. Part of the strategy to destroy apartheid is to destroy the bantustan as well.

Q Do you think that ^{Inkatha's} ~~KwaZulu's~~ more active role in removals is a result of the emergence of the UDF?

A I don't think that Inkatha is even ~~genuinely~~ genuinely taking up the issue of removals. I think that they are moving in there because they are seeing that we are making ground. Their strategy is simply to try and undermine our campaign. We know that people like Mdlalose ^{is} travelling in Northern Natal, going to hospitals and talking to groups of nurses, telling them about the UDF, warning them not to sign the million signature campaign; saying that through this they will become members of the ANC. Inkatha has been around for a long time if they really had the interests of the people they would have started a long time ago.

Q Inkatha has control over rural areas in Natal through chiefs and Inkatha leadership, even if they do not have popular support. Do you think it is possible for UDF to organise in these places.

A We would not say that Inkatha has a lot of support in rural areas. We would say that many of these people have been harassed into taking Inkatha membership.

But I am sure that the members of Inkatha do not know what Inkatha is doing. All they have been told is that Inkatha is fighting for freedom.

Because the UDF has a message for every single person, even in areas where Inkatha has been before us, we will be able to provide a message that is meaningful. There is no way of stopping the masses.

- ① → Relative roles of women as against
 mainly based people
- ② → What does it mean for
 of absence of new means for
 organization of women

Here in this hall is the embryo of a South Africa we
 we would like to have. A South Africa devoid of

Car Hire =	R21.00 per day	X	14 days	R294.00	- Add C.S.T.
				R223.40	- Add Petrol before rate
				R413.40	- Add Insurance
				R70.00	- Add Personal Insurance
				R483.40	
				R520.00	

Car Hire R21.00 per day x 14 = R294.00

Petrol = 90
 Insurance R70
 P.I. = 170 P.R.

R520.00

LIST

Float = R200.00

<u>EXPENSES.</u>	<u>FOR.</u>	<u>Date</u>
12.85	- Petrol	(02.08.84)
25.20	-	(03.08.84)
10.40	-	(04.08.84)
30.00	-	(06.08.84)
<u>78.45</u>		

BAL 121.55

AVAIL. ^{74.53} 84-83-10

OUTST. (26.72) +1000.
46.72

011 15
0-4 2
02 0P
0-4 2
011 15
0-4 2

NLSC — ACCOUNT.

I N C O M E		E X P E N D I T U R E	
18/10/71	R250.00. (Expenditure account already submitted to treasurer)		Statement submitted to treasurer just before financial reports presentation to C.E.
3/10/71	R200.00. (feet).	By/for/101.	R31,46 (Petrol - receipt dated 2/10/71) By/for
	R200.00. ON B. - 31.46	68/2 Total 6.6	R31.46.
3/10/2. Balance	R168.54.		

NELSON

C56

Adm. Found. Sp.

M. Morobe : Soweto

(20)

17/9/87

Same
as W Sp 9

Baw^a C 56 #

Interview with Terror Lekota : additions

The point that I think should have been made is that for as long as chiefs relied on their communities for survival, their loyalty and commitment was to their people. In the 1940's when the gov't began to pay their chiefs, the confidence in the chiefs began to diminish.

What is the potential for organising women in rural areas, if as you point out, men are mostly away from their homes in rural areas?

In attempting to organise our rural rally, our efforts were concentrated on organising rural women. However the traditional custom of men acting as heads of the families also comes in. However there is an increasing autonomy of women to decide for themselves whether they want to join an organization or not. It is going to help a lot if say an organization which organises in the compounds and hostels is consciously going to follow men to the areas in which they stay and take advantage of the periods in which they are home so that these men can give the seal of approval to the organization. It is going to make a smoother organization of women in rural areas.

Once the resources are available, the process can be followed consciously and it will break barriers that are very difficult to break.

To what extent has migrancy broken down those barriers to women organising themselves in rural areas?

Women are playing a more and more active role in organization. Migrants are now bringing women with them, into the urban areas. To maintain family ties on a daily basis is now a issue to fight for. We saw ^{how} when people were taken and dropped in the Transkei, families combined and hired buses ^{to go back} and that type of initiative is taking place. In Kattlehong and the Free State we see a similar process. People are now challenging influx control.

If you go into Inanda, the stevedores are moving out of the compounds into areas like Inanda where they are building shacks and this is the reason for the assault on Inanda ^{by the State}

What is the relative importance of organising urban and rural people?

C57

Adm: Found ip.
Accused No 21, Pretoria
Variety of notes in workshop

UDF

I have been involved in planning of UDF activities around the Community Council election, Coloured and Indian elections

I am involved with the executive which take policy decision and sanction ideas that comes from affiliates but stop short of planning programs

I have been involved with organisation of rural areas e.g. N. TOL Rally

I have been coordinating activities on UDF TOL & National by virtue of me being and N.E.C member.

Overall objective

To mobilise people against the constitution and attempt to educate them about the future society which is often described as Non Racial democratic

Specific objective

~~Mobilisation against the new constitution at some stage~~

General objective

Education about future society has not been properly addressed or defined and therefore people have got no vision of what we are talking about clearly. Instead of addressing ourselves to what we want we have often spoke much about what we do not want. Racism & Liberalism are not there for this is not done in relation with what we should be our general goals.

(2)

Specific

- I have availed myself for udf work any time and any
- ② I have availed whatever skill I have to the growth of the organisation
- ③ I have used cric resources for udf car, petrol & my salary came from cric whilst I work for udf.

Immediate objective ?
~~discipline~~

Medium objective
Political education and Ideological

Long term
Program to achieve liberation to free and Non Racial society
still hazy in peoples minds

Ideology dictates the form

Review

We set heading to review our work

(3)

Evaluate



Planning

Who eq Youth } ~~CRIC~~
What > Doing } Port pols
How } 2
When } Resource.

CRIC

- (1) Assessment & Planning
List of Activities
- (2) What happened.
- (3) What obstacles were encountered
- (4) Why

General approach of CRIC

Evaluation

- (1) Did we meet the needs & Priorities define?
- (2) Did we stick to our program.
- (3) Did we use the correct or Right method and technique
- (4) Did we coordinate our work
- (5) Did we advance our skills to the maximum benefit from the Programs
- (6) Were we pleasurable

(4)

Did we consolidate

Did we follow-up through.

How could the problem be avoided.

- Strong + weak points

Did we give each other ^{constructive} feedback,
↑

R. E. C.

5

~~29-11-1924~~

- ① Present
- ② Minutes of the Previous meeting
- ③ Matter arising
- ④ Correspondance
- ⑤ Pieterburg's report.
- ⑥ Nelspruit. report
- ⑦ Secretarial & Treasury meeting 8-9 December.
- ⑧ December 16 meeting
- ⑨ General

(6)

(1) Assessment.

- 1.1. Need to know what is taking place in organisation around us
- 1.2. Need to be part to those discussion and deliberations as to get to know feeling of people generally.
- 1.3. Need to know short-comings of people generally as to assist some of them on the spot.

2. Planning/Priorities

Goals of the Progressive movement.

Critic's Role as to enable the Progressives to overcome some of their short comings.

[Knowledge of the general Plan what is it aimed to achieve

Priorities

Felt need of the people

Need of the organisations

Plans as seen by org. and as seen by the members

~~What is the implementation of~~

(1) Boycott campaign

(2) ~~Mass mobilization~~

Little education as to how do we get to the stage of a movement.

Why

Time & harassment became the deterrent.

(7)

Did

Yes we did but we did not follow the programs
e.g. COSTS. has new office bearers every year.
• & still continue to organise new Branches.

In every workshop there are more than half new people.

No

The feasibility of our programs was to a large extent dictated by the nature of cases we dealt with.

There was lack of team work and we did what we knew as individuals

Auret was left to co-ordinate alone and as a result we lack coherency.

Yes but some of the issues got lost as we were handling different org at a time
e.g. Union workshop. History
Approach to org. & Adm.
Not how to conduct negotiations

Yes

Accidentally

No

Some but not all (activists are having different demands proceed upon them).

Strong point
Availability resources.

Skilled person power.

Creating a place for orgs
to meet.

Weak points

Not being able to enable
people to collect resources
for their own orgs.

Org lacking skills of
people that could be
developed.

Not having a person
who could make use
of people's presence

Not collectively and these have resulted in some
misunderstanding of those who did that priority

① Review

of the programs every time after the workshop and
seminars, constructive criticism

② Evaluate

Every role that has been played by portfolio

8

Formation and Purpose of UDP

② Assumptions → Progressive Movement

③ Key political issues Repudiation of N. Convention

④ Plans and Objectives

⑤ Relationship → comradeship

~~Foreign Policy → Anderson's arg.~~

⑥ Role of leadership

New year and Plans

structures and workshop.

Q. Who is
Anderson?
See p 9.

Problems

9

P weekend the plan were decided from the top, as a result people did not know how to internalise the program. People did not know whether they are permitted to ~~change the structure in accordance to their local issues~~ ~~the program~~ ~~San Apartheid~~ did not reflect the ~~institute~~ ~~that was in the township.~~

Because of that the ~~campaign~~ ~~fall flat~~

Consultative apparatus

There was no cohesive coherent position which was build to have people to even a small group in all the regions to explain the gains that could be made out of such a move never mind planning before the move. As a result, when people started asking questions there was no direct answers at a local areas.

No gains in a progressive sense only in the liberal sense. pres. tacit support from which was more dogmatic

Analysis

~~Clanastic~~ ~~planned~~ ~~to paying to our structures or to~~

~~Analysis~~ on ^{specific} what gains goals.

No we did not influence him in any direct way.

~~We did not shift significantly after the result.~~

Repression

~~was not exploited to build an org by in a great way.~~

No public meeting around the issues not much media shifted more to ~~repression~~ ~~consensus~~ rather than N. figure

the udf sense Terror. later Pope.

10

Misc

Resources going into production of pamphlet.
Making it udf centred issue rather than ergs

failure to set local structures mandated by ergs
we appointed one person to coordinate the campaign
lack of proper planning of his program
No transport.

Political issues

When people were beginning to have much confidence
around the udf.

We did not pick up on their felt needs and initiate
a campaign from that.

There was a crude move which was interpreted
as liberal referendum. P.

People took a very sophisticated line in an attempt to
win everybody in their sides

Campaign

- Anti Com Campaign > little support from US.
- Mse. Lack of planning > Not internalised by orgs.
- Tricameral parliament > Massive resources & power

Descent.

① P. weekend > Ben Apartheid.

②

Activists > Organisation

Economy

Taxes & surplus value system.

Mechinisation > unemployment.

Monopolization

inflation > control of people resentment

exploitation

INFOR needed for Restructuring

Imperialism

strategies

Southern African

Nkomati

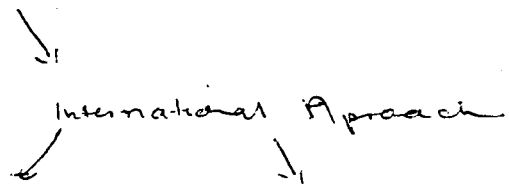
Suez 1956.

P.W Europe visits

why

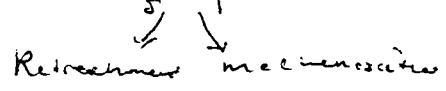
Regional Power

Isolation of the Redies



LABOUR

Management



Migrant workers position

Court ruling

establishment of Rural fundation

Registration of Agreement.

co-optation of by management

Government

Land.

↑
influence control

↓
Retierd freedom of Urb. movement.

Koornhoff Changing of that .econ. + work

ORDERLY movement Bill

Shifted responsibility from police to management

control of worker movement

Labour Bureau. Police & Management's Ad. Offices

Education

De Lange 1931

Repression, closure of schools

PRE.

↓
SRC.

Community Organisation

Township forces

What has happened this year.

Condition in the Township



Failures due to inflation
Rent Transport & food.

Unemployed not being employed.

- Retrenchment

G.S.T

~~Amor instead of exploitation~~

Year event

Bus boycotts

Civic organisations T-structure

S. local

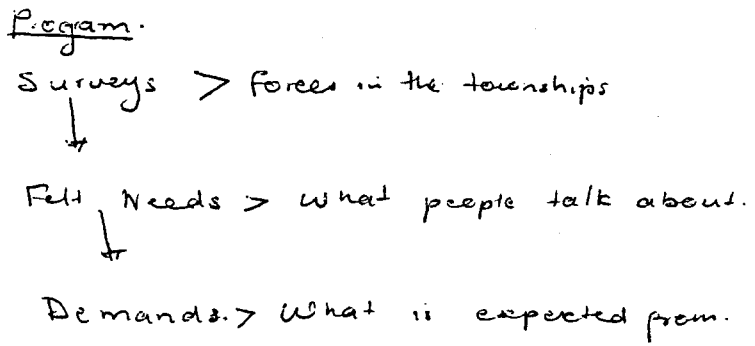
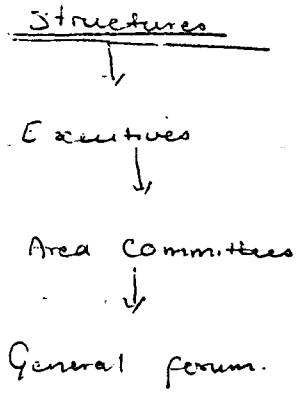
C. Council Negotiate on behalf of ~~Comm~~

Weakness

No

soke

Dep in the sand.



Politics

What is Com. Councils

What do people want.

Labour: Annet
Kate

Students' costs

- (a) election of SRC & Negotiation
- (b) Election made the boycott to rocket
- (c) Com. breakdown - Lack of consensus.

Azaso

Quezi operation

- Bantuistand.
- No pol. ed.
- UDF Campaign rather than Azaso

Nusas

extra parliamentary R. with Azaso

- No formal contact with PFP.

Labour

SRKics in 1973

- right to Neg. wages
- Role of shop steward
-
- Wiehan commission
- Registration

Managers did not support the government

- Industrial Council

No neg on shop floor

All neg. be referred to Ind Council

In Council refer then to minimum wage agreement

SIFSA took a decision over the wage increase with

Manu

University Lectures
→ April 82.

17

① Agenda.

① Kennedy ~~issue~~ visit

1.1 Secretary National input.

1.2 Area Committee Report.

1.3. Conclusion

Kennedy visit

Chairperson gave a brief introduction about the visit

family organization

C58

Edw. Jones

CCDF office JHS

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



TRANSCVAAL
REGIONAL C

KHOTSO HC
42 DE VILLIES
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10:
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

26 October 1984

UDF (Tv1) Evaluation Commission:

Circular to all area committees - No. 1

(Please note point Nos 7 and 8 are URGENT)

1. The following area committees have been/will be formed:

Pretoria

Vaal

Soweto - Lenasia - Eldorado Park - Noordgesig

West Rand

Johannesburg

Northern Transvaal

East Rand

2. Each area committee is to meet on a weekly basis, especially for the next 6 weeks.
3. Once the area committees are functional, it is possible that the General Council and Executive may be restructured to have representation from these area committees. However, this needs to be discussed, and we hope that this process of restructuring will end in a new constitution for UDF (Tv1), as well as elections for the UDF (Tv1) Executive in the December-January period.
4. It is also hoped to form other structures, like (e.g)
 - Labour Committee (to incorporate all trade unions affiliated to the UDF)
 - Women's Committees (to incorporate all Women's organisations affiliated to the UDF)
 - Civic Committee (to incorporate all civic organisations affiliated to the UDF)
 - Youth Committee (to incorporate all Youth organisations affiliated to the UDF)

Student Committee (to incorporate all student organisations affiliated to the UDF)

Political Committee (to incorporate all political organisations affiliated to the UDF)

However, many of these structures will only be set up once the area committees are functional structures.

5. The status of organisations affiliated to the UDF will also have to be discussed, once the structures mentioned above are all functional.
6. The commission will write up weekly circulars at the end of every week in order to initiate discussion on the restructuring process. Each circular will present questions which all area committees will have to discuss and present to the commission for the coming Thursday Commission meeting.

GENT 7. What each area committee should do immediately:

- (a) Each area committee should meet at a fixed time and venue every week. It would be preferable to have all area committee meetings on MONDAY EVENINGS.
- (b) Each area committee should appoint 1 representative to attend Commission meetings every Thursday at 5 P.M at the UDF offices. This representative must come to the meeting with a report on the Monday evening area committee meetings.

GENT 8. Questions to be discussed by each area committee this week
(Reports on this discussion to be presented to the UDF Evaluation Commission on Thursday, 1 November 1984 at 5 P.M at UDF offices)

(a) AREA COMMITTEES

- (i) What is the role and function of your area committee for the next 14 months?
- (ii) What is the responsibility of organisations to their area committees? (accountability, acceptance of area committee decisions, discipline, etc)
- (iii) How are organisations to be represented on your area committee?
- (iv) What structures are needed in your area committee? (e.g Executive Committee, media committee, Education Committee, Finance Committee etc.)
- (v) How can your area committee raise funds so that it is financially independent of the UDF (TVI).

(b) Procedure from November up to the election of the new UDF (Tv1) Executive.

The following is a provisional programme leading to the election of a new executive.

- (i) Weekly meetings of area committees and Commission from Now up to the elections.
- (ii) Sunday 8 December: Workshop on restructuring and discussion on the new constitution.
- (iii) Possible GC meeting on 15 December ^{or} 12 January where elections will be held for the new Executive. This can only be finalised early in December.

Please let us know if this provisional programme is acceptable to your area committee.

C59

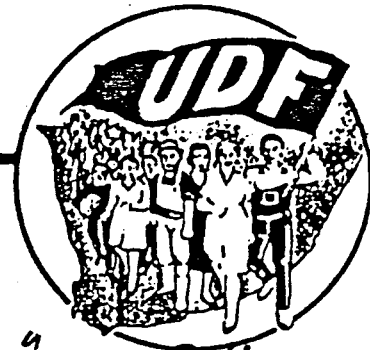
Adm: Ipo.
R White Port Elizabeth

No (19) 31/8/87

No (20) 17/9/87

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOI
42 DE VILLIER
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 103
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

Derrick

Rev "C 59"

13 September 1984

CIRCULAR TO ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

During its meeting in Bloemfontein on July 21, 1984, the N.E.C. could not take binding decisions relating to the most concrete question of the future of the UDF. It was noted that ~~regional mandates were required before such serious decisions could be taken.~~

The N.E.C. consequently resolved to refer the matter to the Regions for thorough discussion, and that its views be seen as mere guidelines for such discussion.

We would like to ask you to ensure that serious discussions go into the above question. This must preferably be handled in workshops. Our workshops must be broadly representative of our affiliates. ~~We must guard against a few activists deciding for organisations whilst organisations themselves are left in the dark.~~

Please make sure that the views of the Regions are made known to the N.E.C. meeting on 29--30 September, 1984.

I enclose some guidelines arising out of the said N.E.C. meeting.

Yours in struggle.

S. Molefe

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

THE FUTURE OF THE UDF - SOME N.E.C. VIEWS

1. On the Future

It is generally accepted that the conference resolutions and the UDF Declaration indicate continuity beyond the elections. Above all, the constitution is viewed as a process whose implementation will carry contradictions which will make the demands enshrined in the UDF all the more relevant. The N.E.C. notes however, that with the implementation of the new constitution the emphasis and focus of the Front may shift but this would be determined by changing conditions as assessed by the UDF through its structures.

2. Structure and Form

2.1 The N.E.C. notes that the structure and form that the UDF assumed at its inception were determined by conditions present at the time. The method of a tactical front was because of the need for the broadest possible unity. The N.E.C. believes that it is still necessary to retain the UDF as a tactical front for it provides enough scope for the drawing of more organisations particularly the unions. Nevertheless the N.E.C. notes that, not wishes but conditions will finally tell if the UDF should transform into another type of Front.

2.2 Although some affiliates may feel that the UDF is not militant enough and that its Declaration is too moderate, the considered view of the N.E.C. is that whatever tactics we apply and whatever programme we develop, we must win support rather than push organisations and backward sections of our society into the hands of those forces working against us.

3. Policy

The N.E.C. believes that the policies of the UDF must be such that they do not depart from the spirit of a broad front. For example, the UDF in its current form cannot be pushed to pronounce on a definite economic policy for a new South Africa. It can generalise in this respect.

4. Operational Areas

It is generally accepted that in the post election period (as we indicated earlier) the Front must explore new operational areas. Removals, pass arrests, food prices, legitimacy of Black Local Authorities, Bantustans, events such as International Youth Year and the UN 'End of Women's Decade' must be concretely addressed.

Regions must pull together Youth Organisations to discuss the kind of youth activities that could be engaged in so as to build the International Youth Year. Maybe we could think of UDF Youth Publications of all UDF affiliates, non-affiliates and all youth activities, e.g. anti-conscription campaign. Another possibility is regional youth conferences culminating in a national conference which will ensure attendance by thousands of young people and representation from a very broad spectrum of youth groups.

These views are not intended to pre-empt any serious discussion. They must not be seen as a ceiling to any meaningful discussion. New ideas extending beyond the points given are welcome.

19
3/1/87

THE DEMANDS OF THE UDF AND THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

At the National Executive of the United Democratic Front, held in Bloemfontein on 21.07.84, discussion took place as to what sort of demands the UDF should put forward during the course of the anti-election campaign. This discussion had arisen out of a need felt by all regions of the UDF to put forward a clear alternative to the new constitution and to provide direction and leadership to the broad masses of our people whom we are asking not to vote on August 22 and 29.

The NEC stated firmly that because any demands put forward by the UDF relate directly to the overall policy of the UDF, decisions could only be taken after thorough discussion in all regions and at all levels. The NEC has however submitted a suggested outline for discussion in all regions:

a) Our view of the future. It was generally agreed that the broad demands of the UDF, as written in our Declaration, should be emphasised. This would include our vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa in a unified country, based on the right of all adults to vote. In addition, our vision includes the participation in, and the democratic control of all institutions by the people, as well as the democratic control of resources.

b) Our method of struggle. It was also felt that while projecting our long-term demands, it is also necessary to emphasise the method of struggle that we have adopted, in order to emphasise the differences between us and those elements who have adopted the path of collaboration. In this regard, the UDF has chosen to base itself on the organisations of the people, that our organisations are in themselves non racial and democratic with the leadership directly responsible to the membership. In addition, our

P. T. O

organisations work outside of the constitutional system as defined by the apartheid regime.

c) Our immediate demands. There was common agreement that the projection of demands such as democracy, freedom and non-racialism were in themselves too abstract, and that during the anti election campaign, more specific demands need to be made. A number of suggestions were put forward:

- 1) Release of all political prisoners
- 2) Unbanning of organisations and individuals
- 3) Return of exiles.
- 4) Repeal of pass laws/ stop pass arrests
- 5) Repeal of security legislation
- 6) Stop forced removals
- 7) Repeal of Coloured Labour Preference Area policy
- 8) The demand for all South Africans to take part in the drawing up of a new constitution. This demand would include the demand for a National Convention/ Constituent Assembly or People's Assembly, ~~with the necessary pre-~~ conditions emphasised.

Not imported

C60

Adm: J. P.

R White Poes Elizabeth



Res "C 60"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION

P.O. BOX 274
SALT RIVER
7925

16 April 1984

The Secretary

.....

Dear

RE: PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

Following our decision at the NEC and our subsequent discussions at the National Secretariat, we have discussed the ideas in the Western Cape. Also, in telephonic communication with Popo, we were requested to take initiatives along with CAHAC to implement the plans for a conference.

Attached, are the proposals which emerged from Western Cape consultations. Kindly forward copies of the attached to the major civics in your region and ensure that the discussions are conducted in the appropriate forums.

I will telephone all regional secretaries on Thursday 19 April for a progress report. I realise that this leaves very little time, but as can be gleaned from the attached, these matters demand some urgency.

We await your positive responses.

Yours in struggle

Trevor Manuel
Regional Secretary

13

CIRCULAR: NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

TO: ALL UDF REGIONAL SECRETARIES FOR REFERRAL TO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

FROM: UDF WESTERN CAPE /CAHAC

The UDF NEC meeting held in Pretoria on 21/22 January decided to implement whatever steps were necessary to convene a National Conference of civic organisations. Subsequently, the National Secretariat discussed this matter at its meeting in Johannesburg on 10/11 March where the urgency of the conference was re-emphasised.

In accordance with the above, our REC has discussed the conference with CAHAC and the following proposals have emerged from these consultations.

1. AIMS

- 1.1 Major thrust should be the discussion of a campaign around the 'new housing deal', forced removals & local government. Discussions should facilitate the strengthening of civic organisations and the campaign should attempt to bridge racial divisions, urban/rural divisions and organisational unevenness.
- 1.2 Make a political statement (concretised) on the housing crisis.

2. CONTENT

- 2.1 Discussion of the implications of the 'new housing deal'.
- 2.2 Looking at involving civics nationally in the campaign.
- 2.3 Discussing and developing approaches to changed local government, both as Black Local Authorities and Local Councils as per new constitution.
- 2.4 Developing approaches to the 'Koornhof Bills' and forced removals with emphasis placed on attempts at co-option.

3. DATE

- 3.1 1 & 2 June : The advantages of this date would be a) the long weekend would allow for a full 2-day conference and facilitate travelling and therefore participation by working people. b) sufficient time would be allowed for the campaign to take shape and possibly climax around the time of elections c) the matters under discussion could be placed on the agenda of civic organisations sooner, thereby giving impetus to campaigns such as forced removals. The major disadvantage is the short time within which to adequately prepare.
- 3.2 Mid- July: The advantages would be a) more time for preparation and consolidation before the conference b) The impact of the 'political statement' would be greater because it will be made closer to the elections. The disadvantages are a) the short time for a campaign to take shape in the community before the elections. b) Reactionaries like the Labour Party have placed a heavy emphasis on housing and are gaining ground by seeking concessions.

4. PREPARATION

- 4.1 Discussion of this circular/proposal within civic organisations.
- 4.2 Initial feedback at UDF NEC.
- 4.3 In W.Cape a mini-conference of the rurally-based emerging civic organisations is scheduled for 29 April.
- 4.4 A trip from the Western Cape (CAHAC & WCCA) during early MAY for national consultation, touching at the major centres. If the idea is acceptable, consultations should be held with the primary civic organisations (rather than a few activists) in each centre.

4.5 Establishing a pre-conference National Co-ordinating Committee.

5. THE CONFERENCE

5.1 Suggested size ±300 i.e 50 per centre/region.

5.2 Suggested situation : W.Cape either in Cape Town or one of the inland towns (Motivation to follow)

5.3 Consideration needs to be given to the inclusion of groups like trade unions and churches who might share concerns about the matters under discussion.

6. FINANCES

Budget to follow

(12.1)

DRAFT

CONTENT OR PROGRAMME OF CONFERENCE ON HOUSING

The conference must not be seen as one where many long papers (talks) are given, to be followed by little discussion. But rather as one which reflects the anger of our people. Our people are angry because of the hardships caused by bad housing, bad planning, high rents, bad living conditions and low wages. It is very important that the conference and talks given make it easy for a fair amount of participation by all the people.

The discussion and decisions must be able to guide us in our struggles around housing issues in the future. It must also assist us to solve the many organisational problems that make our work difficult.

The conference must be seen as our statement (or view) i.e. the view of democratic organisations from all over the country, to the housing crisis and the new housing policy of the government.

Any programme we accept must take into account the points made above. A suggested programme is presented below. We would like it to be discussed by as many people and organisations as possible. With feedback and criticism a final programme would be worked out.

1. HOUSING CRISIS

A talk (input) on what we understand by the Housing Crisis and how it has come about. For example, the housing backlog, problems with rents and maintenance, lack of facilities, the Group Areas Act, etc. would be looked at.

2. CHANGES IN THE HOUSING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

A short input (talk) on how the state has responded to the housing crisis and why. It would look at the various (different) aspects of the New Housing Policy:-

- sale of houses
- lowering of standards
- decision not to build houses for those earning more than R150 p.m.
- new formula for calculating rents
- etc.

3. OUR RESPONSE TO THE NEW HOUSING POLICY

In this session we would work out our response (what we are going to do) to the new housing policy i.e. to the different aspects that make this up e.g.

- sale of houses
- rent increases
- etc, etc.

4. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

We all know about the successful boycott of the community council and Black Local Authority Act elections in the African areas. Many of us, however, do not understand all the details of the local proposals of the President's Council. These are now part of the constitution.

A talk (input) on the implications of the decision of the government to create new local authorities. It would also look at what this would mean for our organisation when they take up problems experienced in our communities.

We would also need to discuss the type of problems we must take up after our successful boycott of Community Councils and Black Local Authority Act.

5. ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY "CIVICS"

Our organisations are experiencing many difficulties. We also talk about building unity across townships. But very often we are not clear as to how we must respond to these. In this session we hope to have a talk or paper on what are some of our organisational problems and how to go about building unity. This would be followed by discussions.

6. FORCED REMOVALS

We hear constantly of new townships which are going to be built far from our places of work. In Cape Town there is talk of moving all the Africans to Khayalitsha.

In this session a talk (paper) on the threat of forced relocation of our people all over the country. In the discussion that would follow we can discuss how we must respond to these forced relocations and what kind of support and assistance we can give to each other.

NOTE

1. We would like a lot of discussion and for this reason papers or talks would be small and simply presented.

2. Resolutions could be passed after each session. These would be published as our joint views on a number of issues or problems.
3. Copies of talks or papers, if they are ready before the conference, would be sent to the different centres.

Answer:

1st Document ? } Found
2nd Document ? } U.D.F. Office
Cape Town

(1)

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PRESS STATEMENTS

- i. Launching of UDF (W. Cape)
- ii. Revised on Referendum
- iii. Referendum.
- iv. On detention of Terror
- v. On Crossroads - 28 Sept. 1983

Cape, Sunday, July 24.

The UDF in the Western Cape was launched at a conference in Cape Town on Sunday July 24. There were over 400 delegates and observers from about 20 big organisations in attendance.

Among the organisations present were:

- * Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), with 20 affiliated civic organisations.
- * Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), with 37 youth branches.
- * United Womens' Organisation (UWO), with 19 branches.
- * Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA), with 7 branches spread across the African townships of the Western Cape.
- * Islamic Council of South Africa, with 38 affiliated organisations.
- * Western Cape Traders Association, which has 2,000 members.
- * Congress of South African Students (COSAS), with 19 branches in the Western Cape.

The following organisations were also present: Inter-Church Youth, Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM), Students Union for Christian Action (SUCA), National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), Young Christian Students, Muslim Judicial Council, Muslim Students Association, Media Workers Association of SA (MWASA), WPCC and the Thornhill Residents Association.

J. de Vries

STATEMENT ON LAUNCHING OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (WESTERN CAPE)

"I can safely say to the Nationalist government that the past is theirs, but the future is ours."

-- Oscar Mpetha, veteran trade unionist and community leader, after his election as President of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, Sunday, July 24.

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J. de Vries

These organisations adopted a Declaration which commits them to reject and resist the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills and to form a united front. The basis for the decision stems from the following beliefs:

1. That South Africa belongs to all who live in it.
2. That the government must be based on the will of the people and the people themselves must govern.
3. The belief in a single South Africa free from racial, ethnic and sexual divisions and free from economic exploitation, with a common citizenship for all.

The conference also endorsed the Declaration adopted at the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Congress and pledged to unite with Democratic Fronts in other centres. In accordance with this, it was decided to launch the UDF nationally in Cape Town soon.

A number of people who were considered to be symbols of unity were accorded the honour of patronage of the UDF Western Cape. Among them were Nelson Mandela, Allan Boesak, Sheik Nazeem Mohammed, Johnny Issel, Oscar Mpetha, Hassan Howa, Christmas Tinto, Amy Thornton, Andrew Borraïne and Advocate Dulla Omar.

Together with Oscar Mpetha, President, other executive members elected were Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks, joint vice-presidents.

The UDF will campaign to ensure resistance to the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills by all people. This will be attained by organisations joining to form area committees and linking these regionally.

The keynote came from Oscar Mpetha, who said: "The Nationalist Party is in pieces because it is being threatened by our unity. The more we unite, the more they are frightened. One organisation, one South Africa. UNITY IS STRENGTH!"

REVISED UDF STATEMENT ON REFERENDUM;

The UDF was formed to oppose and resist the Constitution and Koornhof Bills, and those processes that led to the present referendum. This is because every step that led to this referendum has been undemocratic.

This referendum misses the essence of the SA question. The real question about SA is still whether apartheid and all that it implies is the right order of things for this country's people or not.

Starting with the Union Act in 1910, through the imposition of Republic status in 1961, up to the present 'new deal' trickery, our people have never been consulted by the government of their country.

It has always been decisions made by white people. The present referendum carries on that undemocratic tradition. It is a calculated step to create a false sense of democratic decision making. This will be used to legitimate the past, present and future policies of the minority white regime.

We assert that an acceptable and truly democratic constitution cannot be worked out in an atmosphere that is full of fear, mistrust and harassment of one section of the population by another. Such a constitution can only be worked out in an atmosphere that included the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and restricted and the return of all those forced into exile.

We call on our people to show once and for all that they are determined to control their own destiny by doing all in their power to halt the Constitution Act and Koornhof Bills.

The implementation of this Constitution Bill can only lead to a situation of deeper conflict in this country.

All of us must oppose this Constitution through the UDF Programme of Action.

REFERENDUM

The UDF was formed to oppose and resist the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills. We reject the entire process that led to this referendum. And we also reject and will oppose all processes which will be set in motion by this so-called new deal. Through the forthcoming referendum on November 2, the present minority government will seek to force upon the people of S.Africa a constitution that is not based on the will of the people.

This referendum misses the essence of the South African question in that it shifts attention away from Apartheid as such to its formal appearance. The real issue about S.Africa is still whether Apartheid and all that it implies is the right order of things for this country's people or not. Most white people and, to a lesser extent, sections of the voteless majority in the country have fallen into the trap of elevating the referendum and its pending outcome to the legitimacy of the past, present and future policies of this minority white regime.

We assert that an acceptable and truly democratic constitution can only be worked out in an atmosphere which is free of fear, mistrust and harassment of one section of the population by another. That includes the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and restricted and the return of those who have been forced into exile.

In rejecting this undemocratic method of deciding on the future of the people of South Africa we call on our people to show once and for all that they are determined to control their own destiny by doing all in their power to halt the current process of Apartheid legislation.

In keeping with this call the UDF regional councils have been charged with the responsibility of working out schedules for the implementation of the programme of action which should culminate in regional mass rallies shortly before the implementation of the referendum and Black Local Authorities election.

Ours is a broad non-racial outlook which embraces everybody and we insist that it must be reflected in every decision and activity we engage in. Due to this and other considerations we addressed ourselves to the referendum question in a different manner, i.e. what can the UDF initiate in order to consolidate opposition to this Constitution Act, and all the legislation that is likely to
4. Our programme of action is a very clear response to this question.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. We are launching an immediate house to house campaign to educate the masses of our people about and mobilise them against the new deal.
2. This will be interspersed with localised rallies and church services.
3. Of particular interest is the virgils that will be held in the various regions towards the end of October, and
4. The culmination of this phase of the campaign will be huge regional mass rallies calculated to reflect vibrant opposition to the New Constitution Act and the Black Local Authorities elections.
5. The other aspects of the Programme of Action will be made known from time to time. Obviously there are going to be shifts and changes by the Nats. which will necessitate adjustment of our tactics to suit each new twist or turn.

NEWSPAPERS

Sunday Times, Daily Dispatch, Finance Week, The Friend and The Natal Mercury

Recently these newspapers and publications have come out in full support of the so-called new constitution thus becoming extensions of the state's propoganda and ideological tools alongside the Labour Party.

After careful consideration the National Executive Committee has referred this matter to the regional councils for final decisions. It is important that action in this regard should flow from popular feeling if it is to enjoy maximum support.

The added advantage in this approach is that regional newspapers will be considered regionally.

the past few weeks, the UDF & affiliates have been severely repressed. However, this repression has been quite sophisticated so that superficially it appeared as though a couple of meetings were banned.

Right now, the contradictions are sharpening as the Nationalists are torn between pandering to their right wing and promising reform. The UDF expects these anomalies to increase as the referendum draws nearer. This fact is evidenced by PW Botha's veiled threats issued on Friday "against those who would publicly oppose the referendum".

The UDF understands detrola's detention in this context. We accept ipso facto that such incidents will increase. The velvet glove of reform is

... removed to the Western Cape Civic Association. Only they are capable of reflecting the needs and aspirations of the people of Crossroads

We say to Dr Morrison and all those who would be wooed into accepting the new constitution by this promise of swartgevaar bogy that Crossroads will only be destroyed when the people of the Western Cape are satisfied that adequate housing has been provided. This nonsense of 'Coloured Labour Preferential Area' is a still-born attempt

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only be destroyed when the people of the Western
Cape are satisfied that adequate housing has been

28 September 1983. Crossroads.

A joint meeting of the UDF and squatter committee held on Wednesday 28 September rejected with contempt the threat issued by Dr G de V Morrison that Crossroads will be destroyed. Four years ago, Dr Connie Mulder issued the same threat and today, Crossroads still stands. The UDF is resolute that Crossroads, Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension camps will remain until sufficient and adequate housing is provided and until the right to work is respected.

To us, Crossroads is a monument of the peoples will and the struggle to feed a family. It is also a monument to the struggle for unity in the face of many state attempts to divide our people into legal and illegal. Dr Morrison reveals his ignorance by his reference to the rejected and discredited Aloumunity Councils as a barometer.

The UDF asserts that the representatives of the people of Crossroads are their democratically elected committees which are attached to the Western Cape Civic Association. Only they are capable of reflecting the needs and aspirations of the people of Crossroads.

We say to Dr Morrison and all those who would be wooed into accepting the new constitution by this promise of swartgwaar bogey that Crossroads will only be destroyed when the people of the Western Cape are satisfied that adequate housing has been provided. This nonsense of 'Coloured Labour / Probation / Education' is a

Adm: 1st Document? (There
(is only one))

Forward UDF Office Jhb.

Monthly prepared by (19) & (20)
for distros among. The affiliates



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048**

4 May 1984

Our Dear Comrades

This is a special circular to all affiliates and officials, both of affiliates and the UDF, intended to remind them of those obligations we took upon ourselves when we launched the million signature campaign. At the same time we must draw your attention to specific tasks which must be carried out for the campaign to succeed.

In launching the Front last August we declared that our country's people reject Apartheid even in its tricameral form. We also pledged our energies to mobilise S Africans to effectively resist the enactment and implementation of these laws. It was in this spirit that we later committed ourselves to a collection of one million signatures as tangible evidence of our assertions.

And, now, three months since the official launch of one million signature campaign only one hundred and thirty signatures have been collected. Time is running out and we must examine ourselves and our performance in order to improve our work. In this regard we draw your attention to the following:

1. One of the major shortcomings is the lack of co-ordination between affiliate organisations in the various regions. The idea behind the UDF is to bring organisations together so that they co-operate in direct actions such as blitzes, house to house campaigning, etc. to bring to an end the isolation of one affiliate from another. But our observation is that in many regions our affiliates still operate in isolation from each other thus making a weaker impact than they would do were they to work together. We must insist on close collaboration between affiliates in regions and areas. Ideally this should be done directly by joint planning between affiliates or, at the least, by invitation to other affiliates to participate jointly in blitzes and any other proposed activities.

In this regard we also wish to reiterate that our non-racial character must be projected as much as possible. Co-operation between racially divided areas should be conscientiously pursued. There are many legal structures and risks involved but, without foolhardiness our activists can with creativity and imaginativeness overcome these obstacles.

2. We feel that a special remark must be addressed to our leadership figures at the level of the UDF national, regional and also

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figures at the level of the UDF national, regional and also at those in the leadership of affiliate organisations. Quite apart from the rank and file activists who occupy no official portfolios a unique obligation rests with this category of activists. Our leadership figures must not end up in meetings, on public platforms and newspaper pages but, most important they must lead us in the field of action. They must walk the streets and pavements ahead of our workforce and collect the signatures or endure the heat, cold, embarrassment or even abuse from police and adversaries.

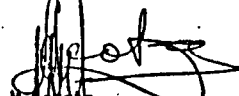
This direct participation has a double advantage. At one level it gives activists morale emphasising the seriousness and importance of the campaign to the masses whilst acquainting ~~them~~ with such leaders and the movement they represent. At the same time, it has the advantage of keeping such leaders in touch with the reality surrounding them and a first hand knowledge of the people and a reliable foundation for theories which are not imagined in the tranquility of lecture-halls, or private studies, but theories which are reliable because they are products of direct experience with the masses of our people. Many of our officials have not participated in the planning of blitzes, or have simply stayed away from such blitzes even when they could have formed part of the workforce. This is wrong practice. Our leaders should not behave like school-masters who give instructions and point with fingers for pupils to carry out. Our leadership figures must be frontline activists who inspire others and the masses to higher levels of resistance by words and deeds. AAS

In this regard we must include all our senior (in age and experience) comrades and urge them to accompany younger activists in blitzes, etc. Their presence alone is enough to inspire confidence in the masses and their practical experience is invaluable in handling problems. Out of the exuberance and energy of our younger activists tempered with the wisdom and patience of age we can forge an invincible force of cadres.

We remain fully committed to the success of this campaign and, now as never before, we must rise up to the occasion. We must reach our target before the undemocratic August elections. After that date there will be no sense in going on. But if this campaign should fail our assertion that the people of S Africa reject Apartheid will ring empty and the Apartheid masters and their quislings will trample us under.

Once more, let us go out to teach our people of the evils of Apartheid, the New Constitution Act and related laws but, even more important, let us go and LEARN from the people themselves and with them, collect one million signatures as a monument to our rejection of Apartheid.

Amandla!! Matla!!


M. M. M. M. M.
Publicity Secretary


P. Molefe
General Secretary

C63

Adm: Found UDF office
Jhs.



Rev. C 63⁹

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION

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SALT RIVER
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27 AUGUST 1984

CIRCULAR TO ALL AFFILIATES AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES

Comrades

The UDF is a year old now. Over the past year we have grown tremendously. We have fought many battles, won many struggles and made some mistakes.

We have also passed our first phase in opposing the New Deal i.e. Community Councils, Black Local Authority elections and elections for the tricameral parliaments.

We are now faced with having to fight the implementation of the new deal. We will only be able to do this if we look back on our successes, our weaknesses and the problems which have cropped up over the past year.

At present, all the regions of the UDF are evaluating the work of the UDF over the past year. At our GC held on 01 August '84 we decided on the following areas for discussion:-

1. ASSESSMENT OF WORK DONE
 - a) Summary of the goals which we set for ourselves on 20 Aug 1983.
 - b) Have we managed to achieve these goals through work done?
 - c) Assessment of the following campaigns: Million Signature Campaign; Campaign against Community Council Elections; Campaign against tricameral elections; Anti-Forced Removals.
 - d) Assessment of the extent to which supporting campaigns were built into the above campaigns eg Anti-Conscription into anti-elections.

2. ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Because we are committed to the establishment of a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa, we should also look at the following:

 - a) Democracy within the UDF

An assessment of our structures ie. GC; regions; area committees; executive and sub-committees. Ways of improving on the performance of each of these structures is required.
 - b) Non-racialism

the building of non-racialism into our practice in UDF structures and campaigns in the community.
 - c) Leadership

It is broadly argued that the leadership of our struggle should come from the working class and, in particular, from the 'African' working class. Some assessment of this is