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**ASSESSOR**

W. A. F. Carter, T. J. ...

REPORT ON THE PROPOSED UDF FROM THE PLANNING COMMITTEE TO THE  
GENERAL BODY OF THE DISORDERLY BILL ACTION COMMITTEE

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1. DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR THE UDF.

DRAFT DECLARATION

We, representatives from trade unions and civic, womens', student, youth, religious and sport organisations in the Western Cape hereby declare:

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. That we believe in a single South Africa free from racial and ethnic divisions.

In accordance with these beliefs, we therefore reject the PC constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

Noting that,

- a) These government proposals can only lead to the separation and division of the oppressed.
- b) These proposals are being forced upon us without regard for the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa.
- c) These proposals do not even begin to change the economic and social inequalities that exist.
- d) These proposals in fact entrench racial oppression and economic exploitation and strengthen the Apartheid state.

Now therefore, re-emphasising our commitment to unity in struggle and to a united non-racial democratic South Africa, resolve to:

1. Reject and resist the government's proposals.
2. Form a united front to oppose the government's proposals.

And pledge to

Fight together side by side for freedom in our lifetime.

WORKING PRINCIPLES (DRAFT ONLY)

1. The declaration, mutually agreed upon, shall form the basis for unity.
2. Suggested names: Cape United Democratic Front  
Cape Democratic Front
3. All meetings, publications and activities in the name of the..... Front will be in accordance with the principles embodied in the Declaration. References to (party) political programmes will not be allowed.
4. Constituent organisations will however have the autonomy to call their own meetings, publish their own newsletters and undertake their own activities within their constituencies. In such cases, the constituent organisation may act on directive from its own membership eg. posit its own programme as an alternative to the government's proposals.

EDUCATION RESOURCE AND  
INFORMATION CENTRE (ERIC)

5. The central decision-making body will be comprised of representatives of mainline/premier organisations and representatives of regional committees (see structuring below). However, organisations which do not meet the broadly acceptable criteria of mainline/premier should be encouraged to underwrite the campaign and undersign the declaration. Such inclusion will have the added advantages of:
- a) Broadening the base of resistance to the government's proposals.
  - b) Granting access to people and resources outside the constituencies of the mainline/premier organisations.
  - c) Grant extended legitimation to the campaign. Such legitimation will be a valuable safeguard in time of state repression.

### STRUCTURING AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Phase One: A meeting will be called of the following mainline organisations: CAHAC; ECCA; WCCA; GWU; FCWU; CTMWA; FOSATU; MWASA; CCAWUSA; UWO; WEPFOS; AZASO; COSAS; NUSAS; I-C Youth.

This meeting will comprise of three delegates per organisations and will constitute itself as an interim co-ordinating structure. Among the terms of reference of this structure will be:

1. Agreement of the declaration.
2. The establishment of functioning units to undertake responsibilities within the campaign eg. Media, Finance, Publicity, Organising, Administrative etc.
3. The establishment of area and regional committees.
4. Calling a conference for the public endorsement of the declaration. By organisations and the launching of the front.

Phase Two : At the conference the mainline organisations as well as other organisations can undersign the document. These organisations should include the following: Churches (as many as possible); Muslim Groupings; Liberal Organisations among which could be CPTA, WCTA, ATASA, NAFSOC, Black Sash and Athlome Professional and Businessmen's Association.

As soon as area committees are established, they should be grouped into regional structures with the regions demarcated by the CCS. At this stage the CCS should be transformed to one representative per mainline organisation plus one rep per regional committee. This should become the highest decision-making structure. It is envisaged that the units will be convened by persons co-opted and agreed to by the CCS. These units will be accountable to the CCS via the conveners.

A REPORT TO THE GENERAL BODY OF THE DBAC ON THE UDF

1. EXTRACTS FROM WIP, GRASSROOTS, & UKUSA
  2. EXER STATEMENT BY DR BOESAK
  3. EXTRACTS FROM THE CAPE TIMES, RAND DAILY MAIL, DAILY DISPATCH, STAR, and the EASTERN CAPE POST.
- 1.1 FROM WIP 25 February 1983

" At TASC (TRANSVAAL ANTI- SAIC CONGRESS) in Johannesburg, a significant body was formed, a united democratic front. According to TASC chairperson, Dr Essop Jassat, it will '..fight together side by side against the government's constitutional and reform proposals' and would urgently seek to unite progressive-organisations on a non-racial basis to fight the new constitution

Any organisation which subscribe to the united democratic front's declaration on intent - including the FFP and INKATHA if they agree to the declaration - would be allowed to join although the right was reserved to exclude certain, unspecified organisations. It called for a national convention to be held, a prior condition to which would be the return of all exiles and those banished, the unbanning of all persons and organisations, the release of political prisoners and the repeal of unjust laws."

1.2 FROM GRASSROOTS JANUARY 1983

TASC CONGRESS HELD ON WEEKEND OF JANUARY 22 and 23 AT SELBOURNE HALL 1983

" To fight the PC proposals, our people must come together in a broad front. This is what conference delegates agreed on. They decided to form such a front and called it UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT .. to become part of this front, organisations must believe in democracy: they must believe in reating a non-racial South Africa: they must accept the need to unite in struggle with Southb Africans, irrespective of race, who believe in the struggle for a free South Africa..."

Serious discussions took place in small groups as delegetes took decisions on the formation of a UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to oppose the PC and the revitalisation of the Transvaal Indian Congress(TIC).

On the Sunday afternoon, the conference adopted the following resolutions:

- 1) To call upon all sections of our poeple to reject and resist the government's PC Preposals.
- 2) Condemned the Labour Party's unpopular decision to accept the PC proposals and warned the SAIC not to participate in the government's new deal against the wishes of the broad masses of our poeple;...

1.3 FROM UKUSA JANUARY 1893

UNITY AGAINST PC " he UDF will have the task of co-ordinating and building support against the 'reform proposals of the Government.'" " The NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS and TASC, which have massive support in the Indian community in Natal, and Transvaal, are part of UDF."

2.STATEMENT BY DR BOESAK

A member of the secretariat phoned DR Boesak to try and arrange a meeting between him and the Planning Committee of the DBAC. Dr Boesak apologised for not being able to meet the Planning Committee before the general meeting of 17 March, 1983 because he would be busy with church conference. On the UDF he said that besides himself, there were two delegates from CAHAC present at the Congress of the Anti-SAIC C mmittee held on the weekend of 22 & 23 January. As he did not remain for the full duration of meeting but left in fact on Saturday 22 January, he suggested that the Planning Committee speaks to MR T.Manuel who was one of the CAHAC delegates who did stay for the Sunday discussions. He said that he was not the best source of factual information precisely because he had left early but also because he was not part of the subsequent developments in the Transvaal. He had proposed the UDF as a structure for taking up the particular issue of PC and as such had done this on the understanding of unity as an important principle.

UDF Cape Town

**C92**

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MINUTES OF THE LAUNCHING CONFERENCE OF THE UDF  
(WESTERN CAPE REGION)

HELD AT ST. GEORGES CATHEDRAL HALL ON 24 JULY 1983

PRESENT: CAYCO, CAHAC, UWC, ICY, WCCA, TEAM, WFCC, AZASO, NUSAS, MWASA,  
YCS, SUCA, MJC, ICSA, WFO, NSA, WORCESTER <sup>REGION</sup> SAC, TRA, COSAS

APOLOGIES: GWU.

1. The Chairperson called an organisation to identify themselves.

The Chairperson read a poem by Dora Tamana who passed away at Guguletu on 23 July. A minutes silence was observed by the meeting out of respect for Comrade Dora.

2. MINUTES:

Minutes of Conference of organisations held on 5 June 1983 and of meeting of organisations held on 12 July 1983 were read, and accepted as read, proposed by AZASO, seconded by UWC.

The conference was addressed by the UDF(Natal)delegate on their structure.

3. DECLARATION:

The Western Cape draft declaration and the Transvaal Declarations were put to the meeting for discussion. UWC proposed that the Western Cape Declaration be adopted as:

- i) it was short and clear and could be as the basis for mass work
- ii) it links the CB and KB's which the full declaration does not
- iii) it is simple and intelligible to all.

CAHAC and AZASO signed for the Transvaal Declaration in the interests of national unity. The delegate from UDF Natal clarified that the National Executive had already raised the criticism raised by UWC, and will propose that the national launching adopt a more useable document. It was agreed by Consensus to adopt the Western Cape Declaration and to endorse the Transvaal Declaration, (proposed CAYCO, seconded MJC)

4. The Chairperson welcome Oscar Mpetha to the meeting and asked him to address the gathering.

5. WORKING PRINCIPLES:

The name of United Democratic Front(Western Cape Region) was proposed and accepted unanimously.

The Interim Secretariat read the Draft Working Principles. The following amendments were proposed.

- a) Clause 7: that by members of the mass-based regional organisations" be changed to "by the General Council"-proposed UWC, seconded CAYCO, and accepted by Consensus.
- b) That individuals should be invited to be patrons of UDF(WC). These

These individuals should be members of the General Council and can be elected to the Executive - proposed UWO, seconded CAYCO. MJC and CAHAC expressed reservations about patucus being members of the Executive, however, this appeared to be a question of clarity on what was envisaged by UWO, and after lengthy discussion the proposal was accepted.

- c) CAHAC said a quonum clause was needed. The Interim Secretarial proposed the addition of a clause saying: "The quonum of Executive meetings shall be half of the members plus one. The quonum of the General Council shall be half of the people that should be there plus one." CAYCO proposed the addition of "For amendments to the declaration and working principles, a quonum should be two thirds of the General Council."

After some discussion, this matter was referred to the General Council and Executive.

- d) Organisations were asked to indicate whether their organisation would spare two representatives for the UDF(WC) GC or one. The following organisations claimed two representatives: CAHAC, CAYCO, UWO, WCCA, ICY, COSAS, AZASO, NUSAS, TEAN, MJC, WORCESTER HAC, WCTA, ICSA, and the following claimed one representative: SUCA, YCS, MWASA, WFO and MSA gave no indication. UWO raised objections to this way of proceeding and outlined the following criteria given at the conference for the status of two representatives on the UDF(WC)-i)

- i) mass membership across the Western Cape Region  
ii) democratic structures which will enable the organisation to participate in t'e campaign of the basis of a mandate.

It was agreed to use the votes claimed for the purposes of this meeting, but that the matter be referred to the General Council and Executive.

The representation of organisations will be subject to review at that stage. Proposed UWO, seconded CAHAC, and accepted by Consensus.

The Working Principles were accepted as amended-proposed CAHAC, second ed CAYCO.

## 6. ELECTIONS:

The following people were elected as patrons of UDF(WC):

Sheik Nazeem

Rev. Alan Boesak

Dullah Omar

Hassan Howa

Oscar Mpetha

Christmas Tinto

Johnny Issel

Nelson Mandela

Andrew Braine

Amy Thornton

Proposed CAYCO, seconded WCTA, and accepted unanimously. It was agreed that the list of patuous can be added to during the course of the campaign by the General Council - proposed CAHAC.

Nominations were then called for the Executive. It was agreed that organisations should not have more members on the Executive than the number of representatives they were entitled to on the General Council. It was agreed, despite it being procedurally incorrect, to change clause 6 of the Working Principles to read "by elected by the General Council - this was accepted to CAHAC and CAYCO, the proposer and seconded of the adoption of the Working Principles.

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT:

Oscar Mpetha - proposed CAYCO seconded ICY

There were no further nominations, Comrade Mpetha was declared elected

NOMINATION FOR FIRST VICE PRESIDENT:

Dullar Omar - proposed CAHAC. Mrs Omar indicated that Mr Omar was not available. Christmas Tinto - proposed CAHAC and seconded TEAM.

There being no further nominations, Mr Tinto was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR SECOND VICE PRESIDENT:

Mr Marks-proposed UWO seconded CAHAC

There being no further nominations, Mr Marks was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR FIRST JOINT SECRETARY:

Trevor Manuel - proposed W.C.T.A seconded COSAS

There being no further nominations, Trevor Manuel was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR SECOND JOINT SECRETARY:

Cheryl Carolus - proposed UWO and seconded CAHAC

Andrew Boraine - proposed TEAM (Nominations withdrawn)

There being no further nominations, Cheryl Carolus was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR PUBLICITY SECRETARY:

Baba Ngcokotho - proposed AZASO and seconded CAYCO.

Rashid Seria - proposed <sup>W. Region</sup> WHAC. Rashid Seria declined

Johnathan de Vries - proposed

Johnathan de Vries declined

Goolam Aboobaker - proposed WHAC and seconded by WHAC

Goolam Aboobaker declined

There being no further nominations, Baba Ngcokotho was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR FIRST TREASURER:

Andrew Boraine - proposed AZASC and seconded by UWO

There being no further nominations, Andrew Boraine was declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR SECOND TREASURER: /

NOMINATIONS FOR SECOND TREASURER:

Rashid Seria - proposed ICY and seconded by UWO

Nominations proposed closed AZASO, Rashid Seria declared elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS:

Mildred Leseia - proposed UWO and seconded by WCCA

Trevor Oosterwyk - proposed CAYCO and seconded by CAHAC

Johnathan de Vries - proposed AZASO and seconded by MWASA

David Pietersen - proposed AZASO seconded by CAHAC

Syd Lockett - proposed UWO. Declined

Mr Blous - proposed AZASO. Declined

Cecil Essau - proposed . Declined

Ebrahim Rassool - proposed CAYCO and seconded by MJC

Chris Nisser - proposed UWO and seconded by COSAS

Imam Solomons - proposed AZASO and seconded by ICSA

Nominations were proposed closed (MWASA, seconded MJC) and the above seven people were declared elected.

7. RELATIONS WITH OTHER CENTRES:

The UDF(WC) pledged itself for working with democratic fronts in other areas - proposed CAHAC, seconded by TEAM and accepted by Consensus.

8. AREA COMMITTEES:

The UDF(WC) committee itself to setting up area committees and regional structures to carry out the work of the campaign.

The Interim Secretariat gave a brief report on the progress with the area committees. The decision to set up area committees that was taken at the last conference had not been fulfilled. It was stressed that it was only through area committees that UDF could reach the mass of the people.

It was proposed that the Organising Committee should take over the functions of the temporary Teams set up on 12 July, and that this should be a priority of the General Council. The UDF(WC) conference accepted area committee and regional structures-principle. The details of these will be worked out by the Organising Committee -proposed AZASO, seconded by CAYCO.

The following guidelines were laid down for the Organising Committee:-

- i) the regions should as far as possible cut across the Group Areas boundaries.
- ii) strong area committees should assist the weaker areas in their region.
- iii) the regional boundaries should be practically feasible.
- iv) the following nine regions will be set up:
  - a) Athlone
  - b) Northern Suburbs

- c) Mitchells Plain
- d) Cape Town
- e) Southern Suburbs
- f) Townships, Bonteheuwel, Mannenberg, Heideveld
- g) Paarl
- h) Worcester
- i) Stellenbosch

The exact demarcation will be done by the Executive

- v) This will be the first priority of the General Council
9. NATIONAL UDF:

A delegate from Transvaal UDF addressed the meeting and invited the UDF(WC) Executive to a national meeting so that the decision about a national launching could be taken democratically.

(Worcester Housing Action Committee asked to be excused from the meeting)

The Interim Secretariat read a letter from Natal UDF. AZASO proposed and TEAM seconded that the conference accept that the national launching should take place in the Western Cape. CAYCO and UNO in supporting the proposal stressed the importance of area work to ensure mass participation, and that so far this had not happened in the Western Cape.

10. PRESS STATEMENT:

It was agreed that the Publicity Secretary should release a statement to the media.

Oscar Mpetha gave a closing address. He called on everyone in the house to support in the task it was going to undertake. "To my colleagues, I say, the road ahead is difficult, and the road ahead is long. But if we work together, we will reach the end before the anticipated time. I can safely say to the Nationalist government that the past is their, but the future is ours. Amandla Ngawethu! Inkululeko ngoku! I degree ngomso!"

The conference closed with the National Anthem at 4.30p.m.

W.F. Cape Town  
1988

Bew #C93<sup>4</sup>

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.

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), WPC and the Thornhill Residents Association.

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 Borrairie 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 xxx 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 Republican status in 1961, up to the present 'new deal'x 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 this 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 ~~ix~~ 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 flow from it. 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.

**C94**

*Geary, W.  
M.D.F. Cape Town  
Cantore.*

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22/9/87

# Biographies

## LIONEL BERNSTEIN

Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein was born in 1920. Of middle class parents, he attended a private school in Natal, and became involved in the struggle against apartheid from an early age. By the late 1930s he was Secretary of the Labour Party's League of Youth and a member of the Party's National Executive.

After finishing his schooling, he became a part-time architectural student at Wits University. In 1939 he joined the Communist Party and within a year was in charge of propaganda at the Johannesburg office. He was also elected to the District Committee.

During World War II he served with the 6th South African Division in Europe and joined the Springbok Legion. On his return to South Africa he was involved in the 1946 Mineworkers' strike, and was charged and fined for assisting an 'illegal' action.

Over the next ten years he continued his political activities: he was a founder member of the Congress of Democrats (COD), an executive member of the Springbok Legion, editor of its newspaper 'Fighting Talk' and helped to draft the Freedom Charter.

In 1955 he was banned from participating in and political activity, and in 1956 was arrested and became a defendant in the Treason Trial (1956-61). In the 1960 State of Emergency he was detained, released, and in 1962 was placed under house arrest. Despite these restrictions he continued to be active, and was arrested in the raid on



Rivonia in July 1963.

At the Rivonia trial the State alleged that he was a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe and of the banned Communist Party, but he was acquitted due to lack of evidence. He was then rearrested and charged with breaking his banning order in 1963, but escaped to London while out on bail. Lionel Bernstein is married to another South African political exile, Hilda Watts Bernstein.

## DENNIS GOLDBERG

Dennis Goldberg was born in Cape Town in 1933. Both his parents were members of the South African Communist Party. He attended Observatory Boys' High School and then the University of Cape Town. In 1955 he graduated with a degree in engineering and worked for the City Council.

Throughout the 1950s he was active in democratic organisations, first in the Modern Youth Society, a non-racial youth organisation tied to the Congress Alliance, and then in COD. He was also active in organising for the Congress of the People in 1955. He later served as an executive member and President of COD before it was banned in 1962.

During the state of emergency in 1960 he was detained for four months. After his release and following the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, he joined the underground movement, working with the High Command of Umkhonto and developing techniques for manufacturing explosives.

He was arrested in the raid on Rivonia in 1963 and subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. He is serving this sentence in Pretoria Central Prison.

While in prison he has fought a long campaign for the right of political prisoners to have free access to newspapers and radio. In 1978 this was brought to court and although he lost the case on appeal, the press coverage of the issue persuaded the Prisons Department to grant political prisoners the right to read newspapers and listen to radio broadcasts.

He is married and has two children, and his wife Esmé has not been allowed to see him for 18 years. His family live in England.

#### AHMED MOHAMED KATHRADA

Ahmad Kathrada was born in 1929 in the Western Transvaal town of Schweizer Reneke. His family was observant Moslems and followers of Ghandi. At the age of nine he was sent to Johannesburg for schooling. His political activities began at an early age when in 1940 he joined the Communist Party. He left school at seventeen before completing his formal education and went to work as a full time organiser in the offices of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. Later that year he served a jail sentence for civil disobedience.

In 1951, as chairperson of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, he attended the Berlin Youth Festival, the Congress of the International Union of Students in Warsaw, and then worked for nine months at the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Budapest.

Returning to South Africa, he helped organise the Defiance Campaign for which he received a nine month suspended sentence.

In 1954 he was banned, but he continued his political activities while also helping to organise the Central Indian High School in Johannesburg. In 1956 he was arrested and charged with Treason and was a defendant in the Treason Trial (1956-61).

During the 1960 state of emergency he was detained for five months. In October 1962 he was placed under twelve hour house arrest and a few months later he 'disappeared' to join the underground.

He was arrested in the raid on Rivonia where he had gone to record an underground broadcast. He was charged under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

#### NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDELA

Nelson Mandela was born in 1918 into the royal Tembu household. He went to school at Healdtown Missionary School and in 1938 went to Fort Hare University. After completing only two years of his B.A. degree, he was suspended for participating in a student protest. He then moved to Joburg, where he completed his degree through UNISA. In 1914 he began studying law at Wits.

In 1944 he joined the ANC and with Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, founded the ANC Youth League. In 1948 he was elected National Secretary of the Youth League, and at the ANC Conference in 1949 became a member of the National Executive of the ANC. He became National President of the Youth League in 1950.

In 1951 he went into partnership in a legal practise with Oliver Tambo. In that year he also became Transvaal President of the ANC. In 1952 he headed the Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws and received a nine month suspended sentence for his part as volunteer-in-chief. He was also banned for six months. He was banned again in 1953

for five years, and this forced him to resign his positions with the ANC.

He was arrested and charged with treason in 1956 and was a defendant in the Treason Trial. However, despite harrasment, bannings and arrest, he continued to excersise his leadership from behind the scenes. After the ANC was banned, Mandela went underground and for seventeen months evaded all efforts to arrest him.

During this time he left South Africa and toured independent countries in Africa. He addressed a Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa at Addis Ababa. Shortly after his return in late 1962, he was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for illegally leaving the country and for incitement.

He was brought from prison after the raid on Rivonia and was charged in the Rivonia Trial with sabotage and with being a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe. He was found guilty and received a life sentence.

In the years since his imprisonment, he has been recognised throughout the world as a statesperson and a leader of the struggle for freedom in South Africa. He has received many honorary degrees, and there have been a number of campaigns for his release.

He is married to Winnie Mandela, and they have two daughters. He also has two children from a previous marriage. He is now fifty six years old.

GOVAN ARCHIBALD MVUNYELINA MBEKI

Govan Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Ngamakwe district of the Transkei. His schooling was at a number of different mission schools, including Healdtown. In 1937 he received a B.A. degree from Fort Hare University. In 1940 he completed a Bachelor of Economics degree through UNISA and published a book on the Transkei called Transkei in the Making.

After leaving Fort Hare, he taught for several years but was dismissed for being involved in politics. Govan began his political involvement while at Fort Hare and had joined the ANC in the mid 1950s. An intellectual and an activist, Mbeki saw himself as a committed socialist. Acting on this commitment, he opened a co-operative store in Idutywa in the Transkei.

He also continued his writing and other activities : in 1930 he became editor of the Territorial Magazine, in 1941 he was elected secretary of the Transkei African Voters Association and in 1943 he was elected to a four year term in the Transkei Bunga as a representative from Idutywa. In 1945 he he was elected secretary of the Transkei Organised Bodies, and in 1946 he published a book called Let's Do It Together which aimed at promoting the organisation of co-operatives societies. He was also instrumental in drafting 'African Claims', an ANC policy document.

In the early 1950s, Mbeki's store was destroyed by a tornado, and he returned to teaching. He was dismissed for trying to organise coal workers near his school in Ladysmith. Thus in 1955 he moved to Port Elizabeth and became a reporter for 'Spark' and editor of New Age until these publications were banned.

During this time he also helped to co-ordinate organisation for the Congress of the People and consolidate support for the ANC in the Eastern Cape.

Devoting himself full time to the ANC in 1956 he became National Chairperson as well as a member of the Joint Committee of the Congress Alliance. Despite being banned and harrassed, he continued to play a key role in the ANC in the late 1950s.

During the state of emergency in 1960 he spent five months in detention. In 1962 he was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act and was in solitary confinement for several months before being brought to trial. He was acquitted on a legal technicality and was served with house arrest order. He ignored the order and went underground.

In 1963 he was arrested in the Rivonia raid and sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage and for being a member of the High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

In 1964, after the Rivonia trial, a book of his, South Africa : The Peasants Revolt, was published. Despite imprisonment, he has continued to study and in 1970 was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Amsterdam in Holland.

Govan Mbeki is married and has four children. He is now 74 years old.

#### RAYMOND MHLABA

Raymond Mhlaba was born in 1920 in the Fort Beaufort district of the Eastern Cape. He completed ten years of schooling, the last two of which were at Healdtown, before having to leave for lack of money. During these years he was involved in a number of student organisations. In 1942 he joined the Communist Party and from 1946, until the party was banned in 1950, he served as district secretary for the Port Elizabeth area. In 1944 he joined the ANC and from 1947 - 53 was the local branch chairperson.

On 26 June 1956 he led a group of Defiance Campaign volunteers through the 'European Only' entrance of the New Brighton railway station, becoming the first ANC leader to be arrested. He was later banned, but was nevertheless elected to the Cape Executive of the ANC in 1954 and continued his political activity.

In 1960 he was detained during the state of emergency. After his release he undertook a number of secret activities for the ANC. He was arrested in the raid on Lilliesleaf farm, but denied that he was a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe. However, he testified that he had done underground work for the ANC. He was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Raymond Mhlaba is a widower with eight children.

#### ANDREW MLANGENI

Andrew Mlangeni was born in Prospect township in Johannesburg in 1926. He worked as a golf caddie to earn the money for his education. He completed his Junior Certificate at St. Peter's Secondary School in 1946. He was unable to proceed for lack of funds and worked as a clerk and later as a bus driver.

In 1951 he joined the ANC Youth League and in 1954 he was elected Branch Secretary for the Johannesburg area. In 1958 he was elected Regional Secretary for the Soweto area. In 1961 he helped organise the All In Africa Conference in Pietermaritzburg. Later that year he was arrested while investigating the forced removal of the Bapedi tribe from their land near Lydenburg. He was arrested again during the Rivonia raid and charged, under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts, with attempting to overthrow

the government by violent action. He denied that he was a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe but admitted that he had agreed to carry messages for the organisation. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Andrew Mlangeni is married with four children.

#### ELIAS MOTSOALEDI

Elias Mostoaledi was born in 1924 near Middleburg in Sekhukhuniland. Owing to his poverty he was able to attend school only until Std.6. He then moved to Johannesburg in search of work. He found a job as a domestic worker and then as a worker in a boot factory. He joined the Leather Workers Union and shortly after that the Communist Party. In 1948 he joined the ANC.

In 1949 he was elected chairperson of the African Furniture, Mattrass and Bedding Workers Union. In the same year he was also elected chairperson of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. He became ANC Branch Secretary and a member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee.

In 1950 he helped to organise the 'stay aways' by workers in the Denver Mens' Hostel. He was detained in 1952 for his part in the Defiance Campaign. Later that year he was hospitalised with T.B. and while in

hospital he was banned.

In 1960, during the state of emergency, he was detained for three months. At the end of 1962 he joined Umkhonto We Sizwe and was a member of the technical committee of the Johannesburg Regional Command. In 1963 he was detained and kept in solitary confinement for fifty days. Later that year he was charged under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts in the Rivonia Trial, was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.

#### WALTER MAX SISULU

Walter Sisulu was born in 1912 in the Engcobo district of the Transkei. He left school at the end of Std. 4 due to financial problems and at the age of seventeen left the Transkei for the Witwatersrand. He worked as a labourer in a dairy and then as a miner on the gold mines. During the 1930s he held a number of factory jobs while studying to improve his education. He also took part in the Orlando Brotherly Society, a Xhosa organisation which promoted an interest in tribal history.

In 1940 he joined the ANC. In 1943-44 he helped establish the ANC Youth League with the aim of pressurising the ANC into more militant action. He became treasurer of the Youth League.

At the ANC Conference in 1949 his role was central to getting the organisation to adopt the Programme of Action which

embodied the more militant line of the Youth League. He was also elected Secretary General of the ANC.

In 1952 he was jailed as a resister in the Defiance Campaign but was later released and then re-arrested. With other leaders of the campaign, he stood trial late in 1952 and was sentenced to nine months suspended for three years. He was re-elected Secretary General in 1952.

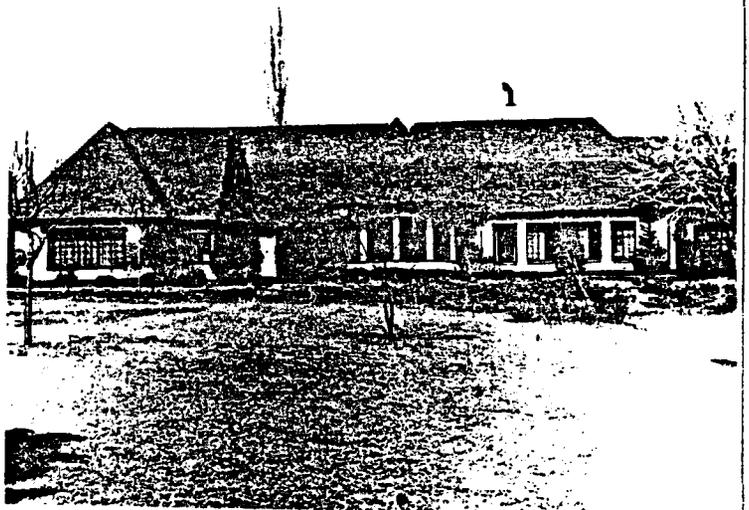
During 1953 Sisulu spent five months travelling through Russia and China. In 1954 he was banned and forced to resign from the ANC. However, his participation continued from behind the scenes. He was a defendant in the treason trial of 1956-61. During the state of emergency he was detained for five months. In 1962 he was placed under twelve hour house arrest. In March 1963 he was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned ANC and of helping to organise the stay-at-home protest of 1961.

He was sentenced to six years in jail but was released on bail pending appeal. On 20 April 1963 he disappeared and went underground to join Umkhonto We Sizwe. On 26 June 1963 he made a short broadcast on the ANC radio station. He was arrested in the raid on Rivonia in July '63 and convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

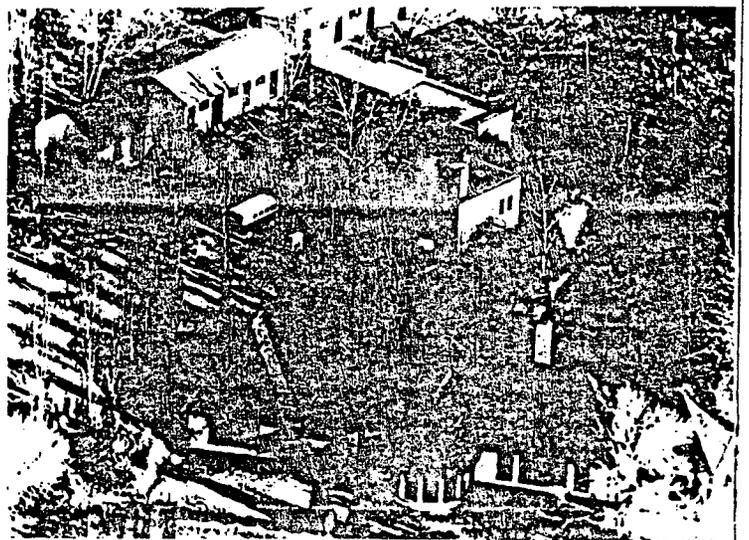
Albertina Sisulu, his wife, was elected as one of the Presidents of the UDF in 1983.



The ROAD TO MLLIESLEAF



THE MAIN HOUSE



AERIAL VIEW OF THE FARM

(20)

24/9/87

# National Patrons

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Francis Baard  
 Dr Allan Boesak  
 Dennis Goldberg  
 Hassan Howa  
 Helen Joseph  
 Johnny Issel  
 Ahmed Kathrada  
 Martha Mahlangu  
 Nelson Mandela  
 Govan Mbeki  
 Raymond Mhlaba  
 Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa  
 Florence Mkhize  
 Andrew Mlangeni  
 Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed  
 Elias Motsoaledi  
 Mrs Monty Naiker  
 Rev Beyers Naude  
 Dorothy Nyembe  
 Walter Sisulu

# National Executive

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## Presidents

Archie Gumede  
 Oscar Mpetha  
 Albertina Sisulu

## Vice-Presidents

Virgil Bonhomme  
 Rev Frank Chikane  
 George du Plessis  
 Joseph Marks  
 George Sewpersadh  
 Christmas Tinto

## National Secretary

Popo Molefe

## National Publicity Secretary

Mosiwe 'Terror' Lekota

## National Treasurers

Mewa Ramgobin  
 Cassiem Saloojee

## Regional Secretaries

Mos' Chikane  
 Cheryl Carolus  
 Joe Phaahla  
 Trevor Manuel  
 Yunus Mohamed  
 Mohamed Vali

## Additional Executive Members

Andrew Boraine  
 Jerry Coovadia  
 Mildred Leseia  
 Aubrey Mokoena  
 Dr R A M Saloojee  
 Rev Mcibisi Xundu

## Western Cape UDF Executive - Profiles

### President - Mr. Oscar Mpetha

73 year old Mr. Oscar Mpetha, respected community leader, was a founder member of the AFCWU. Through his involvement in the AFCWU Mr. Mpetha served as an organizer for SACTU. Mr Mpetha was also president of the regional branch of the ANC in the Cape. Along with Chief Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC, Mr. Mpetha was detained and then banned. The numerous banning orders did not deter him and he continued to devote his life to the people of South Africa.

With the re-emergence of the T.U. movement in the early seventies, Mpetha once again became active in the AFCWU. Mr. Mpetha was also instrumental in the setting up of the Nyanga Residents Association. In 1980 he was detained, along with 50 others. After 5 months in detention, Mr. Mpetha and 18 others were charged with "murder" and "terrorism". After a marathon 3-year trial, Mr. Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism, allowed to appeal and released on R1 bail.

### Vice Presidents

Mr. Christmas Tinto has along history of political involvement. He was active in the Defiance Campaign against pass laws in 1953. As an organizer of hospital workers, and later railway workers, he was active in the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Twice jailed for fighting apartheid, Mr. Tinto was the first political prisoner to win both appeals and be released from Robben Island, the first time in 1965 and again in 1978. Mr. Tinto, a prominent Guguletu community leader, is active in the Western Cape Civic Association.

Mr. Joseph Marks is vice chairperson of the Steenberg Rent Action Committee. This involvement in community affairs led to his involvement in the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC). He was recently elected to the CAHAC steering committee. He is a hawker by trade.

Secretaries

Mr. Trevor Manuel is secretary for the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), a post he has held for the past three years. He is a former member of the Kensington-Factreton Ratepayers and Tenants Association. He is also co-ordinator of the Education Resource and Information Centre (ERIC).

Ms. Cheryl Carolus was detained for five months in 1976. She was an SRC member at UWC in 1981/1982. She is presently an executive member of the United Women's Organization (UWO) and works for the Churches Urban Planning Commission as a staff consultant.

Treasurers

Mr. Andrew Boraine, a former Nusas president, was recently unbanned. In 1980 he was detained for two and a half months during the school's boycott. In 1981 he was detained and banned during the Anti-Republic Day campaign. He is presently a member of the Observatory UDF area committee.

Rashid Seria, a sub-editor on a daily newspaper, has a long involvement in the community press. He was secretary of Grassroots community newsletter for three years and was recently elected as the chairperson. He was a vice-president of banned Union of Black Journalists (UBJ) and a former vice-president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA).

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Publicity Secretary

Mr J de Vries, a student at the University of the Western Cape, was a former chairperson of the Kensington Youth Association. He is presently vice-president of the UWC SRC, and regional chairperson of Azaso.

Additional members

Mrs Mildred Lesiea was involved in the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) and in SACTU as an organiser. She is presently working in the UWO. A former chairperson and organiser of UWO, she is presently on the executive. She is also active in Guglethu civic affairs.

Rev Chris Nissen is a minister in the Reform Presbyterian church. He ministered in Venda, being ordered out in 1981 when he came to Cape Town. He is studying BA(Hons) degree at UCT and is involved in The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM).

Imam Solomons is chief imam at the Claremont Main Road Mosque. He is an exec member of the Muslim Judicial Council (MSJ), and is active in the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa. He represented South African muslims at the Conference for Imams in Iran in December 1982.

Trevor Osterwyk is president of the recently formed Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), and is a member of the Portland branch. He is a former Mitchells Plain teacher and studied at UWC. He works for the Churches Urban Planning Commission (Cupc) as a field worker.

David Peterson is a former member of the Coloured People's Convention (CPC) and Labour Party, and is an active member of the Worcester action committee.

Ebrahim Rasool, a student at the University of Cape Town, is an executive member of Azaso's UCT branch and is also a member of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) at UCT.

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22/9/87

employed 8 full time workers. Among those that worked with Billy were, Curnick Ndlovu (who also served 20 years on the Island) and Stephen Dlamini (who served 6 years and is today president of Sactu) The growing support for Sactu and the CONGRESS Alliance was mobilised into the massive and very successful potato boycott of 1959. The launching of the campaign at Curries Fountain in Natal was attended by over 60 000 people. (the largest gathering of people in the southern africa for that time.

#### EMERGENCY

It was soon after this that the ANC was banned and a state of emergency declared by the government. The state went on a rampage, banning and detaining thousands of people. During this period Sactu remained unbanned and it continued to rally people together. The state finally clamped down on the unions and almost the entire leadership was banned. Billy was detained in 1961 and was later banned in early 1962.



Meeting of comrades, Billy and Curnick

COMRADES OF SUCH BRILLIANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE ARE FEW

AND VALUABLE. TODAY BILLY WILL SERVE AS A SYMBOL OF COURAGE, DEEP COMMITMENT

#### ROBBEN ISLAND

When the call was made in late 1961 for a change in strategy, Billy together with many courageous freedom fighters did not hesitate and joined the ranks of the newly launched Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) It was for his part in 15 acts of sabotage that Billy was sentenced to 20 years. He was charged and convicted with 17 other comrades. Among those that served long

years on Robben Island were, Curnick Ndlovu 20 years, Nathoo Babenia 16 years, George Naicker and Kisten Moon-samy 14 years, Ebrahim Ismail 15 years, Kisten Dorosamy 12 years and 11 others who served between 5 and 10 years.

on Robben Island he was isolated from his other comrades and spent 20 years in single cells with Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu. He studied and completed his B.A. B. COM. and most of a B.Proc. degree.

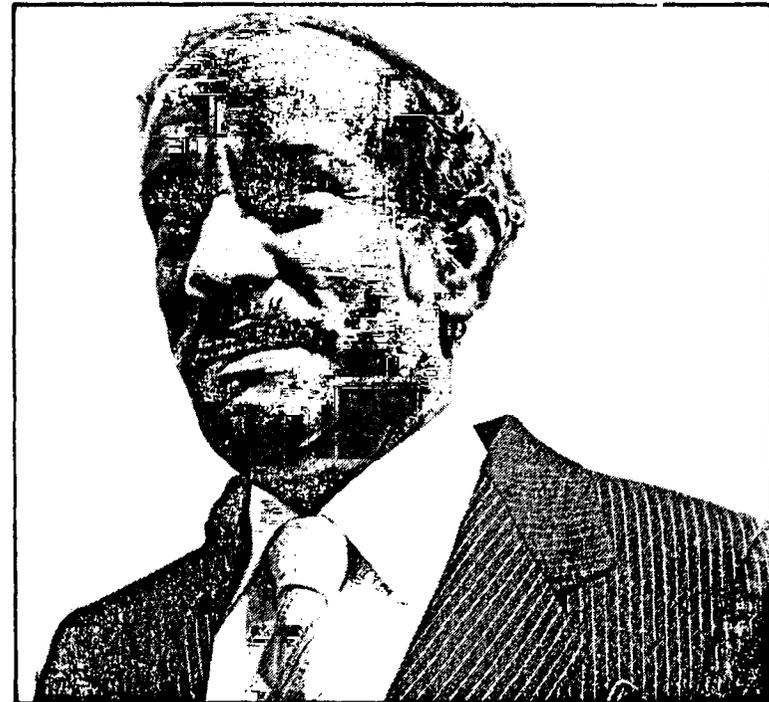
AND UNFAILING LOYALTY TO THE CREATION OF A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA BASED ON THE FREEDOM CHARTER, IN WHICH THE EXPLOITED WORKERS WILL TAKE THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE.

Printed by Peace Print 20 St, Andrews St. Durban.

## WELCOME BACK COMRADE

# BILLY NAIR

From 20 years on Robben Island



## workers leader, peoples hero

issued by NIC and AFCWU

Billy Nair has dedicated himself to the struggle for the liberation of all South Africans from oppression, the elimination of exploitation of workers and the creation of a truly non racial, democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter.

From the age of 17, Billy has been deeply involved in most of the major political events in the historic decade of the 1950's, until his arrest in 1963. He has become well-known for his sacrifices, courage, honesty and incredible hard work. He did not hesitate to commit his own life to the just cause of the workers and people of South Africa.

Billy was a trade union leader. He was a member of the national executive of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and was its Natal Secretary. He was an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and Secretary of the Youth Congress. He played a leading part in the joint programmes of the Indian and African National Congresses.

Billy was born in 1929 in Sydenham. He lived and studied in Durban. He studied for a book-keeping diploma at today's ML Sultan. He practised as a bookkeeper for only a short while, before joining Congress as an organiser. He married Elsie in 1961.

#### CONGRESS AND TRADE UNION ORGANISER

The 1966 Passive Resistance Campaign inspired Billy to become politically active. The funeral of a passive resister, attended by over 10 000 people moved him. Soon af-

ter this he became a member of the Youth Congress and in 1951 became its secretary. In this period he worked at the Combined Dairies. He organised dairy workers into the Dairy Workers Union. He was then fired from his job. He became a full-time Congress organiser.



Billy with Poomania in '58

#### DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN - 1952

Billy was working closely with the Joint Planning Committee of the Defiance Campaign. He was among the first 21 persons to court imprisonment. He was part of the group led by Dr Monty Naicker, which broke the railway apartheid laws. He was jailed for 1 month. However most of his time was spent organising workers to join the 8 000-strong volunteers who were prepared to go to jail to show their rejection of apartheid laws..

#### BUILDING WORKER UNITY AND SACTU

While organising the Dairy Workers Union, Billy and Selbourne Maponya of the ANC organised Congress

Committees in Factories, even those in the garment industry which were controlled by reactionaries. Later a progressive textile union was launched. This "baptism of fire" was Billy's introduction to trade unionism.

His dedication, discipline and ability to work tirelessly were put to the test in 1953. S.V. Reddy, Cassim Amra and George Ponnen, all leading trade unionists were banned. Billy was entrusted with the task of continuing their work in the 16 unions, which they were organising.

'We worked around the clock and battled to keep the unions going' Through this difficult period Billy learnt the skills of tough trade union work and went on to become a leader in the progressive trade union movement.

New labour legislation was being introduced in 1954. The progressive unions were being isolated and harassed by police. The workers lacked strong leadership. Under these conditions, SACTU was launched in March 1955. Billy was elected onto the National Executive and became the Natal secretary.

In its declaration, SACTU clearly stated its position. The economic struggle and the political one cannot be separated. It immediately affiliated to the newly launched Congress Alliance, which was made up of the ANC, Indian Congress, Coloured Peoples Congress and Congress of Democrats.



Women demand pound - a day CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

SACTU participated actively in the drawing up of the Freedom Charter. Billy spoke at the congress of the people where he motivated the clause, THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY SHALL BE SHARED BY ALL in which he called for the Nationalisation of all the mines and factories. For his part in the charter Billy was among the 156 leaders who were involved in the historic Treason Trial. Among those that were charged were, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Chief Lutuli, Helen Joseph and Archie Gumede.

#### MASS CAMPAIGNS

While the trial dragged on, Sactu Natal under Billy's guiding hand expanded. The massive pound a day campaign, the Womens demonstrations of 1959, contributed towards 17 000 new members joining Sactu. Sactu at this time

ORGANISER STARVE

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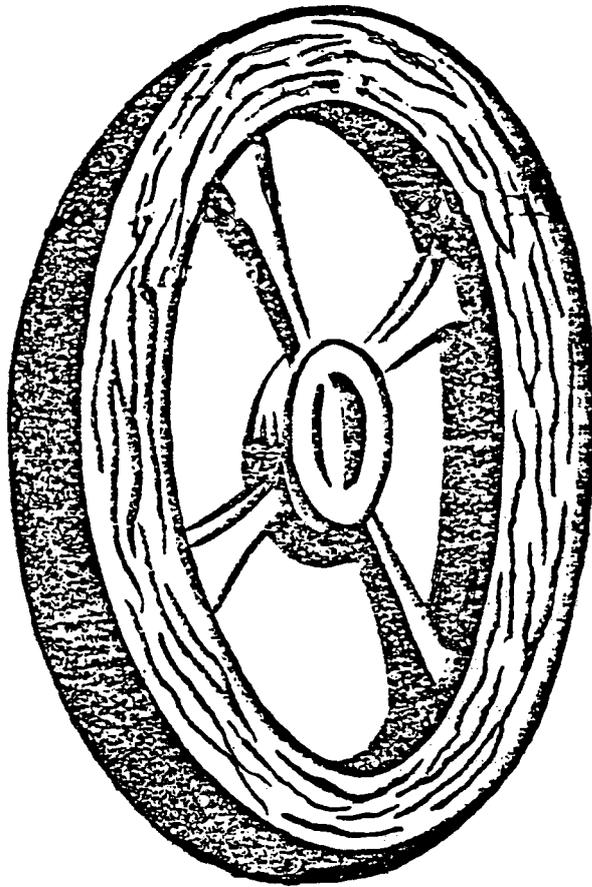
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# The Freedom Charter

*Rev' C 97'*



WORKSHOP PAPERS 1985

THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN

WORKSHOP HELD IN JOHANNESBURG ON THE 20th JANUARY 1985

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25/1/85

Comrades,

I have been asked to speak about the origins of the Freedom Charter, and it's historical significance.

As we all know, the Charter was adopted at the historic Congress of the People, held at Kliptown on 26th June 1955. But the origins of the Charter must be viewed within the context of the people's struggle for freedom in this country over many generations. However this is not the time, nor is it my function, to deal with all the developments over the so many years. Suffice it to say, however, that with the establishment of organisations like the African National Congress in 1912, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1894 and 1902 respectively, and of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921, the struggle for liberation was to gather momentum and achieve a greater measure of organisation and co-ordination than before. This, in turn, paved the way for the dynamic political developments during the decade or so prior to the adoption of the Charter.

It is therefore necessary to briefly deal with these developments before making an assessment of the Charter's historical significance.

Up to 1945 the leadership of the South African Indian Congress had been a moderate one. It had failed to realise that the Indian people of this country were an integral part of the struggle for freedom in this country. Consequently, it accepted a status of permanent inferiority for Indians in South Africa, and were extremely reluctant to take the cudgels on behalf of the Indian people in a manner that would offend the Whites and antagonize the Government of the day.

But this moderate policy was thrown overboard in 1945 when the Indian Congress came under the dynamic leadership of men like Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker, Roy Naidoo, Nana Sita and others. When the Smuts government tabled legislation in Parliament, in terms which Indians were to be granted dummy representation, the new leadership treated this new dispensation for Indians with the contempt that it truly deserved.

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Instead, it mobilised the Indian people throughout the country under the banner of the Indian Congress, and launched the now-famous Passive Resistance Campaign, during the course of which more than 2 000 Indians were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

On the one hand, the Passive Resistance Campaign achieved a large measure of success in uniting the Indian people. On the other hand it re-inforced Congress's earlier conviction that the salvation and political future of the Indian people in the country lay in political co-operation and in joint political struggles with the other oppressed people - in particular with the African people under the leadership of the African National Congress. This conviction resulted in the new leadership exploring ways and means of achieving the desired co-operation with the ANC - upon which the disciplined and dedicated manner in which the Passive Resistance Campaign had been conducted, made a profound impression.

These two factors - the convictions on the part of the one, and the impressions upon the other - paved the way for the signing in March 1947 of the Joint Declaration of Co-operation between the ANC and the SAIC. This Declaration is more popularly known as the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact, for the signatories to the Pact were the presidents of the TIC, ANC and the NIC. Not only did the Pact pave the way for efficiency planning the practical basis of co-operation between these organisations of the oppressed people, but it firmly laid the Foundation for the dynamic political developments of the Fifties and the early Sixties.

Coupled with this historic event was another - the ANC's adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. The salient feature of the Programme of Action was the shift in the strategy of the ANC. Whereas hitherto the ANC had to a large extent relied on the tactics of deputations and petitions as means of advancing the struggle the Programme of Action laid emphasis on strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and civil disobedience as important political weapons to advance the struggle even further. It must be mentioned that it was also in 1949 that Dr. James Moroka assumed the presidency of the ANC, and that the dynamic Walter Sisulu became its Secretary-General.

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But between the signing of the Pact and the adoption of the Programme lay 1948 - the year which witnessed the coming of the Nationalist Party into power. And with the advent of the Nats, a plethora of laws, which adversely affected the lives of the oppressed people even further, found their way on to the Statute Book.

Amongst it's early actions was the attempt by the Nats to muzzle the outspoken opponents of Apartheid. Banning orders, which were served on men like Moses Kotone, J.B. Marks and Dr. Dadoo, were viewed by the libortory movement as a grave intrusion into the freedom of speech. Consequently, under the sponsorship of the ANC in the Transvaal, the JHB District Committee of the CPSA, the Transvaal Indian Congress and African People's Organisation, the Defend-Free-Speech Convention was held in March 1950. The Convention resolved to stage a political strike in the Transvaal on the 1st May 1950 - as a demand for an improvement in the conditions and wages of the workers.

The May Day Strike was a huges success. But it was marred by the tragic intervention of the police against the strikers - which led to 19 strikers being killed and 30 injured. With characteristic insensitivity to these tragic events, the Nats tabled two more oppression Bills in Parliament - the Group Areas Bill, dubbed the "Ghetto Bill" by the people, and the Unlawful Organisation Bill, dubbed the "Gestapo Bill".

In view of the May Day Massacres and the new Bills, the ANC summoned an emergency conference. After consultations with the SAIC, the ANC declared the 26th June 1950 as a National Day of Protest and Mourning - protest against the two bills and mourning for all who had laid down their lives in the cause of Freedom. Workers throughout the country were asked to stay away from work; shopkeepers were asked to close their shops; and students and schoolchildren were asked to boycott classes on that day. Once again, it was a tremendously successful strike, but it's real significance was that it was the FIRST political strike held in South African on a national scale.

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Despite such developments, the two bills became law, and in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, the CPSA was declared an unlawful organisation.

The legislation of unjust laws continued unabated during the remainder of that year and during the first half of 1951. Consequently, the national executive committees of the ANC and the SAIC met at a conference in July 1951 to discuss the disturbing situation that was developing - This conference resolved that the ANC and the SAIC would jointly declare war on unjust laws, and launch a massive campaign for the repeal of such laws - In order to prepare a plan for such a campaign, and to co-ordinate the activities of the campaign, the conference also established a Joint Planning Council, made up of Dr. Moroka, Moses Kotone, Walter Sisulu, Dr. Dadoo and Yusuf Cachalia.

The plan for the campaign was ready by November 1951, and was adopted by the ANC and the SAIC at their respective national conferences. In terms of the plan, an ultimatum was to be sent to the Government to repeal six unjust laws by the 29 February 1952. These were the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, and the regulations regarding the culling of cattle. Should the Government refuse to repeal the laws, the ANC and the SAIC would jointly launch the campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws - shortly known as the Defiance Campaign. As a prelude to the Campaign, mass demonstrations would be held throughout the country on the 6 April 1952, which was to be declared a Day of Pledge and Prayer. It was also the 300th anniversary of the White man's arrival in this country. The ultimatum was duly sent to the Government but it's response made it clear that should the Campaign be launched, the government would retaliate with all the means at it's disposal.

At a subsequent joint meeting of the ANC and the SAIC, it was decided to establish a National Volunteer Board calling for thousands of volunteers for the Campaign. Two additional decisions were taken; firstly, to launch the Defiance Campaign on the 26 June 1952, which marked the second anniversary of June 26th, and secondly, that Moses Kotone, Dr. Dadoo, J.B. Marks and David Bopape, who were all banned, should be the first Volunteers to defy the unjust laws.

While the white minority was celebrating the 300th anniversary of their arrival, the oppressed demonstrated in their thousands on the 6th April 1952 throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. And at all these meetings and demonstrations, our people took the vow to do everything in their power, to the utmost limits of their endurance and sacrifice, to carry out the Congress Call to fight against the unjust laws, which subjected them to political sevility, economic milery and social degradation; and from that day onwards vowed to act as disciplined men and women, and dedicated themselves to the struggle for freedom and fundamental rights.

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The campaign was launched as scheduled, with 112 volunteers defying in Johannesburg, and 30 in Port Elizabeth. And by the time the Campaign ended in December 1952, more than 8 500 in 37 centres in South Africa had defied and had gone to prison.

The Defiance Campaign:-

- focussed attention on the grievance of our people;
  - raised their political consciousness to unprecedented heights;
  - instilled in our people with the spirit of defiance;
  - inspired them to challenge the perpetuation of racial discrimination;
  - established the ANC and the SAIC as the authentic representatives of the broad masses of the oppressed people;
- and paved the way for the future advance of the democratic struggle in this country.

It must be noted that the Defiance Campaign was not only the first major attempt at joint political struggles, but a most successful one as well, established June 26th as South African Freedom Day. While the events of 1952 caused the government to enact further repressive laws, our people were inspired into striving for the greater unity of the oppressed.

On the 26 June 1953, the 3rd anniversary of June 26th, Chief Luthuli who had become President of the ANC in 1952, made a national call on our people to light bonfires at nine in the evening and around which the history of the Black man's struggle for Freedom would related and discussed. Or alternatively, to light candles as a symbol of the spark of freedom, which would never be extinguished in the hearts and the minds of our people.

The latter half of 1953 witnessed significant organizational developments. The CPSA, which had been banned in 1950 and had disbanded as a result, reorganised itself underground, and reconstituted itself as the SACP. The South African Peace Council was established in August 1953. And as a result of the more determined opposition to the Separate Representation of Voter's Act, in terms of which the Coloured people were removed from the Common Voter's Roll, the South African Coloured People's Organisation was formed in September 1953, under the able leadership of men like Reginald September, Johnny Gomaz. Finally, the South African Congress of Democrats was formed in October 1953 - the result of a political merger between the Johannesburg COD, the Springbok Legion and the Democratic League.

The SACOD and SACPO, together with the ANC and the SAIC, collectively became known as the Congress Alliance.

While on the subject of unity and the formation of people's organisations, mention must be made of the Federation of South African Women, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions - both of which became adjuncts of the Congress Alliance.

Fedsaw was a non-racial organisation which was formed in April 1954, and was composed mainly of affiliated women's groups. Among its founders were Helen Joseph, whom we have the honour of having with us here today, Ray Alexander and Ida Ntwana.

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And with the government's move to racialize the trade unions, in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Legislation, trade unions which had been affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council, and racially mixed unions which opposed the new policy, broke away from the TLC. There breakaway unions then joined the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trades Unions to form SACTU in March 1955.

Two important aspects about SACTU need to be mentioned. Firstly, SACTU wholeheartedly endorsed the political involvement of trade unions, the majority of which had traditionally avoided politics at the time; and secondly, at its inaugural conference, SACTU welcomed the campaign for the Congress of the People, and endorsed the idea of submitting the demands of the workers to the COP for their incorporation into the Freedom Charter.

The idea of the COP was initially suggested by Prof. Z.K. Matthews at the conference of the Cape Provincial Congress of the ANC, held at Alice in August 1953. He wondered, he told the conference, whether the time had not come for the ANC to consider convening a Congress of the People, representing all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future. The conference adopted his proposal, and at its annual conference in December 1953, the ANC adopted it as well.

It was in March 1954 that the ANC invited 200 organisations to send representatives to a planning conference to be held at Tongaat. The conference established a National Action Council made up of 8 representatives from each of the sponsoring organisations - which were the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACPO. Chief Luthuli was chairman of the NAC. The secretariat was made up of Walter Sisulu (who was later replaced by Oliver Tambo when Walter was banned); Yusuf Cachalia of the Indian Congress; Lionel Bernstein of the Congress and Democrats (replaced by Joe Slovo when Bernstein was banned); and Stanley Lollan from SACPO.

The NAC's first major task was to popularize the COP, and to this end there was a mass distribution of the "Call for the Congress of the People". A hundred thousand copies of the "Call" were widely distributed throughout the country in all major languages, and it was addressed to all South Africans, Black and White. It urged the people to send their representatives to the COP, which was described as a meeting of the elected representatives of the people from every town, farm or factory. The COP was to be a congress where the people would speak freely as equals, and where they would discuss the changes which must be made to usher in the democratic South Africa of the future - changes and demands that would be incorporated into the Freedom Charter.

Apart from the mass distribution of the "Call", hundreds meetings and group discussions were held throughout the country, as well as intensive door - to - door canvassing. The main idea behind all this was to get the ordinary people to speak out for themselves. In so doing, the people's grievances and their demands would be easily collected, and these in turn would serve as a basis for drafting the Freedom Charter.

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Such a massive task necessarily required the establishment of regional, provincial and local committees in all the major centres. And in order to man these structures, and be able to effectively carry out the tasks of a massive campaign. Chief Luthuli called for Freedom Volunteers in June 1954. By the end of 1954, 10 000 Freedom Volunteers made themselves available to carry out the Campaign in every corner of the country.

All the demands made by the people at the meetings and through house - to - house canvassing were to be recorded and collated. These could be considered for their incorporation into the F.C. One press report stated that for months the demands had been flooding into the headquarters of the COP - on sheets from school exercise books, on little dog-eared scraps of paper, and at the back of COP leaflets. In this way, the changes and demands incorporated into the Freedom Charter would reflect the people's visions of a future South Africa - filtered upwards from the ranks of ordinary men and women, and not imposed upon them by the leadership at the top.

The COP was held at Kliptown on June 26th 1955, which marked the 5th anniversary of June 26th. It was an impressive gathering of 2884 delegates of the people. Equally impressive were the arrangements made for the homing and feeding of the delegates. Apart from the size, the COP was a colourful gathering, for many of the delegates wore garments reflecting Congress colours. Many of the delegates travelled long distances using all modes of transport. But about 200 delegates were unable to reach the venue as they were prevented by the police from doing so.

Before the delegates discussed the Charter, awards were presented to Father Trevor Huddleston, to Chief Luthuli and to Dr. Dadoo. When discussions began, each section of the Charter was first read subsequently discussed by various speakers and finally adopted by the delegates. Although at one stage the proceedings were interrupted by the Security Police, who confiscated large quantities of literature, the Charter was finally adopted.

The COP was the most representative political gathering ever to take place in South Africa. It gave rise to a new spirit of enthusiasm, consolidated the organisational forces of the National Liberation Movement, and firmly laid the basis for uniting all democratic forces around a common political programme.

In the resolutions that were passed, the COP declared that all true sons and daughters of South Africa would henceforth work to win the changes set out in the Charter; and that those were in the forefront of the struggle would forever hold an honoured place in history, but that those who worked against it, would be isolated and scorned.

The COP also mandated the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACTU to work together as a united force in order to realize the demands enshrined in the Charter, as well as to get the Charter endorsed and accepted by all the democratic organisations of the people.

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Although the Charter had been adopted by the COP, this did not mean that the organisations automatically adopted it as well. In July 1955, the executive committees of the four sponsoring organisations met, and unanimously agreed to recommend the adoption of the Charter to their respective national conferences. This was done during the latter half of 1955, and during the early part of 1956, and the FC thus became their official political programme.

This then is a brief account of the origins of the Charter, and I must now turn to an even briefer account of its historical significance.

In so far as it concerns the historical significance of the Charter, let me emphasize at the outset that SA as it is constituted at present, is based only on the will of the White minority. But the preamble of the Charter declares in terms both loud and clear, that SA belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. The incorporation of the hopes, the demands, and the innermost aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country into the Freedom Charter has this significance: their full participation in shaping their own destiny. As such, the democratic Government of the future SA which will be established on the basis of the principles enshrined in the FC, can justly claim authority, for then it will be truly based on the will of the people. Herein lies the first aspect of the Charter's historical significance.

At the same time the Charter's historical significance resides in the fact that it is the political programme of the National Democratic movement in this Country. Our struggle is said to be national, because it addresses itself to all the oppressed people and to all democrats  $\nearrow$  irrespective of their colour and their class affiliations -  $\searrow$  to establish the society as envisaged are not merely quantitative, but qualitative. For it seeks to establish a society which is not merely different to, but the opposite of what is the actual reality today. It seeks to change an unjust society to its opposite - a just society; to transform an un democratic society to a democratic one; and to dismantle a racial society and in its place erect its opposite - a non-racial society. The nature and content of the FC are therefore in complete conformity with the nature and content of the National Dem. Rev. It is the qualitative character of the changes demanded by the Freedom Charter that makes the document a non-reformist document.

But as far reaching as the Charter is in nature and content, the Charter is by no means a final document. The Charter undoubtedly envisages a society of the FUTURE. But let it be firmly borne in mind that the socialistically - orientated economic classes of the Charter have all the scope for facilitating the establishment of a society of the DISTANT FUTURE. As such, the FC must be viewed as a transitional document, envisaging a society that is in a state of transition.

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This aspect of the Charter's historical significance must therefore serve as a source of tremendous inspiration and encouragement to the working people of this country - under whose guidance and above all under whose leadership, the National Democratic struggle must be conducted

Another aspect of the Charter's historical significance is that it has become the COMMON political programme of all the democratic forces in the country. It was this unifying capacity of the FC that firmly laid the foundations, after it's adoption, on which the democratic forces forged ahead with their historic mission of liberating the broad masses of the oppressed in the country. And it is this same unifying capacity of the Charter that will ultimately go a long way in shaping the society envisaged in it.

Furthermore, never in the history of the liberatory movement in this country has any political statement ever caught the attention and imagination of the people as the Charter has done. For 30 years now the Charter continues to remain a beacon of hope, and a source of inspiration to the downtrodden and oppressed. And it will continue to remain so until each and every clause of the Charter has been fully implemented.

Although the Charter had been formulated during an intensive campaign and adopted at the COP itself, the process of it's formulation had actually begun at the time when the oppressor first set foot in this country, and had begun the process of dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants of their land and their livelihood, and above all their liberty. The progressive crystallisation of the Charter must therefore be seen to have taken place during the numerous Wars of Resistance - during the course of which untold numbers of our heroes and heroines made the supreme sacrifice.

The eventual formulation and consequent adoption of the Charter in 1955, therefore stands as a worthy tribute to all these courageous and gallant freedom fighters, as well as to all those who have mercifully been dealt with and ruthlessly persecuted for daring to oppose the oppressor.

But as worthy as such a tribute is, the finest and most lasting tribute which all democrats can pay to those who made such heroic sacrifices. is to ceaselessly work for, and ultimately establish, the society as envisaged in the FC.

And finally, but not the least aspect of Charter's significance is that it is a firm and clear statement of re-dedication, and of a life-long commitment to the struggle to realise the democratic society of the future. This is evident in the Preamble which states:

"And we pledge to strive together, sparing neither our strength nor courage, until the demands here set out have been won".

And it is a lifelong commitment for all who accept the Charter, for at the end, the Charter stated clearly that:

"These freedoms we will fight for, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty"

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THE FREEDOM CHARTER

I am pleased to have this opportunity to present an interpretation of the Freedom Charter. To organise this type of workshop is a very constructive start to the 30th anniversary year. I say this because I think that we may have been a little lax in our political education. The strength of mass democratic organisations may perhaps have been evaluated too readily in terms of numbers and attendance at rallies, rather than the level of politicisation that we have actually achieved.

With the public re-emergence of mass democratic organisations in recent years, we have seen the reassertion of the Charter as the leading document of all oppressed and democratic South Africans.

While this revival of the FC has been a fundamentally positive development it has, regrettably, not always led to serious attempts to study and understand the document. All too often people have been expected to support it without discussion. Doubts are simply dismissed as irrelevant or treated as heresy.

I think that such attitudes are unhealthy and that we should be willing to engage in serious debate within our own ranks and with those who are critical or have genuine problems with the Charter. We must be prepared to confront and honestly examine any problems with the Charter. This way we equip our activists to advocate the Charter through conviction and not merely out of a rigid conception of duty.

In this talk I will attempt to characterise the FC, to say what sort of document I consider it to be. I will then deal with specific problems around it - e.g. the FC and whites- the EC and Africanist attack on the preamble that SA belongs to all who live in it., the FC and culture- including the so-called four nations theory, the FC and

working class, the FC and the petit-bourgeoisie, the FC and women, the FC and liberals.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER - AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

~~In one sense the adoption of the Charter represented a continuation of earlier resistance.~~ But in another sense, ~~it marked the start of a new phase in the South African struggle.~~ For the first time in the history of South African resistance, the people were called on to formulate and articulate their vision of an alternative society. From then onwards the people would no longer seek to modify the existing order or to be assimilated into a society whose bases they fundamentally rejected. While the process by which the masses had come to this decision had been developing over decades, the Congress of the People represented the crucial historical moment where a completely new order, based on the will of the people, was put on the agenda.

This decision has considerable relevance today. From the moment of the adoption of the Charter, all political solutions 'from above' were ruled out. That is why, even if a 'fourth chamber' were today offered to Africans under the present Constitution, it would still be rejected. From the time of the adoption of the Charter, the people have been unwilling to accept any solutions that fall short of its demands and are not of their own creation.

~~From the moment of its adoption, the Charter is an authoritative document which has priority in SA. It is more important than any other document. This authority derives, fundamentally, from its nature as a people's charter.~~

In the first place, it was created in a particular manner. It can be

shown to have come from the people. It didn't emerge from the thinking of any individual leader or group of leaders, any one organisation or groups of organisations. It came from the demands and dreams of ordinary South Africans who wrote out or spoke of their ideas for a free South Africa of the future.

~~Virtually every constitution claims to come from the people. Virtually every government claims to have a mandate from the people. Because the FC can be proved to have come from the people of SA, it is more authoritative than any other document.~~

It is a people's document in a second sense. This is because, as I will argue, it caters for the interests of all oppressed people, irrespective of class, and all democrats who struggle for a free nonracial and democratic South Africa. This is why it remains authoritative thirty years after its creation.

Having said that it is a people's charter, I realise that this is one of the reasons why some people view it with reservation. ~~Of some people the inadequacy of the FC is precisely that it is a people's document. The concept of the people is somewhat vacuous, for it is said to lack class content and without that they ask, where is class contradiction and struggle? (By the struggle between classes, whose interests are incompatible or contradictory is meant, under capitalism, a struggle between those who own the means of production such as land, mines and factories, and those who are forced to sell their labour-power as a commodity in order to exist).~~

What is wrong with this view is that in its quest for purity - pure class struggle- it is blind to the existence or downgrades

the significance of contradictions that are not purely between classes. ~~One does not need to look at SA to realise that the very phenomenon of imperialism, which has been called the highest stage of capitalism, represents a contradiction where a whole people, irrespective of class, suffers under the yoke of a foreign power: the fact that it is not a contradiction purely between classes does not mean that it is any less a contradiction.~~

Equally, in SA, we do not only have contradictions between classes. The black people of South Africa have been denied their right of self-determination. All blacks, but especially Africans, endure national oppression. All blacks, irrespective of class, are victims of this oppression. It is not only black workers, but all blacks who are disenfranchised and endure disabilities in almost every aspect of their lives.

One of the peculiarities of the South African state is that written into its structure is this systematic national oppression of all blacks. It is one of the factors that facilitates capitalist exploitation in SA. National oppression and capitalist exploitation are inextricably interlinked in South Africa.

The demand for the nationalization of key monopolies and the transfer of land to those who work it were found necessary, not so much because of socialist motivations on the part of those who made and supported the Charter, though many may have been socialists. These demands derive from the historical bases of the South African state, where nearly all the country's land and other assets have been seized from the blacks and are still held by a small minority of the white population. It was felt that there could be no overall improvement in conditions without such changes.

The struggle for the Charter is therefore an anti-capitalist programme, because any programme to end racial oppression in SA has to be anti-capitalist. This is because racism in SA cannot be eradicated without attacking the key power - centres of capitalism, with which it is so closely interlocked.

So when people describe the Charter as a bourgeois document, they are abstracting specific demands from the South African context. ~~That may be a bourgeois demand elsewhere,~~ goes beyond that in the context of national democratic struggle.

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To demand that 'The People Shall Govern' is, in this context, a revolutionary call. It is revolutionary because it cannot be accommodated in the existing South African state. The right to vote may have been a civil rights question for blacks in the USA, in the sixties, for they then sought absorption into a common society. In SA, in contrast, the demand to vote in an individed South Africa, is part of a national liberation struggle. It is part of a struggle for sovereignty, for the people have never governed SA.

The Charter is also anti-imperialist. In the first place its attack on the monopolies is in part an attack on the control of the South African economy by international capital. Equally, in the present context, the clause demanding the right to work is an attack on foreign controlled industries, for international investment is primarily concentrated in capital intensive industries, which, especially in the current recession, have thrown many people out of work.

But the Charter is also anti-imperialist in a more fundamental sense. ~~For it is only when the people go to govern that they can create the~~

~~conquerors~~ to control their own country, make it fully independent and sovereign, and ensure that they break the stranglehold of International Imperialism.

If I am correct in describing the Charter as a people's document, as a programme of a people struggling for self-determination, then we are considering a document that seeks to win the support of all those who oppose apartheid, all classes and strata who have an interest in its destruction.

But this leads to certain controversial questions. Who are the people? Some writers suggest that the Charter implies that there is not one people but <sup>four</sup> nations or four nations in the process of creation. Alternatively, some critics question whether it is correct to regard the people as including black and white, as the Charter suggests. I discuss these questions and also the allied issue of whether those who consider themselves liberals, can and should be encouraged to support the Charter.

Some people feel that a document that appeals simultaneously to marxist, liberal, Christian and all others opposing apartheid, cannot meet the specific needs of any particular group or class. Although the Charter is not the document of any one class or stratum, I will nevertheless examine the manner in which it deals with the interests of the working-class, petit-bourgeoisie and women. I then discuss the Charter's contribution to the achievement of peace and conclude by examining its place in present-day SA.

#### THE CHARTER AND THE 'FOUR NATION THEORY'

One of the key clauses of the Charter is headed 'All National

Groups Shall Have Equal Rights'. It is crucial, yet it is also controversial. Some people have argued that this clause envisages the creation of four nations - whites, Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians, or that it works on the basis that there are already four nations in SA.

Now it is unfortunate that the Charter uses the word 'national' in two different ways. In this clause it appears to be referring to distinct population groups, Africans, 'Coloureds', Indians and whites. But in the sentence 'The National wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people', the word 'national' refers to all South Africans.

I believe that Lionel Forman once advocated a multinational theory. But neither this nor the so-called four nation theory has ever been adopted as a policy within the Congress movement or in our own time by the contemporary democratic movement. This theory survives not in the Charter itself or amongst its supporters but mainly in polemical writings against it and the democratic movement as a whole.

But what this clause of the Charter deals with (read together with the clause headed 'The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened'), is of considerable significance. It calls for equality in the courts, bodies of state and schools and equal language rights and the right of all people to 'develop their own folk culture and customs'.

While most people accept equality in bodies of state, courts and schools, the demand for language rights and the right to develop culture and customs is embarrassing to some. They feel that we are here adopting some of the worst elements of Verwoerdian cultural policy, the artificial or romantic preservation of tribal or pseudo-tribal cultures.

tribal cultures.

Such a view is quite wrong and also chauvinistic. At present there are two 'official' languages in SA, that is, the mother tongues of some fifteen per cent of the population are the official languages for all.

This state of affairs is characteristic of colonial-type conditions. In such situations an imperial power arrives and declares its law to be the law of the land and its language(s) official. One of the conditions for national liberation is equality in this sphere as in all others.

This is not to suggest that all elements of African culture or that of any other section of our population are necessarily progressive and worthy of preservation and encouragement. Just as some aspects of working class culture are reactionary, a democratic policy would not encourage racist, sexist and chauvinistic aspects of any culture. It would encourage those developments that are compatible with the overall democratic, unifying and egalitarian content of the Charter.

In order to protect these rights, according to the Charter, all apartheid laws and practices are to be abolished. The expression of apartheid ideas, anticipating developments in international law, are made a punishable crime.

The clause calling for all national groups to have equal rights must be understood in the first place, by considering what exists in contemporary SA. Insofar as apartheid denies people equal rights, it seeks to maintain this situation not only through coercion, but

also through ideological domination, through trying to persuade the oppressed people to see themselves in a particular way, in a manner that facilitates their oppression. Through declaring black cultures to be worthless or through reviving them in an artificial, static manner, it is sought to breed self-contempt in blacks, to immobilise them in the face of the apparently superior white culture. To achieve national liberation requires the development of a democratic African culture. This would not be an exclusivist, racist culture, but would rather be the precondition for the development of all other cultures.

TO WHOM DOES SOUTH AFRICA BELONG?

Against the attempts of apartheid to rob people of their citizenship in the land of their birth, to separate black from white and to divide blacks amongst themselves, the Charter declares 'that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...'

What this means is that those who support the Charter seek no revenge against whites, that they seek a democratic SA where all can realise their aspirations.

Yet it is this very clause that evokes continued opposition from the supporters of black consciousness, who echo the opposition of the Africanists of the 50s. 'To whom does Afrika belong?...' it has been asked. 'Do stolen goods belong to a thief and not to their owner?' 'It is an historical fallacy to say SA belongs to everybody both oppressor and oppressed, robber and robbed. Azania is not a prostitute that belongs to everybody all the time.....'

I do not dispute that the indigenous Khoisan and African people were violently dispossessed of their land over the two and a half centuries

prior to Union, and that the Union of South Africa was founded amongst other things on this robbery.

Yet what is wrong is to imply that the stolen land was appropriated by all whites. This is part of a wider tendency in some black consciousness thinking to suggest that all whites are exploiters and all blacks members of the working class. One does not therefore cooperate politically with any white for that would be an alliance with one's slave master.

In regard to land, the truth is that the overall majority of land-holdings in SA are controlled by a small group of monopolists. The small white farmers are themselves being squeezed off the land and there is an ever-increasing consolidation amongst the few big landholders.

It is therefore, historically incorrect to suggest that the land grabbed from blacks, was robbed by and is held by all whites. Equally, while it is true that it is primarily the labour-power of blacks that has built SA, whites have also made a contribution. Present day SA has been created by the common labour of all its people. The cities, factories, mines and agriculture have resulted from the energies of all South Africans. Though the wealth that is at present in the hands of a small minority of the whites, would be shared by the people, the Charter holds that all those who love South Africa, who consider it their home, who have contributed to building it and are prepared to continue to develop the country as a democratic, nonracial state, are part of South Africa.

#### THE CHARTER AND LIBERALS.

There is a tendency amongst some sections of the democratic movement to treat liberals as inevitably hostile to national liberation and the Freedom Charter, and to associate liberalism in SA with the rise of laissez-faire capitalism. There are in fact a number of strands that went to make up and still make up South African liberalism. (These could perhaps be loosely characterised as a) laissez-faire free enterprise liberals, b) liberals who take a strong stand on human rights, while being passionately anti-communist- who would oppose the anti-monopoly clauses of the Charter, and c) social democratic 'liberals' )

But I think that a major political tendency among the liberals of the fifties and sixties was a commitment to a non-racial movement against apartheid, for a democratic SA, with universal suffrage.

It is true that many members of the Liberal Party were hostile to the Congress movement and especially the Congress of Democrats. But I think that many of these historic animosities have receded. Some liberals have started to work with their erstwhile antagonists within the contemporary democratic movement. Others feel that the decision of the Liberal Party not to join in the Congress of the People was 'regretted by many liberals'. The Freedom Charter, says one former Liberal Party member, 'was a fine document, expressing basic democratic principles.'

My view is that there is no reason why other democrats should not welcome liberals into the ranks of those who support the FC. In fact they should encourage it, for there is no reason why those liberals, who are committed to universal suffrage and democracy should not support the Charter. It is crucial that those who detest apartheid should harness as wide a range of forces as possible behind a common anti-apartheid programme.

Anyone who supports national liberation, the self-determination of the people of SA, should find no difficulty in supporting the Charter. Anyone who is a South African patriot, who loves his or her country and feels that it belongs to all, should support this document. With regard to the struggle for socialism, there is no reason why liberals in SA should necessarily oppose socialism. There is no reason why the Christian and egalitarian values that have motivated South African liberals should not encompass a development towards socialism, should the implementation of the Charter take that form. (I am dealing here with the dynamic nature of the Charter and its capacity to transform the perceptions of individual liberals. This leaves aside the relationship between the democratic movement and organised liberalism.)

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE WORKING CLASS.

Although the Charter is not a programme of the working-class alone, it nevertheless primarily reflects its interests. Some clauses of the Charter are socialist in orientation and are addressed much more profoundly to working-class interests than would be the case with any bourgeois document.

This worker-orientation is attributable to the development of the labour struggle, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, and the part played by SACTU in collecting workers' demands. Two SACTU members Ben Turok and Billy Nair introduced and spoke to the clause of the Charter which reads 'The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth', a clause which clearly corresponds to workers' interests.

Many other aspects of the Charter are profoundly working-class in orientation. The clause 'There Shall Be Work and Security' deals

with such matters as the 'right and duty of all to work'. It also asserts the right to form trade unions, the abolition of child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour.

The clause entitled 'There Shall Be Houses, Security and Comfort' declares the right to decent housing and that slums should be demolished and unused housing space made available to the people. Rent and prices will be lowered. Instead of the present situation, where 'surplus' food is destroyed, the Charter declares that no one would be allowed to go hungry.

Some people, however, argue (I believe correctly) that the workers' interests lie primarily in the achievement of workers' control and socialism, but these critics say that neither is expressly mentioned. While this is true, the way that the clause on the country's wealth was introduced at the Congress of the People seemed to envisage that industries as a whole would be under the control of the people, that is the people's government. Under this general control, individual production units would be under the control of workers' committees. Nevertheless, how this clause will be interpreted and whether or not the charter itself will ultimately receive a socialist interpretation, will depend on whether working-class leadership is achieved and the extent to which the petit-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, workers on the land, unemployed and other strata start to see their interests best fulfilled in an advance to socialism. This is not something that is achieved by words alone. It will depend on political struggle.

There is an analogy in the development and changing interpretation of the principle of self-determination in the UN. At the time of its

creation in 1945 the United Nations Charter declared that respect for the principle of self-determination was of fundamental importance. Yet it simultaneously recognised colonialism. Indeed some of the leading UN members, France and United Kingdom were, of course, in possession of large empires.

The treatment of self-determination in the UN Charter had been a product of compromise between states, at a time when the West was dominant in the UN, when there were few Socialist states in the United Nations and few independent African and Asian states.

Following successful national liberation struggles, the number of African and Asian states in the UN has continuously increased, thus strengthening the diplomatic power of these states, who often work in alliance with the Socialist states. In consequence, by 1960, a qualitatively different international relationship of forces had developed. Even colonial powers came to recognise that colonialism was doomed (at least formally) and were compelled to recognise the principle of self-determination. Their conception of their own interests changed and consequently a new international consensus, considerably more radical than that of 1945, emerged. This was manifested, dramatically, in the 1960 Declaration, passed without dissent, holding that colonialism was illegal. Equally, in regard to apartheid, the international consensus has been dramatically modified. At the time of its inception, South Africa was a respected member of the UN. But apartheid is now treated as illegal and/or criminal, according to international law.

By analogy, if the democratic organisations struggling for realisation of the Charter, develop a working-class leadership and they convince themselves and other classes that there is a place for all under

socialism, then it is likely that the democratic gains will deepen into socialism. It will be a deepening of both the national and the democratic character of the struggle. Socialism is a democracy for the majority of the people, the working people, and instead of democratic rights being mainly formal, the material basis for realising rights are guaranteed. Under socialism, the national character of the state is also deepened in that the wealth, culture, all the assets of a particular state are more truly national assets, in that they are enjoyed by all. In a socialist state, 'the arts' are not the preserve of a wealthy elite. Equally, the culture of the people, in our case, that primarily of the African masses, would be regarded as belonging to all of us. Whites would see themselves as Africans and not Europeans.

What I am saying, then, is that it is false to counterpose national liberation and socialism, for they are part of a single process. Realising the Freedom Charter is part of the struggle to achieve socialism.

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE.

I want to say something about traders, small farmers and petty manufacturers. Their rights are guaranteed in the Charter. This is not some tactical concession or an attempt to pull wool over their eyes. The rights of these middle elements, as with other groups, derive in the first place from the fact that our struggle is national. While the Charter is, a document that primarily reflects working-class interests, it is nevertheless also a popular document, a programme for the liberation of all oppressed.

These middle elements are themselves in the thrall of the big

monopolies who are squeezing them. They, too, are engaged in struggle against monopoly capital. The Charter tries to cater for the aspirations of these people. The clause relating to the nationalisation of monopoly industry, banks and other financial institutions speaks not only to the interests of the workers, but is also aimed at the small farmer, trader and all who are dominated by the monopolies.

It is important that people should realise that with national liberation these classes and strata need not fear for their future. They would be allowed to pursue their occupations, subject to popular control.

Furthermore, I believe that it would not necessarily be incompatible with, it might in fact be in the interests of socialism, to allow such strata and middle classes to continue to operate, subject to working-class control. If a future socialist state were to take over the small enterprises in the townships, on the street corners, the barbershops, the small traders, the handicraft stalls and similar activities, it would undertake a huge burden. In order to manage these small enterprises it would have to establish a massive bureaucracy. Such activity might best be left in private hands, subject to state control. There are some types of work, such as barbers, that are performed most efficiently on an independent basis. To nationalise them, as some states with a socialist orientation have discovered, may produce more problems than benefits.

The commitment to protect the rights of the petit-bourgeoisie is therefore not a tactic or a ruse. It is a commitment that flows from the nature of the South African struggle and the continued protection of such rights, subject to controls, may be in the interests of

both national liberation and socialism.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND WOMEN.

The Charter in its treatment of women, as with many other aspects of South African reality, does not set out to be exhaustive. The Federation of South African Women had developed a more elaborate Women's Charter a year before the Congress of the People, and they formulated specific demands, many of which were incorporated in the Freedom Charter. There is not a total treatment of the problems of women in the FC, for women, like workers, students and other classes and strata are dealt with as part of the wider question of national liberation.

Despite the FC being a document which seeks to embrace all the facets of South African reality and to integrate the demands of all classes and strata into one whole, some demands which relate specifically to women are raised.

The Charter stresses the general aim of male/female equality in the preamble, in regard to democratic rights and in regard to payment for work. In addition, more specific demands are made in order to realise these wider goals, for example, 'maternity leave with full pay for all working mothers, the provision of creches' and 'free medical care... with special care for mothers and young children.'

THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I have argued that the Charter is a popular document, that it seeks to answer the needs of a wide range of people who suffer under and/or oppose apartheid. The satisfaction of these aspirations is, in addition, a condition for the achievement of peace in South Africa.

That is why the Charter, in its preamble, mentions that 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people' and 'that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality.' (My emphasis)

The preamble goes on to say

'that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people can secure to all their birthright (that is, among other things to peace) without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.'

To struggle for the achievement of the FC is therefore a struggle for peace.

Apartheid was established by the violent dispossession and conquest of the indigenous Khoi, San and African peoples. In the case of the San, they were totally exterminated. The Union of South Africa could only be established after the Boers and British had defeated the long-standing military resistance of the various African peoples.

Through the Act of Union, the British handed over power to South African whites. Blacks were excluded from power and have ever since had to endure ever-intensified racist oppression and class exploitation.

Apartheid means institutionalised, permanent violence against South African blacks. It is manifested in a variety of forms, only some of which can be referred to. Pass laws and resettlement mean tearing down plastic shelters and exposing people to the Cape winters and/or sending them to lives of misery, disease and death in the bantustans - acts which might qualify as genocide under the UN Genocide convention.

The daily violence of apartheid breaks up homes, throws thousands of ordinary people into gaol and exposes them to countless other indignities, injuries and humiliations.

Police intervention and violence is now an integral part of the Bantu education and other black schooling systems. The South African black education system depends on virtually permanent presence of police and/or military.

But apartheid does not only mean violence against the people of South Africa. It also means violence and instability in the whole region. From the early days of the UN it was argued that gross violations of human rights, such as the policy of apartheid, could threaten international peace. That has become a reality. SA has attacked, raided, coerced, threatened or destabilised all the states in the southern African region in numerous ways, and members of the SADF have been involved in violence against a regime as far afield as the Seychelles.

The threat to the peace is said to arise from the alleged presence of ANC bases in neighbouring states and that is why the SA Government coerces or seeks to coerce its neighbours into so-called non-aggression pacts. It has been rightly said that peace cannot be achieved through such 'deals'.

Peace must be made, in the first place, with the people of SA. That is only possible when the real source of aggression, the apartheid system, has been eradicated. Only then will there be 'peace and friendship'. In such circumstances, as the Charter says:

'South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations '

That is why it is correct that we resist racist repression with democratic nonracialism. It is also necessary, I would argue, to stress the African character and leadership of this struggle. This is so because the majority of South Africans are African. It is an anomaly that contemporary SA is in fact a 'European' country in Africa. Part of the process of liberating South Africa, is to assert its African majority character.

Some people falsely counterpose the question of African leadership to non-racialism. The struggle for nonracialism is in fact crucially linked to the development of African leadership, the recognition of the majority character of our society. That does not mean that other people cannot help to build this society or even participate in creating the emerging, unifying national culture that will be basically African in character. On the contrary, I would argue that we all, black and white, have a contribution to make in developing and identifying ourselves increasingly with African leadership and with the future African character of our state.

This is also linked to the question of working-class leadership, because more Africans are workers than any other class and most working-class people in SA are African. While encouraging African leadership does not in itself encourage working-class leadership, the two are linked. The African people are the most oppressed section of our population, irrespective of class position. Obviously, peasants, semi-peasants, workers and unemployed are more oppressed than petit-bourgeois elements. But all are forced to carry passes and subjected to more serious disabilities than any other groups in SA, and are also culturally oppressed.

So in the leadership of our struggle, just as working-class people

cultural demands of the Charter. When teachers and students challenge racist mythology and explain the proud history of the people of South Africa, we are ourselves 'opening the doors of learning'.

When the Indian and 'Coloured' people resoundingly reject the new Constitution, when Africans refuse to vote in Black Local Authorities elections and when they continue to deny that their political future lies in the bantustans, they make what the Charter calls 'bodies of minority rule, advisory boards' virtually unworkable and we consequently move closer to the day when 'The People Shall Govern'.

When workers struggle for democratic unions and for decent wages and when they resist dismissals, they are speaking to the Charter demand that 'There Shall Be Work and Security'.

When people struggle against high rent, GST, eviction of so-called squatters, they are demanding that there 'Be Houses, Security and Comfort'.

It is not only through demands against the state or capital that we start to advance the struggle for the Charter. In our own organisations and institutions, we can take more serious steps to build the democratic values and relationships necessary for a free South Africa.

The way that we address the problems and injustices of the present, the way that we organise ourselves, all such factors contribute to the shape of the future SA.

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So in the leadership of our struggle, just as working-class people

do not automatically rise to leadership positions, similarly African people do not automatically rise because cultural oppression has meant differentials in skills and resources of all kinds. It is our duty, in this context, to encourage and develop African and working-class leadership.

On another level, there is also the still neglected question of male-female relations, where much more needs to be done to ensure equality in democratic organisations, to encourage and increase the participation of women in debates and in our leadership.

These are some of the crucial challenges that political organisations, community bodies, trade unions and educational institutions now have to confront.

Although I have spoken of 'starting to realise the demands of the Charter' until the People do Govern, we cannot finally realise any of these demands. Even then we will have to struggle to defend and deepen these gains.

It may take very long to achieve this goal, though I think that some very substantial steps along this road have been taken in the last eight years. It may still take long, many more people may have to suffer or die before SA is free. One thing is certain. No matter how many democrats are gaoled or killed, ultimately the patriotic struggle, the struggle to make SA belong to its people will be won. No matter how long it takes, I am confident that we will rid the world of apartheid and that there will be Peace and Friendship in a democratic South Africa.

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PROPOSALS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN EMERGING FROM THE WORKSHOP HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1984 IN JOHANNESBURG.

A. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

1. To popularize the Freedom Charter and its ideology.
2. To educate activists about the Freedom Charter and related issues.  
In addition; to build a common understanding and greater cohesiveness at a regional and national level
3. To present the Freedom Charter as a political alternative by linking it to ongoing mass struggles.
4. To consolidate the gains of 1984.
5. To realise the claim that the Charter is a "living document".

B. PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. EDUCATION: A very important aspect of this Campaign is the question of self-education. As activists; we cannot expect to educate the masses unless we ourselves have an in depth knowledge of the Charter. Education can take the form of workshop and seminars. Also; papers on the Charter can be read and discussed in small groups.

Together with self-education; there is also a need for research in order to enrich and broaden our understanding. Apart from self-education; an important task is that of educating the masses. The masses of the people must understand the significance and meaning of the Charter. Here; door-to-door work would be invaluable.

2. GRASSROOTS: In order to "take the Charter to the grassroots"; local struggles; campaigns and demands must be linked to clauses in the Freedom Charter. In this way each local struggle against oppression and each short-term demand would be linked to the demand for national liberation. The above can be achieved in many different ways: Civic Associations can adopt the clause on Housing; Youth Organisations can link the Freedom Charter Campaign to the IYY and so on with women; the Churches and trade unions.
3. RURAL AREAS: During the C.O.P. campaign in 1955 much attention was paid to rural areas so that the Charter would be representative of both the urban and rural areas. In this spirit the 1985 campaign must not be limited to the cities and towns. Every attempt must be made to reach out to the remote areas of the countryside.
4. CULTURE: Culture is part of struggle and struggle is part of culture. Cultural activities should constitute part of the campaign (e.g. songs of the COP should be revived).
5. MEDIA: The alternate press has an important role to play in this Campaign. Also; posters; buttons etc. should be produced.
6. IMPORTANT DATES: May Day; Anti-Republic Day; June 16; the 30 th Anniversary SACTU; etc; should be incorporated into the campaign.
7. PHASES OF THE CAMPAIGN:  
The first phase (before June 26) would involve education; publicity and door-to-door work. This would build up to the second-phase which would involve large-scale activities during the period around June 26 (possibly rallies etc.)  
The third-phase covers the period after June 26 during which the Freedom Charter would become a permanent feature of struggles and campaigns.

CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURE: The campaign would be co-ordinated by a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of people from the following organisations or constituencies: RMC TIC; Anti-PC; JODAC; YOUTH; STUDENT; WOMEN; CHURCH; and TRADE UNIONS.

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07/19/87

D . THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN AND THE UDF:

The UDF; being a front cannot co-ordinate or spearhead this campaign. However; two points must be made: 1. There is no conflict between the Freedom Charter and the Declaration of the UDF.

- 2. The Charter is a great document that has emerged from the mass -struggles of our people and the COP stands out as the most representative gathering of our people.

It is for this reason that UDF should play a supportive role and also "bless" the campaign. There is a need for futher discussion within UDF on its role as regards this campaign.

FORWARD TO THE 30th YEAR OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !

(19)

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13860:8-

13863 2 e 5

*At the end of the proceedings the elected representatives of the  
people of South Africa adopted the . . .*

# **FREEDOM CHARTER**



• **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

• **ALL NATIONAL GROUPS  
SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!**

• **THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE  
IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!**

• **THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED  
AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!**

• **ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW**

• **ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!**

• **THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!**

• **THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE  
SHALL BE OPENED!**

• **THERE SHALL BE HOUSES,  
SECURITY AND COMFORT!**

• **THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND  
FRIENDSHIP!**

**THESE FREEDOMS**

**WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES  
UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.**

CDF / n/s

**C98**

*U.D.F. Student Documents*

# COSAS

**EACH ONE TEACH ONE**

TEL. 339-1404

Tvl Regional Committee.



## CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

Freeway House  
9 De Korte Street  
BRAAMFONTEIN  
2001

27 May 1985

*Rev "C 98"*

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
42 De Velliers Street  
Johannesburg  
2000

Comrades

We understand that the National Liberation struggle cannot be won if we, the student sector of our National community, are going to fight in isolation. The workers, residents, youth and christian struggles is our struggle.

Our alliance with other organisations became clear after the birth of the U.D.F. Today we can boldly say that we've found ourselves a mother to take care of us.

With those words we like to thank Transvaal Regional Comm. of the U.D.F for the contribution they made in making our Regional Council. It was through this R.C that our members came together on Regional level to come and discuss their problems and to further strengten their organisation.

ours in the struggle against apartheid and other injustices in our country.

ORUTI ANDRIES MAPETLA  
(Tvl Regional Secretary)

(20) 17/9/87

Mr. Thobela 1573/86

Mr. Tsangane 1874/88

Mr. Malunga 2675/88

Bew "C 99"

REPORT ON CIVIC WORKSHOP

PROGRAMME

Friday

9.00pm Supper  
10.00pm Slide and Tape show on history of Alexandra

Saturday

7.00 am Wake up  
8.00 am Breakfast  
9.30 am Introduction  
11.00 am TEA  
11.30 Input on History and Nature of Civic struggles  
1.00pm Lunch  
2.00pm Group Discussions on Black Local Authorities  
4.00 TEA  
4.30 Report backs  
5.30 Theory of Mass mobilisation and mass work  
7.00 Supper  
7.30 Continuation of discussion on mass work  
9.30 Film Norma Rae

Sunday

7.00am Wake up  
8.00am Breakfast  
9.00am Group Discussion on Co-ordination  
11.00am Report back on group discussion  
12.00am Evaluation  
12.30am Lunch

Introduction

FRA

Formed in 1981. Consists of a federation of residents association in 'Indian Areas', it has no formal membership. This is because different people become involved as a result of different activities. The present aim is to consolidate a core membership. Taking up the roads issue. The aim is to resuscitate the organisation

Leandra Action Committee

Formed in 1983. Result of resistance to the government's intention to evict residents from the township. In 1984, Leandra was reprieved. At present has three subcommittees: transport, education, and advice. At present there is a problem of resources and dependency on Johannesburg. There are no trade unions in the area.

Ratanda Civic Association

The organisation was formed in 1984. At this time there were no

Makwana  
26/5/8

organisations in the area. The first issue that was taken up was the rent increase and from there the community council issue. The organisation has no signed up members, but can get about 500 people to a meeting. Organisers believe they have the support of 80% of the residents. Presently taking up the LLA issue as the ERDB has announced that there will be BLA elections in the area.

#### Duduza Civic

*Mr. Thabane  
1977/88  
Mr. Ferguson  
1977/88* Formed in October 1983. Issues it has taken up have been the rent increases and the sewerage masterplan. An interim committee was established and it started negotiating with the community council. At that time people were not ready for the organisation- this has now changed and we are issuing new membership cards. Present issue is the bucket system. We are having problems with harassment and venues for public meetings. Interim committee 10 people.

#### Orlando Civic

Formed early 1984. Issues it has taken up have been high rents and electricity. 15 members in the branch. They are trying to get the local councillor to resign. Plan is to organise house visits in order to protest against the councillors.

#### Mfolo Civic

Formed post 76. Issues taking up are roads, bridges and electricity. People are afraid to identify with the organisation. They are planning to break the area up into zones.

#### ERAPO

Membership of 1200. Branches in Thokoza, Watville, Davyton, KewThema, would like to have a branch in Katlehong and closer relationship with organisations in Tembisa and Duduza. Also planning a branch in Tsakane. Erapo won the scrapping of the rent increases in Davyton last year. Involved with the 'homeseekers committee' in Katlehong, as well as with the bucket system in Katlehong. In Davyton people engaged in a campaign against the rent increases, planning to take up a 'councillors must resign campaign.'

#### Alexandra Civic Association

Formed originally as the Alexandra Action Committee in April 1982. Participated in the bus boycott in early 1984, as a result many committee members detained for five months. Presently trying to bring parents and students together.

#### Tladi/Moletsane

30-40 members. People not responding well. At present the emphasis is on building activists and distributing pamphlets and newsletters.

History and nature of civic struggles

The paper presented is attached to this report.

The following points were made in the discussion that followed this paper:

- Q*  
*What is the*  
*mass*  
*action*  
*understand?*
1. We are not rooted deeply in the masses.
  2. We preach unity, however there is very little unity and as a consequence, we have failed to unite people and therefore there is very little action. Action remains sporadic.
  3. We are presently in an era when we need to mobilise people. but our activists have not got to the masses. In order to reach the masses we need to call meetings, one of the problems is that we cannot get venues to hold meetings. The masses are ready and aware, but they need to be activated, we therefore need to have mass meetings where we can get a mandate.
  4. If we call mass meetings, we must have a reason, its not enough just to voice our grievances. The problems with mass meetings is that people see them as ends in themselves. So mass meetings should come in the form of a rally after the ground work has been done. Mass meetings cant be used for a discussion, but as a show of strength.
  5. We talk of door to door work, but we have not achieved it.
  6. People's participation in organisation fluctuates. They are happy after a demonstration, and then they leave when the excitement is over. This means that the spade work has to be done again and again.
  7. Just responding to issues as they arise , kills our organisations. If there is a three month period when nothing happens, we will loose people. We dont have to wait for the government t to do something before we respond, there are constant issues in all areas all the time. The people also dont have a place to lodge their complaints. We must establish advice offices in our local centres.
  8. The day to day issues can be dreary, we need to be creative and engage in discussion and develop exciting ideas.
  9. Civic should also be trying to unite all community issues.

Group discussions

1. What are the problems residents face in the township?
2. What struggles have arisen due to these problems?
3. How are the masses responding now?
4. What has been the role of organisation in this situation
5. What is the mood of the masses now?
6. Does the mood of the masses match the strength of our organisation.
7. What are the tasks facing our organisations?

4.

Problems residents face

1. Increases in rents and service charges
2. Housing- too small and in a poor state of repair
3. Constant presence of police in the townships
4. Presence of councillors
5. Lack of transport and high fares
6. Insufficient schools and facilities
7. Poor amenities, bad roads, open drains, the bucket system clinics, health facilities, sporting and recreational facilities
8. Ignorance and low level of political consciousness
9. Evictions
10. Housing shortage,
11. Roads and electricity
12. Unemployment

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2. Struggles arising from these problems

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Methods</u>
Rent	mass demonstrations, refusal to pay rents
Housing	confrontation with boards, demonstrations
Police and councillors	defiance, refusal to build shacks → Mass action, atrocities exposed in media
Transport	boycott of buses, delegations to transport companies, putco petition
schools and facilities poor amenities	development of parent's committees, development of civics, confrontation with boards delegations and demonstrations
Ignorance/level of consc. Water and electricity	Attempting to organise people Demonstrations

3. How are the masses responding to this situation

1. The people are independently angry, they need to be organised, in order that this anger transformed into action.
2. Masses realised councillors not working for them, they are joining civics, and responding to calls to demonstrate against the BLA's - occupation of rent offices etc.

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4. What role have our organisations played in this situation

1. Organisations provide a forum for expression of people's feelings therefore the role of our organisations is to look into ways to channel energy of the people
2. Civics are teaching people about the local authorities act, doing house to house campaigns and getting councillors to resign
3. Minimal role played by the civics, most of the struggles spontaneous and not well organised, (some exceptions)

5. The mood of the masses

1. Some apathetic, others defiant
2. Uncertainty in people's attitude therefore poor organisation of activists, need for research
3. Masses angry, but not an unorganised anger, spontaneous actions.

6. Does the mood of the masses match the strength of our organisations

1. No organisations fizzle out easily, people people don't have an ongoing platform in the form of organisations to express their anger, the responses are inconsistent because of poor organisational structures.
2. Our struggle is unevenly developed, this is due to the weakness of our organisations. What is the reason for the present situation? is it that the weakness of our organisations means that the struggle of the masses surpasses our organisation, or is this the natural result of mass action

7. Tasks facing our organisations

1. People need to move, we must make an assessment of the people's expectations
2. We must build our organisations by teaching people about the nature of our society; teaching them organisational skills; improving communication with the masses; developing a common understanding amongst leadership and activists; increasing discipline and developing a strong identification and commitment to the organisation.

Questions on co-ordination

1. Have you had contact with civic organisations outside your area?
2. What has been the nature of this contact?
3. Is there a need for co-ordination of civics, if yes, why?
4. What form should it take and why?

Summary of discussionContact in the past

Informal, incidental contact

No working together

Individuals from organisations played a supportative role

Formal contact through UDF

Some examples of contact, eg Erapo and Duduza over the bucket issue

Need for co-ordination

Share information

strengthen other organisations

Consolidate our ranks and create greater unity

common approaches and strategies

Common training programmes

share resources, skills cars, etc

Need leadership, research

Possible dangers

Could get caught up in co-ordination

Problems of ambitiousness of people who want to serve on national structures

Must not create dependency of weak areas on strong ones.

Forms of co-ordinationShort term

Ad hoc committee

Joint strategies and work

Focus on African areas

Necessity to bring in coloured and indian areas

Take a report of this workshop to other areas

Look at the Transvaal region

Bring together people from different regions,

Consolidate action committees and form organisations where none exist

Long Term

Transvaal wide civic structure

Resignation of BLA's

Evaluation

Content: very good

Attendance: not so good

Planning: should have had involvement of other organisations in planning, this would have created greater commitment

Time: people need to sleep over to avoid starting late

General: important step because brought people together

UDF files on 23/7/18

# C100

Identification AAD5  
revisie 5 bladsyde.

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30/9/87

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27/10/87

What does the NEC mean when it talks about UDF moving from "Protest to Challenge?" Some comrades have expressed surprise at the idea that the UDF has ever been a "protest" movement. But it must be remembered that the UDF was launched as a front to protest against and oppose the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. It is history now that this issue orientated opposition to particular measures rapidly escalated into a movement challenging the state on a whole range of fronts. So in one sense the NEC theme describes a process which has already taken place in the UDF.

But in another sense the NEC theme points the way forward: in its short history the UDF has played an important role in opening up the battle against apartheid in new areas, and intensifying the struggle in existing areas; however many of these actions have remained localised, fragmented, issue-orientated and unco-ordinated. The transition to Challenge points the way forward to a conscious, coherent, national offensive to challenge the state on all fronts, based on a systematic and scientific assessment of current conditions and future prospects of our struggle. This of course, suggests a far higher level of organisation.

Where challenges have been fragmented and localised "challenge" would be national and co-ordinated. Where challenges have been spontaneous or sporadic, "challenge" would now be a conscious process, part of a coherent strategy. Where challenges have had limited political content, "challenge" would now aim at fundamentally transforming society. We now need to look at what the elements of this challenge are and what this will mean for the Front:

#### 1. CONSCIOUS and CO-ORDINATED CHALLENGE

When we say that the challenge will have to be a conscious process, this implies a far higher level of political understanding in the Front, the ability to assess limits and possibilities, to develop and apply appropriate strategies and tactics.

The need to develop a co-ordinated challenge raises a number of questions about the front and its future development. Does the Front have the dynamic potential to meet the organisational tasks implied here? Is it appropriate at this point to develop other organisational forms?

#### 2. FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE.

We are talking about a challenge to the whole system of oppression and exploitation, not a piecemeal challenge. We are not attempting to reform unreformable structures, but are fighting for complete social transformation. The people of S Africa have never governed the country: we are fighting to realise this most basic right, the right to self-determination. Therefore ours is not a civil rights struggle. It is a struggle for NATIONAL LIBERATION.

3. CHALLENGING the STATE

21/10  
 Challenging the state means far more than responding to the measures of the state in a sporadic way. It means engaging the state on as many fronts as possible, fragmenting and dispersing its forces at the same time as strengthening and broadening our forces. It means frustrating the state's efforts, preventing its advances, forcing it to retreat, and if possible cutting off its lines of retreat.

At the same time, we must be able to realistically assess our strengths and the state's weaknesses (and vice versa), and deploy our forces accordingly. There is no point in challenging the state on terrain where it is strongest and we are weakest. This does not mean lapsing into passivity, since we must seek at all times to seize the initiative and retain it, even if we are sometimes forced to fight battles on terrains which are not of our choosing. This means that we have to constantly adopt a flexible and creative approach to the struggle, in accordance with the concrete conditions facing us at any particular point.

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 In challenging the state, we have to combine two objectives  
 1) making state programmes and institutions unworkable  
 2) and isolating the state from all support

1) It is one thing to oppose the state's evil schemes. It is quite another thing to prevent them from being implemented or to render them ineffective. For example, the tricameral parliament was very effectively opposed by the UDF and rendered totally illegitimate in the eyes of the people. This scheme, however, has only been frustrated in so far as the people have rejected it. It continues to operate in the Indian and Coloured communities and the danger is constantly present of it becoming a powerful force there, just as the bantustan structures have, despite popular rejection, become a powerful force in the rural areas. The masses in the African townships on the other hand have rendered the black local authorities inoperative in large areas of the country. Since August last year 150 councillors have resigned and only 5 out of the 34 councils set up nationwide are still functioning. This is not necessarily an irreversible process and the state will attempt to reimpose these unpopular bodies on the people. Struggles of popular organisations must develop to the point where the state can no longer impose its undemocratic structures on oppressed communities in any area. Conversely, democratic organs of the people must start to replace these structures, as embryos of a future democratic Peoples' S.A.

2) ISOLATING THE STATE FROM ALL SUPPORT

21/10  
 At one level, this means isolating the state from effective support within the ruling alliance by disorganising and frustrating the enemy; and neutralising it. The dividing line between the people and the enemy is not static, but changes as the struggle intensifies- something we see daily in the townships. It is our task to isolate the state from these vacillating allies (collaborators) in the townships, and where

possible to win them over to our side.

At another level, it means frustrating attempts by the state to co-opt elements into its ranks i.e. win allies.

At yet another level we have to loosen the hold of conserver-tising forces (ZCC, Inkatha) on the masses and transform their\*potential support or passive support into actual support for the struggle. Clearly, effective isolation of the state hinges on the mobilisation of the masses into our organised ranks, and on our degree of unity and cohesiveness.

Just as we attempt to fragment the state's forces, so is the state constantly working to fragment and disorganise our forces. This is something we constantly have to fight against.

\* ie the masses

We mentioned that both components of challenging the state (frustrating and isolating it) must be combined. Exclusive emphasis on one or the other aspect leads to certain dangers: if activists focus exclusively on immobilising state structures for example, without isolating the state from the community, they run the risk of being reduced to a militant political clique, themselves isolated from the masses. Alternatively, if progressive organisations have mass support but don't pose an effective challenge to organs of state power in their area, they face the risk of themselves being immobilised in the long run.

#### 4. NATIONAL CHALLENGE

21  
27/10/87 It is inevitable that the level of challenge will be uneven in different parts of the country at different times. But the challenge as far as possible has to take on a national character. UDF has already played an important part in this regard. But vast areas of the country remain unmobilised and unorganised. Some of the most vicious arms of the apartheid state, in particular, remain largely unchallenged- that is, the Bantustan machinery.

To assume a national character, the challenge not only has to spread geographically. It also has to be cohesive and therefore co-ordinated at a range of levels, with one central national thrust and direction. This entails firstly geographical co-ordination, from local, regional to national levels. Secondly different organised sectors of the people have to develop structures of co-ordination ranging from student to trade union to civic organisations. This could also develop at the local, regional and national levels. The structures of the front, whether area committees or the NEC, will have to develop appropriate relationships to these various structures.

#### 5. MASS-BASED

21  
27/10 To be effective, challenge needs to be rooted in the masses. It has to be taken up by as broad a section of the people as possible. This means both drawing vast numbers of unorganised people into progressive organisations and incorporating increasing numbers of these organisations into the central thrust of the struggle, - the National Democratic Struggle.

Only then will the challenge be a fundamental one and fully take on a mass African and working class character.<sup>1</sup>

To achieve this the peoples organisations will have to become fully responsive to the challenges spontaneously emanating from the masses themselves.

## 6. FROM CHALLENGE TO ALTERNATIVE

21  
27/10/87  
Having established the illegitimacy of the S.African regime, it is necessary to project a popular alternative based on both the present and the future.

The present in the sense that our organisations have to become living and viable alternative organs of peoples power. Therefore, for example, in situations where the apartheid puppets are no longer able to effectively function in the townships, a stage could be reached where the people's organisation assumed responsibility for organising the community to govern itself in a variety of ways from setting up health clinics to crime prevention.

2  
27/10/87  
This will help to project and make people fully understand, our vision of a future democratic South Africa. At one level, because it will demonstrate that people can create democratic alternatives to an undemocratic system. At another level, experience will demonstrate the limits of even the most democratic structures while the relations of domination in society at large remain intact. (It is for this reason that we must be very careful of the use of the notion of "liberated zones", however attractive it may seem). As long as utopian illusions aren't created amongst the people (leading to inevitable disillusionment) what these embryos of democracy will give birth to is a vision of a totally alternative society, based on the realisation that to be ultimately meaningful, popular control of society as whole will have to be asserted. This vision of a totally alternative South Africa needs to be actively discussed and propogated by our organisations, however, It is not something which will automatically spring from our opposition to, or even our challenge of, the current system.

1 This is a necessary prerequisite, but not a sufficient condition to ensure African and working class leadership.

Training of activists and development of strong organisational infrastructure therefore becomes a priority in the "Mobilisation to Organisation" process. The development of disciplined and politically clear activists are aspects of training which we have already touched on. There are many skills however which are necessary for the running of organisations. We must make sure that activists develop these skills and share them with others.

Examples of such skills which need to be developed are media skills, how to run meetings, financial skills, administrative skills, mass work (eg. door to door), planning campaigns, research and information publicity work and many others. It is important that organisations develop and spread these skills if they are to be effective. Such organisational development will also help organisations to weather periods of intensive struggles and state repression.

By the same token, organisations should not be run by a few activists, but should have structures rooted in the masses, whether this is at factory, school or street level. At one level this will make our organisations strong. At another level it will ensure that the composition of our organisations reflects the main content of the National Democratic Struggle - the participation of the African masses and the leadership of the African working class.

## AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF CONFERENCE:

1. To look at the overall ~~political~~ situation (current situation) in relation to ~~CIVICS~~. ✓
2. To bring together civic organizations to share ideas around civic struggles.
3. To examine the most appropriate form that civic organizations should take to be fully effective in organizing around day to day problems. In doing so to also ~~exa~~ look at:-
  - (a) how to go about ~~to~~ strengthening or initiating civics especially under repressive conditions
  - (b) how civics must respond in situations where there is a complete breakdown of local structures + provision of essential services.
  - (c) the transforming of civics into the peoples' alternatives to state imposed structures.

\* Insert

\* 5. Examine the state strategies in relation to:-

- local government eg. Regional councils
- housing
- the question of citizenship + the incorporation of certain townships into the bantustans
- the forced removals of people into bantustans.

\* 4 To develop greater clarity amongst our civic activists as to :-

- why we organize civics
- how we must go about organizing civics.

UDF Sub  
**C101**

Ref: (UOF Thun 13/5/85  
Documents)

Netherlands Organization for International Development  
AMALIASTRAAT 15-17 DEN HAAG  
DEN HAAG  
2514 JC

Reus "G 101"

Dear Dr. J. Theresis

Contract no.: SAF 84-24/MG-85  
Project title: UOF Programme 1985

Thank you for your contribution of R190 000 to our 1985 programme. As we are not immediately in need of the money, I have been instructed by my executive committee to request you to hold the contribution until further notice.

In the interim we ~~we~~ enclose ~~herewith~~ the original of the contract duly signed together with the general conditions concerning co-financing agreement.

Your ~~existence~~ <sup>assistance</sup> and support for our organisation is ~~highly~~ <sup>greatly</sup> appreciated.

Yours faithfully

A. C. C. H. A. S. T.  
National Treasurer

Acc 19 Jan Curule airport

# C102

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13/8/87, 24/8/87 25/8/87

working principles

27/8/87

1/9/87

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— 7/9/87

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— 16/9/87, 17/9/87

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30/9/87, 6/10/87

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— 27/10/87

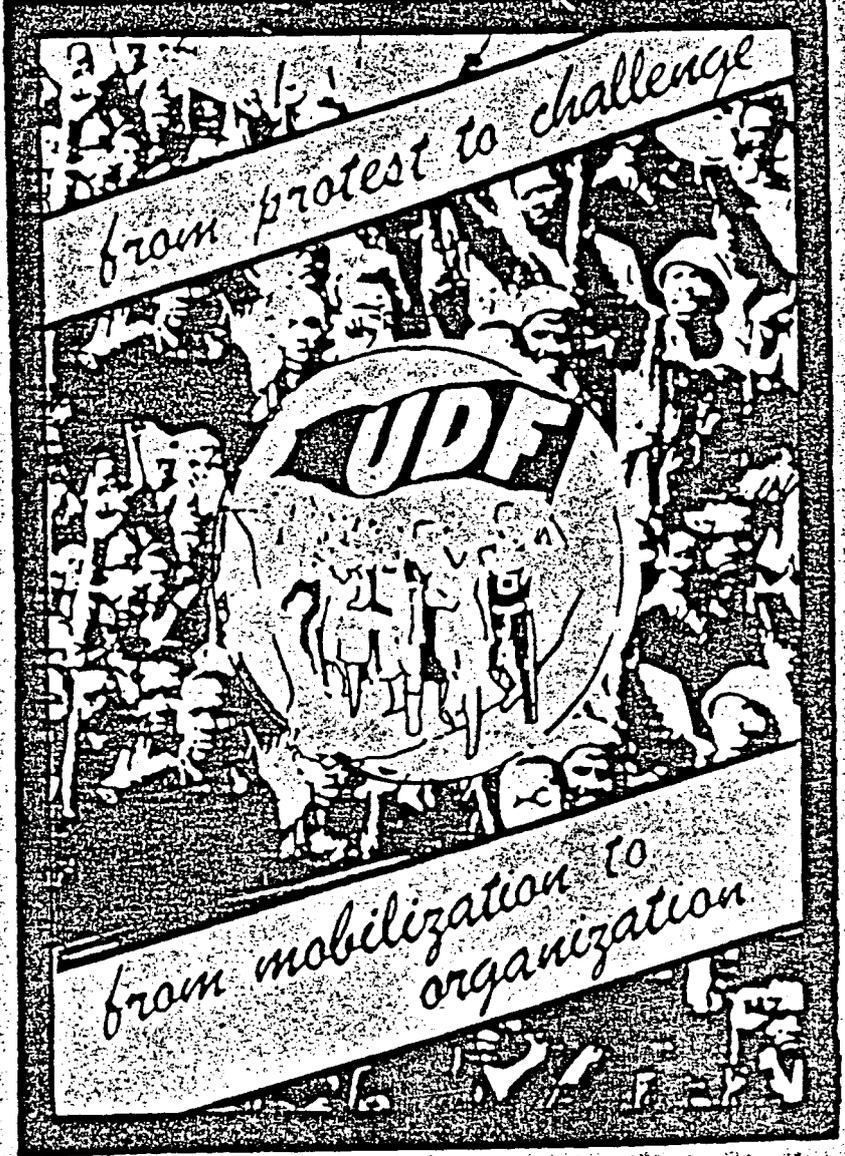
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*Box C 102*

# NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

*Popo MOLEP.  
Mop J. LEAS.  
Challenging  
Item 21*

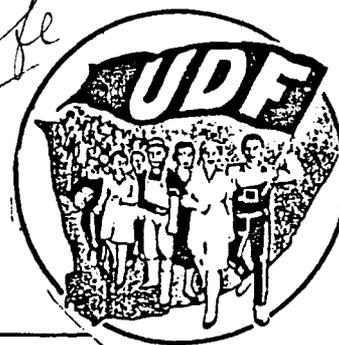
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# 1985

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*Popo Mosefe*



Note: This booklet in its present form is not complete, but has been made available to you at this point in time for purposes of convenience.

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  - Militarisation
  - Women
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  - Citizenship
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  - Imperialism USA
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# Declaration of the United Democratic Front



We, the freedom loving people of South Africa, say with one voice to the whole world that we

- cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people,
- will strive for the unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation.

And, in our march to a free and just South Africa, we are guided by these noble ideals

- we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country;
- we stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of bantustans and Group Areas;
- we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

In accordance with these noble ideals, and on the 20th day of August 1983 at Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain, we join hands as trade union, community, women's, student's, religious, sporting and other organisations to say no to Apartheid.

We say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill — a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth;  
We say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright;  
We say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day;

We know that

- this government is determined to break the unity of our people; that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and other basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards will fall;
- that working people will be divided, Race from race; urban from rural employed from unemployed; men from women. Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue;
- students will continue to suffer under unequal education, created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms;
- the religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people;

- the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women, will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families;
- non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow. We know that apartheid will continue
- that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.

We know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources of the country. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

We know that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death.

Mindful of the fact that the new Constitutional proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination.

We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, housing and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom.

We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to work together to

- organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front;
- consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely and strive to represent their views and aspirations;
- educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity;
- build and strengthen all organisations of the people;
- unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

And now therefore

We pledge to come together in the United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

# UDF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

---

Chairperson : Curnick Ndlovu  
General Secretary : Popo Molefe  
Publicity Secretary : Mosiuoa Lekota  
Treasurer : Azhar Cachalia  
Other Members : Steve Tshwete  
Zoli Malindi  
Mcebisi Xundu  
Edgar Ngoyi  
Makhenkesi Stofile  
Yunus Mohamed  
Trevor Manuel  
Mohammed Valli  
Derrick Swartz  
Jomo Khasu  
Titus Mofolo  
Oliver Mohapi

(20) 24/9/87

# UDF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

---

## TRANSVAAL

President : Albertina Sisulu  
Vice President : Samson Ndou  
Vice President : Ram Saloojee  
Vice President : Ismail Mohamed  
General Secretary : Mohammed Valli  
General Secretary : Paul Mashatile  
Minute Secretary : Eddie Makue  
Publicity Secretary : Sydney Mafumadi  
Rural Secretary : Murphy Morobe ✓  
Media Officer : Mzwakhe Mbuli  
Education Officer : Raymond Suttner ✓  
Youth Portfolio : Dan Montsisi ✓  
Student Portfolio : Mathews Sathekge  
Labour Portfolio : Paul Maseko  
Women's Portfolio : Amanda Kwadi  
Civic Portfolio : Arthur Mkhwanazi ✓  
Treasurer : Azhar Cachalia  
Treasurer : Titus Mofolo

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## NATAL

President : Archie Gumede ✓  
Chairman : Rev. M. Xundu  
Vice Chairman : Billy Nair ✓  
Secretary : Yunus Mohamed  
Publicity Secretary : Lechesa Tsenoli  
Treasurer : Victoria Mxenge  
NIC : Jerry Coovadia  
NCC : Sandy Africa  
RMC : Russel Mpanga  
Youth : Ndaba  
Students : Ronnie  
DHAC : Virgil Bonhomme  
JORAC : Ian Mkhize  
NOW : Nosizwe  
Diakonia : Paddy Kearney  
Unions : Themba Nxumalo

## UDF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES CONTINUED

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### WESTERN CAPE

President : Zoli Malindi  
Vice President : Wilfred Rhodes  
Vice President : Christmas Tinto  
Secretary : Trevor Manuel  
Secretary : Miranda Qwanyashe  
Secretary : Ebrahim Rasool  
Publicity Secretary : Zoliswa Kota  
Treasurer : Joe Adam  
Fund Raiser : Goolam Abubaker  
Additional Member : Milfred Lesiba ✓  
Additional Member : Mountain Qumbula ✓  
Additional Member : Graeme Bloch  
Additional Member : Rev. Syd Luckett  
Education & Training : Jeremy Cronin ✓

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### BORDER

President : Steve Tshwete ✓  
Vice President : Nqola  
Vice President : Sonwabo Nqoyi  
Secretary : Rev. M. Stofile  
Publicity Secretary : Andrew Hendricks  
Treasurer : Hintsa Sowisa  
Additional Member : Lucille Meyer  
Assistant Treasurer : T Botha  
Organiser : Humphrey Moxhegwana  
Additional Member : Yure Mdyogolo

### EASTERN CAPE

President : E Ngoyi ✓  
Vice President : H Fazzie ✓  
General Secretary : D Swartz  
Publicity Secretary : S Sizani  
Recording Secretary : M Ndube  
Organiser : M Goniwe  
Treasurer : Vacant

# STATEMENT OF THE UDF NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

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This meeting of more than 300 committed and enthusiastic delegates, representing millions of people throughout the country on this Easter weekend in Azaadville is ample proof and eloquent testimony to the strength and resilience of the UDF as a mass organisation.

Meeting in the context of state repression unparalleled in the past twenty five years and on the basis of overwhelming popular support throughout the country, the UDF continues to represent and articulate the genuine needs and demands of all democratic South Africans.

There is still time for the racist minority regime to consult with the authentic leaders of the people, with the sole objective of making the necessary arrangements for the speedy and effective dismantling of the apartheid state and the transfer of power to the people.

The precondition for the achievement of peace in this country is the removal of the evil apartheid system. That is why we say that our struggle for liberation is a struggle for peace.

Not one more drop of blood need be shed  
Not one more family need live in misery and starve  
No man or woman need go without work  
Not one more family need go without shelter

if these conditions are met.

The state and its agents are engaged in the wholesale letting of blood in the townships, billions of rands are spent maintaining apartheid structures; while subsidies for essential food are reduced or withdrawn, raised GST pays for SADF aggressions. Instead of homes at affordable rent, adequate recreational facilities, equal, democratic education, the people experience ever increased misery and oppression.

We also meet at a time of unequalled world-wide support from ordinary men and women, organisations in all countries committed to the elimination of racism, and of most governments throughout the world. Against this massive show of international solidarity, the right wing Reagan/Thatcher/Kohl axis and their allies continue to bolster the apartheid regime.

Oppressed and democratic South Africans demand that these imperialist powers support the forces of justice and democracy. They must abandon their traditional role in backing the oppressive and undemocratic governments purely for motives of greed and profit. Their international duty is to support the just struggle of the South African people for peace, justice and freedom.

We take the opportunity during this period of grave crises, when the progressive forces are being threatened on all fronts, to caution those individuals and organisations who differ with us to desist from attacking the UDF and fragmenting the ranks of the oppressed and instead to emphasise the points of common concern.

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Statement of the UDF National General Council Continued

We call on them to be mindful that the state is arming its agents, seeking to strengthen its support and broaden its base by co-opting the Hendrickses, Rajbansis, the Sebes and the Buthelezi, and it therefore becomes the historic duty of all those who oppose apartheid to foster unity.

We have analysed our weaknesses and recognised our shortcomings. We are fully resolved in the coming years to increase the effectiveness and democratic content of our organisations, to raise the quality of our activists and leadership, to translate our living experiences amongst the people during struggle into viable programmes and to transcend the constraints of regional differences.

We recognise the need to encourage the increased and dynamic participation of progressive trade unions within our Front and to build the UDF so that it accurately reflects the centrality and leadership of the African masses in our struggle.

Finally we pledge to organise the masses of our people to effectively challenge the apartheid state by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and if possible to cut off all its lines of retreat.

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We therefore make the following immediate demands as the beginning of a process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state:

1. the immediate scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and all Group Areas Laws, and an end to any form of forced removals
2. the dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system
3. the scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and all other puppet bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and other instruments of racist rule
4. a unified and democratic education system
5. the repeal of the pass laws and all other restrictions on freedom of movement
6. the right of workers to freely organise in trade unions, to collectively bargain and the right to strike without being penalised, the right to security of employment, housing, social welfare, pensions and maternity benefits, as laid down in the United Nations Human Rights Covenants and the Charters of the International Labour Organisation
7. the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations, the return of exiles and the lifting of all restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly
8. the disbanding of the SADF, Koevoet, the SAP and all other repressive apparatuses
9. the scrapping of all barbaric 'security' laws which violate the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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# SECRETARIAL REPORT

The Secretarial Report to the First Annual National Conference of the UDF held on 5 to 7 April 1985 at Azaadville, Krugersdorp

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This National General Council takes place after we have just completed the first phase of our campaign against the so-called new dispensation in particular and apartheid as a whole. Although we were successful in mobilising the masses to reject the government's schemes, the Nationalists are going ahead with the tricameral and Black Local Authorities scheme. This means that our broad Front must move to the second phase of challenging this new dispensation because it has no democratic approval of the people. In this regard the theme of our conference, "Protest to Challenge ... Mobilisation to Organisation ..." is indeed relevant. //

But this conference also takes place against the backdrop of a vicious and escalating state repression. The detention of our leadership in August last year, the treason charges brought up against sixteen of them, the rising numbers of deaths in the streets and schools of the townships and the bombing of homes of our leading activists shows that the reactionary forces of the system are determined to destroy our broad people's Front by all means in their power. It will be important for this conference to keep this fact of heightened state repression in mind as it makes decisions on our future work.

The detentions and treason trial have disorganised our administrative structures to a certain extent. But apart from this, there are areas of importance which will demand conference attention. For example, the need to respond quickly to situations and to co-ordinate effectively at all levels. It is important that some broad guidelines on these issues be provided to guide the National Executive Committee and officers of the Front.

## 2. CAMPAIGNS

NB { It is important to understand that the formation of our broad Front in 1983 was itself the first campaign against the new dispensation. This is so because the resistance against the new dispensation is a tributary within the broader struggle against Apartheid as such. Only if we keep this fact in mind shall we avoid the mistake of looking upon the UDF as the spearhead of the liberation struggle. This does not however mean that the Front is of no consequence. The UDF has undertaken campaigns which have not only exposed the weaknesses of the new dispensation but also taken our struggle to new levels. In this way the government is forced to return to their drawing-boards, but let it be clear that the only reliable drawing-board is the people themselves.

## 2.1 Black Local Authorities Elections

Only three months after the National Launch, the UDF engaged the state in the campaign against the BLA Elections. In that period our Front was still on very uncertain legs, but still our people responded to its call and the results were an overwhelming victory for democratic forces. The overall percentage poll came down to 15% and areas such as the Western Cape saw a poll of only ,04% in some constituencies.

## 2.2 Coloured Management Committee Elections

Once more the state plot to mislead our people was exposed by our Front. Percentage polls were not only low, but in one seat the winning candidate had only one vote.

## 2.3 Tricameral Elections

In spite of state manoeuvring, our Front exposed every trick they tried, from false registration lists through the propaganda of intimidation, to empty claims of high percentage polls. Those who sit in the two puppet parliaments today are there without the peoples' mandate. With a low percentage poll of 17% nationally, we scored a major victory from which the present dispensation will never recover. As a matter of fact the Nats have already started to revise and amend it.

An important point to make here is that in the earlier campaigns both rival organisations and unaffiliated trade unions did not co-operated with us, however in this campaign there was a fair amount of joint campaigning. Here we refer to the Fun City and P.E. rallies in protest of the August elections. The highest point of co-operation was in the Transvaal Stayaway late last year. This growing unity especially with trade union organisations is of paramount importance to the success of our struggle.

## 2.4 Million Signature Campaign

This campaign had a number of objectives apart from the main one of collecting one million signatures. We used this campaign to take the message of the Front to the people, to expose our local organisations to the masses and also to give our activists an opportunity to interact with the masses in schools, factories, townships, churches, squatter and resettlement areas. In this regard the MSC was a very successful campaign. There were also many lessons to learn from this campaign. Activists discovered that dealing with the masses demands patience and a thorough understanding of their organisation and policies. These were valuable lessons for all of us. But our activists were also subjected to brutal assaults, arrests and abuse by state agents. Supporters whose names and addresses appeared on confiscated signature forms were subjected to police harassment and so on. Clearly the state was determined to make it difficult for activists to collect signatures and to keep the figures to the lowest minimum.

## 3. OTHER ACTIVITIES

Limited activity has taken place in some regions around certain issues:

### 3.1 Removals

Anti-removals committees were set up in the Western Cape the Border Regions to fight removals. We still need to broaden our resistance on this front. Because the issue of removals forms part of the process of denationalisation of Africans, it deserves our serious attention.

### 3.2 Education

Education is one of the crisis areas in our country today. Through their organisations, parents and students are mounting increasing resistance against inferior education. They demand democratically elected Students Representative Councils and Parents Governing Councils. They successfully challenged the state to a point where Minister Viljoen was forced to meet them. But the government continues to refuse to meet the demands for a democratic education - in the next session of parliament a bill will be tabled making the administration of Indian and Coloured Education an own affair, whilst African Education will be a general affair without any African representation.

The task of the UDF is to situate the education struggle within the overall strategy of challenging the state. Affiliates in all regions must throw their weight behind the Education Charter Campaign which is currently being led by Azaso, Cosas, Nusas and Neusa.

### 3.3 Anti-Conscription Campaign

Anti-Conscription Committees were set up in a number of regions, however the work of these committees needs to be built upon and consolidated. Our affiliates, particularly youth and student organisations, need to be encouraged to give priority to this issue. Today we witness increased brutal activity on the part of the SADF in our townships and schools which has not received adequate attention. We need to consider the formation of a structure which could monitor and publicise these activities of the SADF.

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### 3.4 May Day

In 1984 we used May Day to strengthen our co-operation with non-affiliated unions. A measure of success was achieved. This year discussions about joint May Day Anniversary Celebrations are underway with various unions, however, we need to put greater effort into joint organising for May Day.

### 3.5 International Youth Year

International Youth Year provides fresh opportunities for challenging the state on a number of fronts as well as providing an opportunity for strengthening our youth affiliates. In some regions our youth affiliates have already launched the International Youth Year Campaign. Areas that will be focussed on in the campaign are: conscription, unemployment, education, oppression and exploitation, etc. Generally the campaign is progressing fairly well, but here we need to mention that it is not our affiliates alone who are taking up this campaign. The South African Government is pouring thousands of rands into its Youth Campaign, and it is essential that the way in which

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we conduct this campaign leaves no doubt as to who represents the people of our country. We must use this campaign to effectively project extra-parliamentary opposition as a viable alternative to the current regime, and at the same time project the current regime's illegitimacy. In order to achieve this objective, every region must fully support this campaign.

#### 4. BUILDING AND BROADENING THE FRONT

We launched the Front with only three constituted regions. Today we have five fully constituted regions and four regions which are growing into fully fledged structures. The demand for the UDF to reach out to areas such as Northern Natal, Orange Free State and Northern Transvaal in the form of solid structures is growing louder by the day. It will be important for this conference to make provision for the executive to meet these requests of the people.

Whilst it is true that the state feels the presence and work of the Front acutely, it is also true that the UDF is still not able to employ its full strength against the government policies. A number of reasons account for this:

##### 4.1 Decision Making

Decision Making constitutes an important element of our work in that every decision taken must advance our struggle. Because of the broad nature of our Front, having a number of structures and affiliates, decision making requires a great deal of time. At times this has meant that the Front has been unable to provide a lead on some issues, for example the current education crisis. Since it is essential that we are able to lead our people in every struggle they fight, we must find a way of taking quick decisions whilst maintaining maximum unity. In this regard it may be necessary to devolve powers to regions thus enabling them take decisions timeously on matters which are specific to them and need immediate implementation. The successful stayaways in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape are cases in point.

##### 4.2 Co-ordinating the work of the Front

One of the important aspects of the Front is co-ordination. With our present structures and the rate at which the Front has expanded and continues to expand, we have not been co-ordinating effectively, especially where the state attacks us as it is doing at present. We need to restructure the Front in such a way that it can respond quickly and effectively to emergencies such as sudden detentions, which are similar to those of last August and early this year. A smaller NEC, but no less competent, will move easier and at lower costs to any point that may need attention. An added advantage in this restructuring of our NEC and other levels of leadership would be to reduce the number of people who are exposed to state victimisation at any single point in time.

##### 4.3 Relations with unaffiliated organisations

At the inception of the Front a number of organisations, especially some unions, were sceptical of the potential of the UDF. In the

face of criticisms and often provocation from some organisations, we refused to be drawn into hostile exchanges with those who questioned the correctness of setting up this Front. Clearly this was the only correct tactic open to us. For a broad Front seeking to build maximum unity of the oppressed, we have an inviolable commitment to bridge whatever differences may exist between us and other groups, even those who may be hostile to us. We must remember at all times that the differences that exist are not antagonistic ones, and we must not allow these differences to blind the way forward.

Relations between the Front and unaffiliated trade unions have improved since the national launch. In the campaign against the new constitution elections, trade unions such as Fosatu, GWU, African Food and Canning Workers' Union and Cape Town Municipal Workers Union joined forces with the Front in regions such as the Western and Eastern Cape. Similarly in the Transvaal Stay-away last year, most unions joined forces with the UDF in making that campaign a success that it ultimately became. Unfortunately this spirit of growing unity has not yet taken root or concrete form in other regions. In the recent stay-away in P.E. a decidedly negative response was received from local union branches in spite of determined consultations by our Eastern Cape affiliates with unions there. We must continue to pursue the path of unity with the unions as a matter of priority. A significant development was our establishment of bilateral relations with the South African Council of Sport in Durban last year. Presently we are seeking consultation and co-operation with SACOS on the coming New Zealand Rugby tour, if it should take place. Joint protest and boycott of the tour will help to register our peoples' opposition to this sell-out tour.

#### 5. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Since its inception our Front has been able to generate huge support on the international plane. Virtually all anti-apartheid forces have rallied to the support of the Front. Most progressive Western governments have generally protested apartheid especially the continued exclusion of the majority of South Africans from the government of this country. Except for the U.S. and Great Britain, all the member countries in the UN General Assembly voted in support of a resolution condemning the new constitution.

Anti-apartheid organisations throughout the world have firmly supported the Front since inception. Indeed, those governments which have stood up against South Africa have done so largely because of the strength of anti-apartheid movements in those countries. In this regard we must single out the Swedish Labour Movement which was the first to acknowledge the contribution of the UDF to the struggle for freedom by awarding the Front the Let Live Prize on 27 July 1984. The prize was received by Comrades Murphey Morobe and Cassim Saloojee. Subsequent to this, a number of organisations in Sweden produced booklets and posters on the UDF and these were widely distributed. Progressives in countries such as the Netherlands, in Great Britain and elsewhere in continental Europe, rose up to the occasion as they pressured their governments to support the anti-apartheid cause. The most dramatic work was that performed by the British AAM and, early this year, the "Free South Africa Movement" who successfully pressured these governments to vote in favour of the call

for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the release of UDF leaders who are charged with treason and the condemnation of murder of our people in Crossroads who were resisting forced removals.

At this stage we wish to draw attention to the fact that in our approach to international relations, our comrades must realise that there is a difference between administrations of those countries and the progressive forces therein. Reagan supports apartheid by way of constructive engagement, but it does not follow that all American people are behind constructive engagement. The activities of the "Free South Africa Movement" and the anti-apartheid congressional lobby headed by Edward Kennedy clearly demonstrate this point. Even in imperialist countries, there are people and groups who are committed to the struggle for the overthrow of apartheid. Our activists and members of the Front must understand that there is a considerable difference between the particular governments and administrations of imperialist countries and those supporting us. In fact, the anti-imperialist camp includes anti-imperialist groups, organisations, classes and strata in those countries.

Our international work has had the net effect of deepening the isolation of South Africa. Today this country is increasingly becoming the pole cat of the world. Almost every country, including the Reagan Administration, find it extremely difficult to support the South African regime openly. The occupation in September last year of the British Consulate in Durban by six of our comrades, brought an unprecedented focus to the system of detention without trial in the Republic of South Africa. The breach of a solemn promise by the Pretoria regime in refusing to return the four Armscor accused in the Coventry Trial alienated the British people and its natural allies, the Thatcher Government.

It is this increasing isolation that has today forced P W Botha to announce his so-called informal forum, rights to urban blacks, and to admit in foreign media that he acknowledges that there is a lot wrong with apartheid and that his government is addressing a number of these questions. The Consulate affair brought tremendous international publicity and won the UDF a lot of sympathy abroad.

## 6. REPRESSION

From its inception the UDF has witnessed a conscious decision by the state to undermine the work of the Front and to isolate it from the people. To this end various methods were adopted ranging from disinformation to naked vicious repression.

### 6.1 Disinformation

Several bogus pamphlets were distributed country-wide during most of 1984. Disinformation about the Front and its activities has also been spread through various forms of media.

### 6.2 Ban on Meetings

Several meetings of the UDF and its affiliates have been banned. Currently, meetings of the Front and 28 of its affiliates are banned in 18 magisterial districts. 16 of these districts are in the Eastern Cape and 2 are in the Transvaal. In addition, all meetings, anywhere in the country, called to discuss a stay at home, are banned.

### 6.3 Denial of Venues to the UDF

Premises controlled by Development Boards are denied to the UDF for the purpose of meetings. Priests who have made their churches available for UDF meetings are threatened with withdrawal of lease rights.

### 6.4 Rural Areas and Bantustans

In the Ciskei, hundreds of our people were tortured by Sebe during the bus boycott in 1983. Several UDF leaders and activists continue to be victims of Sebe's barbaric legal system. 38 UDF officials and members of its affiliates are currently detained in Ciskei, as well as SAAWU being banned there.

In Bophuthatswana several of our supporters and activists have been dismissed from their jobs or transferred to areas where organising would be difficult for them.

In Kwa Zulu the UDF affiliates, Cosas and Azaso, are banned. In September 1983, 5 student supporters of the UDF were killed by the Inkatha impis in a desperate attempt to coerce support for Buthelezi. Leading officials of the Front, including Comrade Archie Gumede suffered assaults at the hands of Inkatha. The list of incidents of repression in this Bantustan is too long to quote.

In the Transkei the UDF is banned.

### 6.5 Detentions and the Treason Trial

By August last year the state methods of attempting to suppress the UDF and the support it had gained, yielded no results. On the eve of the elections for the House of Delegates, the state detained key officials of the UDF and its affiliates. This swoop culminated in trumped up treason charges. On February 19, more than one hundred houses of UDF activists and all the UDF offices country wide were raided and all documents confiscated. An additional eight key officials of the UDF and its affiliates were charged with treason.

In October last year in a speech to the Transvaal Congress of the NP, Le Grange threatened to take drastic action against the UDF for what he labelled "ANC Front work". Clearly the state was preparing white public opinion for the treason trial move. The indignation of the Nats arose from the resounding success of the UDF anti-election campaign. The continuing advance of the Front in spite of the arrests of the leaders finally forced a sudden change of tactics on the part of the state.

What are the State's objectives in bringing up charges of treason against the UDF leadership?

- i) To undermine the Front, its leadership and its affiliates
- ii) to put peaceful mass struggle on trial
- iii) to alienate the UDF leadership from its constituency by criminalising legal mass resistance
- iv) to justify the section 28 detentions
- v) to kill the spirit of the people and to disorganise the UDF
- vi) to force those on trial to reject the ANC

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- vii) to provide space for the puppets to gain credibility
- viii) to demonstrate legitimacy for the South African Government.

#### 6.6 Instances of General Repression

Two homes of leading UDF activists were burnt down in Welkom; the shop of a key UDF activist was vandalised and burnt; 5 homes of our activists in Soweto were petrol bombed; a comrade's brother was killed when their home was petrol bombed by a Uitenhage councillor; comrade Kratshi was shot dead by police in his home; a leading UDF activist in Graaf-Reinet was assaulted and later knocked down by a police car, and yet police refused to accept charges of assault which he brought up against them. In East London shots were fired at the house of a UDF activist. In P.E. the house of the general secretary of PEBCO and that of the president of PEWO were petrol bombed and burnt to the ground, and another comrade's uncle was shot dead at point blank range when he opened the door to persons, suspected by local people, to be police.

On the morning of the 21st of March, the Citizen carried a front page story in which General Coetzee of the SA Police stated that he would take action to protect police because police were now being killed by people. At 10.00 am that same morning, police and army personnel opened fire with R1 rifles and shotguns. The full extent of the Langa massacre is yet to be established but our information clearly shows that by now more than 100 people have already been killed in and around Uitenhage.

What is the meaning of all this? It is that the state, or at least some arm of the state, has taken a deliberate decision to employ terrorist methods against our activists, organisations and Front because the UDF won the political battle against the government. It is important that this conference understands this point thoroughly and carries it back to our organisations and members. In this regard we have already been ushered into the period of Koevoet atrocities as witnessed in the Namibian struggle.

But the terrorism of the state has not only been aimed at us. Individual priests and churches who have firmly supported the Front by offering their premises for meetings are being threatened with closure of their premises or their buildings are now being burnt down. In the Western Cape, Churches in African areas have been threatened with denial of premises in Khayelitsha if they should continue to provide venues for public meetings.

In the face of these ominous signs a special task before this conference is to examine a style of work that will enable the Front to survive the hard times ahead.

#### 7. EVALUATION OF CAMPAIGNS IN BRIEF

Generally all our campaigns have been successful. We achieved unprecedented levels of mobilisation for each one of our campaigns. But there are certain subjective weaknesses which must be pointed out.

### 7.1 Black Local Authorities

After a successful campaign against the BLA, our affiliates failed to assert their legitimacy at a local level. Subsequent to raising the level of awareness and generating excitement, our affiliates did not mobilise the masses effectively. In many areas in the townships, organisations trail behind the masses thus making it difficult for a disciplined mass action to take place. More often there is a spontaniety of actions in the townships.

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### 7.2 Tri-Cameral Parliament

After the successful Anti-Elections Campaign last August, there has been very little attempt at challenging the junior partners, and projecting the alternative clearly. This conference will have to find answers to this and other questions of effective action.

### 7.3 Million Signature Campaign

Most of the objectives of the MSC were achieved, however we need to make certain criticisms. Lack of thorough planning in the campaign was glaring. The campaign was launched when some affiliates were not ready to take it on. The campaign was launched at a crucial time in terms of the anti-election campaign, however when the decision to embark on the MSC was taken, it was hoped that the MSC would merge with the Anti-election campaign. Instead there was a definite shift of concentration from the MSC to the preparations for the anti-election work. This made it difficult for the smooth running of the MSC campaign.

The crucial objectives of the MSC were often forgotten: "to ground the UDF amongst the people, to give us a solid basis to resist Apartheid and move forwards to build a united, democratic South Africa free from oppression and economic exploitation". Our aim was not only to get one million signatures, but to get one million people to know and accept the Declaration of the UDF. The campaign was seen as a way to educate UDF activists and to recruit new members as a way to build each of the affiliates of the UDF.

### 7.4 Release Political Prisoners

This campaign has continued under the Release Mandela Committee, but has not been very central to the work of the Front so far. Perhaps now that a considerable proportion of our officials are imprisoned, we may have a better ground to put our full strength into this campaign. It is important that this campaign is taken on two levels. Firstly, to drive for the outright unconditional release of all political prisoners, which is obviously a long term issue, and secondly, this campaign must include the struggle for the improvement of conditions under which our people suffer in prison. This would involve pushing the government towards accepting the Geneva convention and other very practical considerations.

### 7.5 Training of Activists

Quite often activists had to go into the field without sufficient understanding of what was expected of them, or even the ability to answer questions raised by the masses. Very often such inabilities are demoralising.

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The weaknesses pinpointed above are not insurmountable. Proper training of activists, planning in advance and the necessary assessment of practical matters relating to implementation of campaigns will go a long way in alleviating these problems, and increasing the confidence and the capacity of our organisations to carry any campaign.

## 8. CHALLENGES FACING THE FRONT

In the last 19 months of our existence major gains were made at the level of building the Front and increasing our capacity to mobilise our people. We can call a mass meeting any time and fill Fun City or the Jabulani Amphitheatre, but now the question that we must ask ourselves is, "What are the challenges facing the UDF today?" The key questions facing us are:

- 8.1 The Transformation of mass support to active participation in the day to day activities of our organisations: we must deepen our organisation. Out of the mobilised mass support our current organisations must develop cohesive structures capable of analysing their own situation and dealing with any challenge at any time of the day. Our affiliates must develop the capacity to identify and to address the needs of the masses of our people. We must increase mass participation in our organisations. Skills must not be limited to a few people, but rather spread and shared. The level of cadreship and leadership must be enhanced.

Our organisations and regional structures develop differently under various situations. Our perceptions and approaches to certain questions may also differ, however our task is to develop a common understanding of issues and to create the basis for cementing our unity. In the key note address to this conference, it was distinctly clear that two camps exist in our society, the one camp being the people, and the other camp being the enemy. From the side of the people, there will be those who differ with us from time to time, but it is nevertheless our duty to continue persuading them to participate in our programmes. We cannot afford to alienate anybody or any organisation. We must win more and more organisations into our Front. Outside the UDF there are hundreds of organisations which form part of the peoples' camp, and it is essential that we provide a space for them to contribute effectively to the peoples' struggle for power. We must develop an active programme to meet these priorities.

- 8.2 Repression: it is a known fact that the state is mounting a repressive campaign against us. Our task is to develop methods of struggle and organisation which will ensure our survival against state blows. In the event of brutalisation by the state and its allies, our people and their organisations must develop a measure of self defence - those thugs who attack our people in their homes, for opposing apartheid, must be contained.

The treason trial has already brought about increased isolation of the South African Government. There are threats of sanctions, demonstrations at SA embassies, and threats of possible cutting off of diplomatic ties with South Africa. The UDF must assist this process. We must increase our campaign against the treason trial to a level that will match what is happening internationally. We, not the international community must lead this campaign - they must support our efforts. Similarly we must begin to intensify the

campaign for the release of political prisoners. This obligation we cannot escape because most of those who have been languishing in jail for over twenty years now, are patrons of the Front. It is our duty to fight for their unconditional release. Every repressive measure of the state must be challenged.

8.3 In the Tri-cameral parliament, the differences between the junior partners and their seniors continue to sharpen. When the Uitenhage massacre was debated, almost all the junior partners called for the resignation of fascist, Le Grange. If they did not do so, it would have been glaringly clear that they were pawns on the chess board of the Nationalist Party. It must be further clear that this call arises out of the fear for the deepening of their isolation from even those who voted for them. We must continue to discredit and isolate these reactionaries.

8.4 In the townships, the Black Local Authorities are inoperative. They are no longer able to dictate to the masses, and already over 50 of the councillors have resigned country wide. Some townships like Cradock and Uitenhage have no local government structures. Now our task is to extend our struggle beyond these apartheid structures and set up our alternative structures which will force the authorities to heed the popular demands of the people. We must set up projects to meet some of the practical needs of our people without compromising our principles. For example, advice offices, mobile clinics, etc., could be set up.

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8.5 It must be our priority to strengthen our links with the unions. Our work must address issues of a working class nature such as unemployment, high food prices, GST, etc. We are a Front which organises a constituency whose greater portion is poor, unemployed or dumped in rural areas and Bantustans to starve. With its recent increase in GST, the state has declared war on their standards of living. They have thrown the gauntlet - we must pick it up and engage them effectively. The present GST means that poor people give 12% of their salaries to the state - our people cannot continue to be starved to death in the country of their birth. This conference must give a directive to regions and affiliates to challenge the state on the economic front. Once we begin to address some of these basic issues, we will increase our relevance to the vast majority of the oppressed.

8.6 We pointed out that major gains were made against the Tri-cameral parliament and local organs of government. At the end of this conference we must come out with a strategy to implement the second phase of our campaign in respect of the above. We have the support, and it is therefore up to us to direct the masses in disciplined action against Apartheid.

8.7 The rural areas remain our priority areas, especially the Bantustans. Our thrust must be towards penetrating these far flung communities and setting up organisations. This is not going to be an easy task, we know that repression is heavy in the Bantustans. It often makes it extremely difficult to organise openly on a UDF ticket.

We must find the correct tactics and strategies which accord with the conditions we find in the Bantustans. The migrant workers living in hostels and elsewhere must also be organised. These people provide a vital link with the rural communities. The skills that they learn and the political consciousness they develop can be transferred to the next

of kins, friends and acquaintances in these areas. The extent to which we mobilise and organise the migrants will determine the pace of organisation of rural communities. The work done directly in rural areas and the organisation of migrants complement each other.

#### 8.8 The Need for Consolidation:

It is generally accepted that we have achieved unprecedented levels of mobilisation and organisation since the time of the Congress Alliance, yet we must acknowledge the fact that in some regions such as the OFS and the Northern Cape, very little progress was made. We started organising for the UDF in these regions as early as November 1983 but to date there exist no General Councils. Effectively this means that organisations may not take common decisions, neither is there anything that binds these organisations together. Only interim committees can take decisions, and their decisions cannot be tested by way of a democratic process. We need to speed-up the process of setting up General Councils in these regions as soon as we have a significant number of organisations which accept the Declaration of the UDF. However, in accelerating this process, we must not be unmindful of problems experienced by our organisations in terms of producing the leadership capable of leading the Front. There is a need to find methods of assisting these regions to develop leadership and organisational skills. This means increased effort on our part to provide education and training to our members.

Our fully constituted regions must be consolidated and broadened. There are several organisations which remain outside the Front. It is the task of our regions to win them over. Our regions must develop programmes capable of drawing in these organisations to take common action with the Front. The fact that we can pull 10 000 people to our meetings must not be a cause for complacency. We need to deepen organisation and the level of understanding of our members. If we do not do that, we run the risk of leading paper organisations. Our affiliates must not join us out of curiosity but out of a deep commitment and understanding of the need to build a mass movement capable of influencing change in this country.

### 9. CONCLUSION

The campaigns of the UDF over the last 19 months showed very clearly that the conditions in our country today demand that we deal with issues far beyond the limited objectives set out at the time of the formation of the Front. Our conference theme, "Protest to Challenge ... Mobilisation to Organisation ..." and the keynote address accentuate this imperative.

At this point in time it is essential that the deliberations and decisions of this conference are geared towards transforming the UDF into a broad Anti-Apartheid Front capable of addressing the challenges currently facing us.

When we next meet in conference, the two principal aspects of our theme; 1) Protest to Challenge, 2) Mobilisation to Organisation, must have been accomplished to a significant extent. This conference must provide broad guidelines for all the regions to evolve programmes to effect the above priorities. Our affiliates in all regions must understand fully the implications of this conference's decisions. All of us have a duty to build our peoples' Front. This calls for hard work in all our structures. Forward to Freedom - Our Victory is Certain.

# WORKING PRINCIPLES

Adopted by the UDF National General Council on 7 April 1985

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## 1. NAME

The Name of ~~the~~ Front shall be the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (hereinafter referred to as the UDF).

## 2. COMPOSITION

The UDF shall consist in the first instance of regional formations, the boundaries of which are to be determined by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE in consultation with regional councils or by the NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL from time to time.

## 3. OBJECTS

The UDF shall strive towards the realisation of a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented South Africa and to this end shall:

- 3.1 articulate opposition to the legislative programme of the government in so far as such a programme conflicts with democratic principles
- 3.2 act as a co-ordinating body for progressive community, social, educational, political and other such organisations which subscribe to democratic principles
- 3.3 articulate the social and political aspirations of the affiliates of the UDF and their members
- 3.4 encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the UDF
- 3.5 not purport to substitute for the accredited liberation movement
- 3.6 engage in appropriate actions and undertake appropriate programmes in pursuit of the above.

## 4. POWERS

In addition to all the powers necessary and desirable to achieve its aims and objectives, the UDF shall have the following ancillary powers:

- 4.1 borrow, receive or raise funds
- 4.2 issue publications

## Working principles Continued

- 4.3 establish such regions as may be necessary from time to time
- 4.4 engage and discharge employees and to set their terms and conditions of employment
- 4.5 delegate from time to time any or all of its powers to any subsidiary organ of the UDF or any committee or officials of the UDF appointed by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

## 5. LEGAL STATUS

The UDF shall have the capacity to sue or be sued in its own name.

## 6. STRUCTURE

The UDF shall consist of the following subsidiary organs or structures:

- 6.1 Patrons
- 6.2 Two National Presidents
- 6.3 National Executive Committee
- 6.4 National Secretariat
- 6.5 National Working Committee
- 6.6 National General Council
- 6.7 Regional General Councils
- 6.8 Regional Executive Committees
- 6.9 Affiliates.

## 7. COMPOSITION, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

### 7.1 Patrons

7.1.1 The National General Council shall elect and/or review the patrons of the UDF. The NEC may nominate and/or review a patron(s) subject to unanimous approval by the RGC's.

7.1.2 The Patrons shall perform such functions as may be delegated to them from time to time by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE and/or NATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

### 7.2 National Executive Committee

7.2.1 The National Executive Committee (NEC) shall consist of:

- 7.2.1.1 National Chairperson
- 7.2.1.2 National Publicity Secretary
- 7.2.1.3 National General Secretary
- 7.2.1.4 National Treasurer
- 7.2.1.5 One Secretary from each REC
- 7.2.1.6 One other member from each REC

## Working Principles Continued

### 7.2.2 The National Executive Committee shall:

- 7.2.2.1 have the power to co-opt persons in its discretion from regions which are not duly constituted
- 7.2.2.2 carry out the policy and programme of the UDF as determined from time to time by the NGC
- 7.2.2.3 nominate and/or review patrons of the UDF, subject to the provisions of 7.1 above
- 7.2.2.4 determine in what way proceedings at the NGC shall be conducted
- 7.2.2.5 appoint the Chairperson of the NGC on an ad-hoc basis.

### 7.3 National Secretariat

#### 7.3.1 The National Secretariat shall consist of:

- 7.3.1.1 The National Chairperson
- 7.3.1.2 The National General Secretary
- 7.3.1.3 The National Publicity Secretary
- 7.3.1.4 The National Treasurer
- 7.3.1.5 One Secretary from each Regional Executive Committee.

#### 7.3.2 The National Secretariat shall act as the administrative and co-ordinating arm of the NEC.

### 7.4 National Working Committee

#### 7.4.1 A national working committee (NWC) shall be established comprising of the NEC plus two other members from each structured region.

#### 7.4.2 The NWC shall be convened at least twice a year by the NEC to decide on policy matters on the basis of mandates from the RGC's and to facilitate national co-ordination.

### 7.5 National General Council

#### 7.5.1 The National General Council (NGC) shall be the supreme decision making body of the UDF

#### 7.5.2 The NGC shall comprise of delegations from the Regional Councils. The number of delegates shall be determined by the NEC

#### 7.5.3 The NEC shall convene a General Meeting at least once every two years at a time determined by the NEC. The NEC shall determine in what way proceedings at the NGC shall be conducted.

## Working Principles Continued

### 7.6 Regional General Council

- 7.6.1 A Regional General Council (RGC) shall consist of all affiliates of that particular region
- 7.6.2 The RGC shall adopt subsidiary working principles which govern the functioning of the UDF within its jurisdiction
- 7.6.3 The RGC shall convene an Annual General Meeting for the purpose of electing a Regional Executive Committee
- 7.6.4 The RGC shall meet at least once every three months.

### 7.7 Regional Executive Committees

A Regional Executive Committee (REC) shall consist of those persons who are duly elected to represent a REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL.

### 7.8 Affiliates

- 7.8.1 Any organisation may apply, through any one or more of the UDF Regional General Councils, for membership as an affiliate of the UDF if it:
  - 7.8.1.1 abides by the "Declaration of the United Democratic Front", as adopted at Mitchell's Plein on 20th August 1983
  - 7.8.1.2 agrees to abide by the UDF National and Regional Working Principles
  - 7.8.1.3 operates and is based within the geographical area of the RGC within which it seeks membership.
- 7.8.2 Admission, suspension and expulsion of members shall be at the discretion of the Regional General Councils with jurisdiction, subject to the over-riding powers of the National General Council to change any decision of a Regional General Council in this regard.

## 8. RIGHTS OF MEMBERSHIP

- 8.1 All regional formations and affiliates shall have complete independence within the umbrella of the UDF, provided that actions and policies of members are not inconsistent with the policy of the UDF.
- 8.2 In this regard the NEC, in consultation with the respective RGC's shall decide whether or not any inconsistency exists.

## 9. DECISION MAKING

- 9.1 Consensus shall be sought in all instances, failing which the decision shall be by majority vote.
- 9.2 The NEC shall co-ordinate decisions of RGC's between NGC's.

## 10. ELECTIONS

- 10.1 The National Presidents and the NEC shall be elected at the NGC.
- 10.2 Each Regional Executive Committee shall be elected at an annual general meeting convened by the respective RGC.

## 11. FINANCE

- 11.1 The UDF shall be empowered to open and operate a banking account with a Banking Institution or Building Society.
- 11.2 The National Treasurer and any one of the two other members appointed by the NEC shall act as signatories to the said banking account.
- 11.3 The National Treasurer shall at all times be accountable to the NEC.
- 11.4 The NEC, NWC, NGC, or any other national structure of the UDF shall not be held liable for any debts incurred by any of its regional formations and affiliates.
- 11.5 Officials of the UDF, delegates to the NGC and any of the UDF employees shall be indemnified and held absolved from liability in respect of any loss sustained by the UDF as a result of any bona fide act performed or authorised by them in the course of their activities on behalf of the UDF.

## 12. AMENDMENTS

- 12.1 These working principles may be amended or altered by a two-thirds majority of those present and entitled to vote at the NGC.
- 12.2 The resolutions of the NEC shall, subject to approval of a two-thirds majority of all RGC's, supersede these working principles.

## 13. DISSOLUTION

- 13.1 The UDF shall be dissolved by a two-thirds majority of those present and entitled to vote at a special meeting called for that purpose or at a meeting of the NGC.
- 13.2 Such resolution shall only be carried if the UDF is prevented from functioning and there are no reasonable prospects of it being able to do so in the near future.
- 13.3 In the event of dissolution, the NEC shall appoint a Liquidator to wind up the affairs of the UDF. The Liquidator shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his duty.
- 13.4 In the event of dissolution, the liquidated assets of the UDF shall be distributed to any organisation or organisations as determined by the NEC which pursue similar objects to those of the UDF.

**UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

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## **RESOLUTIONS**

**Adopted by the UDF National General Council on 7 April 1985**

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# Detentions and Treason Trial

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## NOTING

1. The brutal police and SADF violence against the peaceful protests of our people
2. The harassment of our people, organisations and their leaders through detentions, trials, raids, bannings and various other forms of repression
3. The treason charges contrived against our leaders and that the refusal in this and other cases to grant bail, effectively detains them
4. The detention of 38 UDF leaders in the Border Region
5. The frequent assassination of activists struggling against puppet structures, deaths in detention and disappearances
6. No matter how many commissions are appointed, our people's anger will not subside, nor will it divert our struggle

## NOTING FURTHER

1. That the rejection of puppet structures by the people has thrown the state into a panic
2. That this state can offer nothing that can win the support of the people
3. That this panic has led them to embark on a reign of terror in our townships aimed at wiping out peaceful resistance and preventing the consolidation of our organisations
4. That the trial of 16 UDF leaders is in fact a trial of our long-established traditions and methods of struggle
5. That those detained or on trial for their resistance to apartheid are patriots and worthy leaders of the people
6. The increasing use of petty charges to criminalise political activists

## THEREFORE DEMANDS

1. The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners
2. That the state cease its violence and other attacks on the people's organisations
3. The immediate withdrawal of the charges of treason against 16 of our leaders, and for their immediate release from detention

## WE WARN

That such continued aggressive actions are driving people to resort to more drastic action. We pledge ourselves to continue the struggle to eradicate apartheid and thus achieve peace in South Africa.

# Banning of UDF and Affiliates in the Bantustans

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## NOTING THAT

1. the continued banning of SAAWU in Ciskei is a totally arbitrary act to silence genuine worker organisation
2. the banning of COSAS and AZASO in Kwazulu and Bophuthatswana and the banning of all unions in Bophuthatswana and the UDF in the Transkei is a deliberate measure to prevent people from struggling for legitimate demands

## WE RESOLVE TO

1. Challenge and expose the violence perpetrated by the bantustan puppets in carrying out the dirty work of their apartheid masters
2. Take appropriate actions to fight and call for the immediate unbanning of peoples' organisations and release of political detainees
3. Continue organising in the Bantustans

# UDF International Relations

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Recognising the necessity for the United Democratic Front to form international contacts in order to further the struggle to end apartheid;

**NOTING:**

that the Front is not a national liberation movement, and that its international contacts should be in accordance with this principle;

**BELIEVING:**

that all international contacts should be conducted on terms favourable to our struggle and without ever compromising the independence of the Front and the character of our struggle;

**CONSIDERING:**

1. that the Front can make considerable gains by publicising overseas our people's struggles, the atrocities of the regime and the achievements of the Front;
2. that, just as we seek to isolate the apartheid regime inside the country, our international contacts can contribute to the isolation of the regime internationally.
3. that, just as the frontline states support our struggle and are under attack by the apartheid regime, so we too should give them our support.

**WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:**

UDF consolidate and develops the UDF's international contacts, in accordance with the objectives and principles of the UDF.

# Trade Unions

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## NOTING

1. The unity of the working people is a goal which all progressive people of our country desire
2. the necessity for this unity has never been as desperately required as in the present state of economic disarray
3. the need for unity is a fundamental pre-requisite for the emancipation of the working class from the bondage of exploitation and oppression
4. the urgency of this matter makes it necessary for all concerned to work through their differences and arrive at a working unity

## THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. to commit the UDF to support the ideal of a united progressive trade union movement
2. to support all the independent and progressive trade unions in building up their organisations and in realising that the goals of a single trade union federation
3. to encourage, promote and assist unorganised workers in both urban and rural areas to join or form trade unions.

# Unemployment

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## NOTING

1. that the working people in urban and rural areas bear the brunt of the present economic crisis
2. that at present over 3 million workers are unemployed
3. that through its influx control measures the government is dumping millions of the unemployed in the bantustans

## AND BELIEVING

1. that high unemployment and poverty wages are the protection and licence apartheid policies give to the bosses to facilitate the inhuman exploitation of the workers
2. that there can be no solution to poverty wages and unemployment until workers have control over every aspect of their lives, and the economy is directed by need, not by greed.

## THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to struggle for an end to unemployment and demanding work for all
2. to support trade unions in their fight for a living wage for all workers
3. to work for pensions, disability grants, paid maternity leave, job security and unemployment benefits that keep up with the rising prices and that are administered fairly, justly and without racial discrimination
4. to fight increases in rent, transport fares and the price of foodstuffs, fuel and other essentials

## AND FURTHER RESOLVES

1. to support trade unions in their struggle against retrenchment
2. to investigate the possibility of joint action by workers in trade unions and community organisations to initiate an effective national campaign for JOBS FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE
3. to raise awareness amongst all the workers of our people as to the causes and solutions to the present economic crises
4. to commit ourselves to support the organisations of the unemployed and struggle for work and security for all.

# Forced Removals

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## NOTING:

1. the violence which characterises forced removals in S.A., despite claims and promises to the contrary
2. the heroic resistance of the people of Crossroads and other communities to such aggression
3. the threat of forced removals that hangs over the heads of many of our communities all over S.A.
4. the destabilisation campaign through forced removals conducted by this government on the peace-loving communities throughout the country
5. the support that these initiatives enjoy from the bantustan puppets under the guise of consolidation of the "Homeland" system
6. the determination of our people to fight for their rights in the land of their birth

## NOW THEREFORE DEMAND:

1. an immediate stop to the harassment and forced removals of our people
2. the right of all South Africans to live and work where they choose

## AND DECLARE

our commitment to support all people resisting removals and build organisation to facilitate such resistance

# Rural Areas

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NOTING :

1. the growth of organisations as a result of UDF activities in certain rural areas in parts of our country
2. that the attempts to establish rural organisations are generally impeded by lack of resources, state repression and inadequate publicity of their struggles
3. that it is essential that the UDF address itself more effectively to such questions in order to adequately meet the aspirations of the people in the country-side

We therefore commit ourselves to raise the level of our rural organisations and to facilitate the tasks of those working in these areas.

# Militarisation

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## NOTING

1. the increased militarisation and massive defence budget of a time when our people are deprived of the basic necessities of life
2. the continued acts of aggression perpetrated by the SADF against our neighbouring states
3. the increasing use of the SADF and the SA Police particularly the reaction units to crush the legitimate resistance of our people in the townships
4. the growing instances of young people resisting conscription in the SA army
5. the SADF is involved in a campaign to weaken the resolve and poison the minds of young children in communities through the organisation of youth camps
6. the illegal occupation of neighbouring states
7. the increasing number of African people being conscripted through Bantustan armies, trained by the SADF

## AND BELIEVING

1. that the SADF and SA Police are being used by the SA regime to uphold the Nationalist government, its collaborators and economic exploitation
2. that the reaction units have become internal armies of occupation to restore government control in these areas of resistance
3. that the government still intends to conscript Indians and coloureds
4. that there can be no peace in Southern Africa until the SADF is disarmed and apartheid is abolished

## HEREBY RESOLVES

1. to resist all forms of militarisation
2. strive to end compulsory conscription
3. to secure the withdrawal of all SADF troops from our townships, neighbouring states and Namibia
4. to demand that the SADF ceases its campaign to destabilise our neighbouring states, and stops the support of terrorist groups like UNITA, MNR and others
5. to support in whatever way possible, those who do not join the SADF
6. to call for the disbanding of the SADF and all the so-called security forces
7. that no member of SADF can serve on any of the structures of UDF

WE THEREFORE wish to caution those who encourage or perpetrate this violence against our people and the neighbouring states, that their actions are driving the country into a bloodbath. The responsibility for this will lie actively at the door of the racist regime.

# Women

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## NOTING

1. that the extent to which the women are organised is a barometer of the level of the struggle as a whole
2. that many of our finest and bravest women have been forced into exile by the apartheid system, and experience hardship through banishment and imprisonment
3. that this system thrives on division, one of which is the division between men and women, created by unequal wages and conditions of employment, inequality before the law, vicious applications of removals and pass laws against women, and the burden of responsibility for the home
4. that there is an international conference of women to mark the end of the UN decade of women this year
5. that despite the increased organisation of women, the oppression and hardship in the lives of South African women has intensified over the past ten years

## WE BELIEVE

1. that the goal of full recognition of all women, of freedom and happiness for our children cannot be achieved in the present political and economic situation
2. that oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women
3. that while the resources of a country, the product of the exploitation of the majority are used for the benefit of the majority, the women of South Africa like other workers will continue to be oppressed and exploited

## WE THEREFORE

1. call on all women to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can realise our commitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination
2. and with the Latin American and Caribbean women, call on the UN to strengthen the organisation of women in the liberation struggle and to pressurise governments to use their resources to make equality, peace and development a reality in all aspects of women's lives
3. and call on the government to lift the banishment of all women, including Winnie Mandela and for the release of all women political prisoners.

# Black Local Authorities

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## NOTING

1. the state introduced the Black Local Authorities Act to control African people in the townships
2. the government attempted to co-opt sectors of our people through this strategy.
3. the local authorities act have been *totally* rejected because of their illegitimacy and ineffectiveness *in solving* the problems of our people.

## AND NOTING FURTHER :

the collapse of the local authorities system in parts of our country.

## AND BELIEVING THAT :

it is the democratic right of all people to

1. create any organisations to represent their interests
2. have direct control over all matters affecting their lives including such matters as housing, health, transport
3. that community councillors are responsible for *the* violence in the townships

## DO HEREBY RESOLVE:

1. to expose the inadequacy of the local authorities system by taking up problems affecting our people
2. to strive for the collapse of the <sup>l</sup>local authority system throughout the country
3. to isolate those who collaborate in puppet structures and warn them that they will have to answer for their violence against the people
4. to direct all regions to consolidate, establish and encourage the formation of community organisations which must become the alternatives to the local authority system
5. and declare that such organisations established by ~~the people are the~~ representatives of the people.

# Tricameral Parliament and Black Forum

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## NOTING

1. the tri-cameral parliament, Bantustans and community councils are totally discredited and rejected by the South African people
2. that the puppets in the tri-cameral parliament, Bantustans and other Apartheid structures are enemies of the people
3. that the mass resistance that followed the anti-election campaign by the people all over the country has greatly contributed to the bankruptcy and disintegration of the illegitimate minority regime
4. that the attempt to create a "Black Forum" cannot fool the people
5. That the Black Forum does not begin to address the central question of the liberation of the African people

## BELIEVING

1. That only a government based on the will of all the people has a right to govern
2. that only a government based on the will of all the people and the total eradication of Apartheid and all forms of exploitation can resolve the injustices, hardships and suffering inflicted on our people

## THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. To intensify the struggle for a non-racial democratic state based on the will of all our people
2. To reject the Black Forum and to use all our resources to challenge the Forum in every conceivable way so that it is rendered inoperative
3. To creatively challenge all the structures under the tri-cameral parliament through people's organisations that will address the grievances of the people.

# Citizenship

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## NOTING:

1. that the purported independence of certain tracts of South African land now known as Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana & Venda has brought in its trail fresh misery and repression of the African people
2. that the bantustan policy is aimed at depriving the African people of citizenship in the land of their birth
3. that this has led to the intensified application of pass laws
4. the discussion in government circles about the granting of "dual citizenship" to Africans, as part of their "reform" strategy
5. the constant false claims suggesting the imminent abolition of influx control and "planned urbanisation"
6. the constant repetition of false claims that the forced removals have been suspended

## BELIEVING

1. that the various attempts at "reform" are all attempts by the racist regime to deflect our resistance and to facilitate the continued oppression of our people
2. that the only solution to S.A. problem lies in the creation in a non-racial unitary and democratic S.A.
3. that the African people have an inalienable right to full citizenship

## WE EXPRESS OUR DETERMINATION

1. to struggle for the abolition of pass laws
2. to strengthen links between urban and rural areas to frustrate state strategy
3. to declare that we shall not rest until the policy of denationalisation is eradicated
4. to oppose all attempts to confuse our people with false propaganda
5. to devise an effective programme of action against the pass laws and the denationalisation policy of the racist regime as a matter of urgency

# Imperialism

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(19) 28787

We note with anger the support of the imperialist countries, led by the Thatcher and Reagan governments, for the racist South African government.

We know that the US government is, through its policy of constructive engagement furthering its own economic interests.

Foreign companies invest their capital in South Africa because of the huge profits they make through the exploitation of our people and the natural wealth of our land.

This unshamed greed and support for the Nationalist government by the governments of the United States and Britain is pursued at the expense and the welfare and even the lives of the people of South Africa and cannot stop us in our march towards freedom.

We furthermore note the collaboration of the governments of Israel, Chile, Taiwan and other anti-democratic regimes with the South African government and its bantustans.

We further note the role of these imperialist countries in the destabilisation and economic exploitation of developing countries.

## WE DEMAND THAT:

1. All foreign governments recognise the right of our people to live in a non-racial and democratic country

## WE BELIEVE

1. That foreign investments do not benefit the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa but bolster the apartheid government
2. That the present disinvestment campaign in the USA shows that the American people are neither fooled by the sham reforms of the Botha government nor the policy of Constructive engagement
3. That those who claim to believe in democracy have an obligation to support the just struggle of the South African people for liberation from oppression and exploitation

## NOW THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. To demand the immediate end to US and British collaboration with the apartheid regime
2. to demand an end to the exploitation of the people and the national wealth of our country by foreign investors
3. to reject the argument that foreign investments benefit the oppressed and exploited of South Africa
4. to condemn the support of the government of Israel, Chile and the Taiwan puppets for the apartheid government and its bantustans and to support those struggles for democracy in those countries
5. to pledge our solidarity with all oppressed people in their struggle against imperialism.

Finally we declare to all these accomplices in the crimes of apartheid that we will leave no stone unturned in winning support throughout the world to expose and end their ruthless treachery.

# Imperialism USA

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*Revised page  
No 19  
28/11/77*

THIS National General Council reaffirms the total opposition of the UDF to any form of imperialism, including any attempts to undermine the sovereignty and independence of states or any measures taken to undermine any people's struggle for national liberation.

## NOTING

1. the reactionary foreign policy of the Reagan administration aimed at subverting progressive states and movements and its support for reactionary states and organisations
2. that the policy of constructive engagement has provided material and political support to the Apartheid regime and has sought to undermine the people's forces struggling for liberation

## CONDEMNS

1. the concerted campaign of subversion conducted by the Reagan administration throughout the world
2. the complicity of the Reagan regime in the crimes of apartheid

## AND EXPRESSES

outrage at the recent statements of President Reagan which amount to a condonation of the Uitenhage massacre

## AND WARNS

the American Government that its continued complicity in the continuation of these acts of violence against the South African people, have serious long-term effects.

## THEREFORE CALL

on the American people to intensify the struggle against "constructive engagement" and to compel the American government to abandon this policy and to support the just struggle of the people of South Africa for liberation from apartheid.

# International Year of the Youth

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## NOTING

1. that 1985 has been declared International Year of the Youth of the United Nations General Assembly
2. that the broad aim of the IYY campaigns as outlined by the U.N. is to harness the energy, enthusiasm and creative potential of the youth, for the task of nation building and the struggle for national independence and self determination
3. the role that our youth have played in the past in taking our struggle forward
4. the attempts by the apartheid state to involve itself in activities under the banner of the IYY
5. that the illegitimate racist regime has no right to represent our youth internationally
6. the formation of regional and national IYY committees by democratic youth organisations
7. that our youth face many problems and burdens including unemployment, racist education and conscription
8. that many sectors of our youth especially young women remain unorganised

## AND BELIEVING

1. that the youth are a dynamic and vibrant sector of the people and it is vital that we include them in our organisation
2. that the aims of the IYY campaign are our aims and should be supported
3. that throughout the IYY campaign our youth must play an important role in building opposition to apartheid, both in our country and abroad
4. that the aim of the state's IYY campaign is to build support for apartheid and to misguide our youth
5. that the democratic youth organised into the IYY committees form an integral part of the challenge to apartheid which is today being co-ordinated by the UDF

## THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to further strengthen our youth organisation through the IYY campaign
2. to call upon the regional and national IYY committees to seek affiliation to the UDF and work in close liason with the UDF both at regional and national levels
3. to totally reject, oppose and expose the state's IYY campaign as an instrument of state strategy, and to demand that the state withdraw immediately from all IYY activities.

# Education

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## NOTING :

1. that there are no effective ways to represent students interests in schools
2. that the inferior nature of the education for the majority of South Africans and the poor conditions of schools, lack of textbooks and the high failure rate
3. the exclusion rule and other attempts by the state to restrict education
4. that the SADF is attempting to "win the hearts and minds" of our children by their presence as teachers and PT instructors in our schools, and organising so-called pleasure camps
5. the attempt by the state to separate the interests of parents and students, and the repression of progressive teachers and students
6. the fundamentally undemocratic nature of the South African education system that has been imposed on the people without their consent

## AND BELIEVING:

1. Democratically elected SRC's are the only bodies able to peacefully negotiate students' demands at school
2. the inferior education is the result of a deliberate intention by the government to produce a docile population
3. the interests of our students in education cannot be separated from the interests of their parents, such as the rents they pay, the conditions of their houses and townships and townships and the low wages they earn
4. It is the right and duty of students and teachers to improve the conditions in their schools and communities
5. adequate teachers and not uniformed propoganda machines should educate our children
6. the doors of learning and culture shall be open to all

## THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. to continue our struggle for democratic representation in schools
2. that long-term demands must be collected and furthered by popularising the Education Charter Campaign as an alternative to apartheid education in urban and rural areas.

## Education Continued

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3. to campaign against and demand removal of all restriction of education opportunities
4. to demand the removal of SADF teachers from our schools and demand qualified teachers
5. to resist being taught by soldiers
6. to encourage the formation of parent-student committees to negotiate educational demands and maintain close contact with existing parents committees.
7. to call upon the NEC and affiliates to develop structures that will ensure effective participation in and support for student struggles
8. to expose the systematic victimisation of teachers, the link between security police and the department of Education and Training
9. to encourage the formation of progressive teachers' organisations and strengthen existing organisations to oppose victimisation and to carry the education struggle forward
10. to recommend to education affiliates that they ensure the participation of each and every student, parent and teacher in the process of building a democratic system of education in South Africa

# Namibia

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## NOTING:

1. the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime
2. the heroic resistance of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to the continued South African aggression

## BELIEVING:

1. that any attempt to delay the Namibian independence by linking it to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops is a red herring to prolong the exploitation of Namibia by S.A. and other imperialist powers.
2. that the struggle of the people of Namibi is inextricably linked to the struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime.

## DEMANDS:

the immediate withdrawal of the SADF troops from Namibia and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978)

# New Zealand Rugby Tour

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## NOTING

that the overwhelming majority of South Africans demand this country's isolation from international support

## FURTHER NOTING

1. the support for the struggle of the people of South Africa by the people and the present government of New Zealand
2. the disapproval of the New Zealand government of the New Zealand Rugby Board's intention to support apartheid by sending a rugby team to South Africa

## AND BELIEVING

that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society

## THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to warn the New Zealand Rugby Board that any tour of South Africa by a New Zealand Rugby team will be regarded as complicity in the crime of apartheid
2. to urge the New Zealand Rugby Board and the people of New Zealand to ensure that such a tour does not occur
3. to co-operate with and support the South African Council on Sport and all other organisations inside and outside the country in mobilising mass resistance against rebel tours, and in particular the New Zealand rugby tour.

UDF JWS

**C103**

No 5: 30/4/87  
19: 13/8/87

Op ontvangs lesles  
J.C. Coetzee. Kapte

## POLICY OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

Our Policy will be bent towards a philosophy that:

- Will determine the interests of all in the education of the country.
- Will disseminate ideas that will lead the people towards an education which will leave every one free to think, act and live.
- Will in the final analysis lead to total liberation in South Africa.

### ON EDUCATION

We condemn the present system of education which is aimed at: rendering the us perpetual slaves in the country of our birth, maintaining white superiority and dividing the people into ethnic groups/classes that are going to render our struggle ineffective.

### WE ENVISAGE

A society where free and compulsory education will cease to be a privilege but be a right and one that is democratically determined to teach the people to love one another, maintain their culture and dignity and, honour human brotherhood.

### ON SPORT

We view the present system of multiracial sport as an attempt by the government to create an impression of genuine change so as to gain international recognition. As an anti-racial organisation we will recognise non-racial sport from grassroots.

### ON RELIGION

We do not recognise the kind of religion introduced by the colonialists with the aim of keeping the oppressed inferior and subservient to the oppressor. We recognise religion as a living reality and identify it with the social problems of the oppressed.

### DIALOGUE

We maintain that a genuine and meaningful change will be brought about by the will and power of the people. We reject any direct or indirect dialogue with the government-created bodies or institutions.

### RELATIONS

Our organisation will work or identify itself with any progressive group whose policy and principles are similar to those of ours.

### CLASS

We outrightly reject the government's strategy of granting concessions to a sector of our society as an attempt to create a middle-class in order to render our struggle ineffective. We do not recognise these concessions and grouping of people into classes. We fight as a single group and class in this society.

"Outward - Secunder"  
Fesit -  
5:30 p.m.

104

1. The position of UDF and the strategy of national democratic struggle (NDS) is said to stand against or at least not to advance the struggle of the working class.

2. This argument is phrased in a variety of forms, eg:

a. The struggle for national liberation slows down, impedes, obstructs or prevents the struggle for socialism

b. 'Nationalist' struggle is petit-bourgeois or tends to be petit-bourgeois in nature. It is therefore inevitably contrary to working-class interests. The strategy of class-alliances is said to lead to an inevitable down-grading of working-class interests.

c. Those supporters of NDS who are socialists are said to be supporters of a mechanistic two-stage approach -first NDS, then stop and perhaps we move on to socialism.

3. These arguments correspond with specific analyses of the nature of the SA state, the nature of oppression and exploitation.

Basically these analyses contend that it is in reality or primarily class exploitation that blacks encounter. National oppression is often reduced to racism and is seen as merely a means to divide workers -something that is not peculiar to SA.

*In the U.K., for example, racism is used to pit British workers against Pakistanis who are immigrants.*

4. Any strategy, if it is to be appropriate must correspond to the material reality that it confronts. This includes:

i. The forms of domination and exploitation in the specific social formation

ii. The level of development of our own forces and the political forces that we confront.

5. In the case of SA, an adequate treatment demands a historical analysis of the development of these factors. Since <sup>time</sup> ~~time~~ is limited, ~~present~~ some very broad points: *are presented.*

Throughout SA history there has been a struggle between the white conquerors, now settled, and the indigenous people. This struggle has taken a variety of forms, altering with the phase of colonisation/conquest, resources at the disposal of each side etc. These phases may broadly be delineated as

i. Resistance with primitive weaponry (corresponding to the level of material development) of the <sup>San</sup> ~~San~~ -bows and arrows against the arms of the ~~settlers~~ settlers.

ii. <sup>limited</sup> limited armed resistance of Khoi. Both San and Khoi <sup>were</sup> decimated or assimilated as 'coloureds'

iii. Tribal resistance, lasting a century in the case of Xhosa and decades in the case of the Pedi, Venda, Sotho etc. At many phases the two forces were evenly matched -especially Boer vs Africans, especially when the latter had arms. But the British army often tilted the balance against

the Africans. *This phase of resistance concludes with the Bambata rebellion of 1906*

iv. *The conquest of the nation, which led to the Act of Union. Motivated by the unification was motivated by:*

- a) <sup>the</sup> need for <sup>a</sup> common 'native policy' to facilitate control, *and*
- b) <sup>more</sup> more efficient labour supply

c) <sup>to facilitate the</sup> creation of <sup>a</sup> white 'nation', *and the*

d) creation of <sup>a</sup> national market.

These factors in turn gave rise to

- aa. the origins, of a national movement against apartheid in 1912
- bb the creation of a common market, development of industry etc, promoted labour struggles and the development of political organisations of the working class
- v. Over the decades these two streams of the SAn struggle , that of labour and that of the people's national movement tried to find one another. At times they viewed each other with suspicion, <sup>at</sup> ~~at~~ times with contempt.
- vi. With the maturation of both movements a gradual convergence of their interests and the development of an alliance - (significant events were <sup>the</sup> anti-pass campaign and miners strike of <sup>the</sup> 1940s, Dadoo-Naicker-Xuma pact, <sup>the</sup> Defiance campaign)

The fruits of these developments were ~~found in~~ the Congress Alliance in the 1950s

vii. This process of consolidation of cross-class alliance was however interrupted by state repression, starting with the Treason <sup>trial</sup> and culminating in the banning of the ANC and the jailing of many of its members and activists in the early 60s

viii. The period 1963 to late 1970s saw very limited presence of ANC although underground units and armed units operated in a limited way

ix. 1973 saw Natal workers engage in dramatic strikes. Yet, <sup>these were</sup> mainly non-unionised <sup>workers/their actions were</sup> and isolated from wider political struggle

x. 1976 rising -generally not linked to workers nor to <sup>the</sup> Congress tradition

xi. Late 1970s saw the emergence of independent trade unions and the

~~and the~~ re-emergence of democratic popular organizations.

6. How do we relate to this reality? Should we be waging a class struggle and are we, therefore, wasting the time of all socialists by engaging in class alliances? *and betraying the interests of us*

To provide answers we need to look at the nature of the state that we confront.

7.a. In one sense, in that it reproduces capitalist relations and forces of production, ~~the~~ South African ~~state~~ is very similar to <sup>that of</sup> the UK, France ~~and~~ other capitalist states. There is a class (workers) who are forced to sell their labour-power at a wage in order to exist. They sell this to the bosses who own the factories, mines etc

The value of what they produce is greater than their wage. The difference between what they produce and what they are paid goes into the pockets of the bosses.

Out of this contradiction between ~~the~~ interests of capital and labour, there is a class struggle between workers and the bosses.

b. In addition to ~~this~~ contradiction, however, we have in SA a situation where all ~~whites~~ enjoy political freedom while all blacks irrespective of class endure national oppression.

All Whites? Not just white bourgeois but also petit-bourgeois and workers enjoy ~~the~~ access to power in varying degrees. The price of their vote has been certain concessions in SA's history to white workers. They enjoy relatively high wages as a 'subsidy' for their whiteness (due to <sup>the</sup> super-exploitation of blacks). *special*

The whites then form an alliance of classes who lord it over all blacks. This alliance is not, however stable. It has undergone changes at various stages of SAn history. Right now it is being undermined by attempts to coopt

*revenue* sections of the black population and the current recession. *On the one hand,* *are political level right-winged forces the NP and* *returning* *join with right winging. Thus, endangering the* *or, alternatively creating the possibility of new* All blacks? *alignments. On the other hand, the current* *economic crisis reduces the revenue available* *to make cooption attractive*

The black people ~~to~~ SA have been denied their ~~right~~ of self-determination, ~~the~~ *right* to control their own country. All blacks, but especially Africans, endure national oppression. All blacks, irrespective of class, are victims of this oppression. It is not only black workers, but all blacks who are disenfranchised and endure disabilities in almost every aspect of their lives.

One of the peculiarities of the SAn state is that written into its structure is this systematic national oppression of all blacks. It is one of the factors that facilitates capitalist exploitation. Profits are higher in SA than in most other states because the political disabilities of blacks make it more difficult for them to ~~combat~~ *organize against* slave wages.

*(continuing)*

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Prior to the tricameral parliamentary elections, the United Democratic Front, in an open letter to the then Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, made an earnest plea to abandon the government's plan to implement the new constitution.

The plea was made with a genuine concern for peace. We also warned the government that the implementation of the constitution would lead our country to violence and bloodshed. Today, it is a known fact that the government did not acknowledge our letter, nor did it respond to our plea. Nine months after the elections, our country has been plunged into a political and an economic crisis unparalleled since the 1960 state of emergency.

The UDF was launched in August, 1983 at Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, where 12 000 people from all corners of our country pledged to fight side by side against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. The track record of the UDF since then bears testimony to this commitment. We have made massive strides in the struggle against apartheid in the twenty months since the launching of the Front.

The Nationalist government fears the UDF. It has waged a concerted campaign of repression against the Front. But, this has not prevented the growth of the Front, nor has it succeeded in its aim <sup>(of)</sup> nulling opposition to the government's plans of fine-tuning apartheid. For this reason, Mr P.W. Botha and Mr Louis Le Grange in particular, have sought to find scapegoats for the situation in our country. The UDF and certain 'agitators' have become the target of vitriolic attacks by the government.

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Almost the entire leadership has been charged with high treason. 400 people have been killed since January this year and a further 10 000 people have been arrested . Meetings have been banned in the Eastern Cape.

The real cause of the conflict in our country must be laid fully and squarely at the feet of the government which is bent on entrenching white domination. The conflict exists because this government consistently refuses to address the crucial question of the political rights for the majority of the people. The new constitutional dispensation is an attempt by the government to win over large sections of the Black community into its laager. It is clearly an attempt to broaden the base of apartheid rule. But, the government has only been able to co-opt a few individuals who are now widely condemned as puppets of the system. Our people are angry and have expressed their rejection in the strongest terms against those people claiming to represent us without our consent.

The government is being pressurised by our people to dismantle apartheid. And, it is in this climate that it was announced recently that Sect. 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act is to be scrapped. This however, does not address the fundamental problems of apartheid, nor, does talk of a possible creation of a Black forum in a tricameral parliamentary arrangement. We believe that these initiatives are not there to dismantle apartheid, but to modernise racial domination.

Further, the country is plunging into a deep economic crisis which shows no signs of recovery. Today, more than 3 million South Africans are unemployed; prices are rocketing daily and inflation now stands officially at 16 percent. Real wages are falling

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and in this economic climate, the government has raised GST to 12% in order to meet apartheid's growing bill. The cost of illegally occupying Namibia; the implementation of the new constitution; the propping up of the Bantustans and the administration of pass laws, run into billions of rands. The 1985 defence budget now stands at 15.4% of the total budget. And, barely a month after the budget was announced, General Magnus Malan announced that he may be asking for further defence increases if the unrest in the townships continue.

Apartheid policies are contributing to the deepening economic crisis in the country. The government's response has been to cutback on its expenditure on essential social services such as, housing, health <sup>and</sup> food subsidies. These cutbacks have hit the vast majority of our people the hardest. It is our view that the Nationalists have abdicated their responsibility for meeting basic human needs and are now, under the guise of privatisation, shifting the burden onto those who can least afford it. It is this very situation which is contributing to the escalating conflict in Black townships and on the factory floor.

The world has heard the testimony of the people of Uitenhage who speak only of the day when fire engines washed blood off the streets. They speak of a system that has used their labour and thrown them onto the streets in a recession. And then, told them to pay for their own oppression in the townships. Almost anywhere we go in the country, we hear the same story. Of councillors who have little power other than to announce rent increases and to grant themselves huge salaries out of the pockets of the residents. We hear of retrenchments, cost of living

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increases, food, rent, transport, of gutter education, beatings, detentions, housing shortages and killings of those who protest. The presence of the police and the SADF in our townships is creating the atmosphere of a country at war with its own people. Our people are angry, they refuse to be party to their own oppression. Protests in the townships have intensified. Over one million students have boycotted classes in protest against the inequalities of apartheid education. Stayaways in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape have demonstrated our people's opposition to the economic and political effects of apartheid rule. We in the UDF, wish to reissue our challenge to Mr P.W. Botha and the Nationalist government. We call on them to dismantle apartheid. Attempts to reform unreformable structures is not the solution. Our people have never participated as equals in the government of our country. We are therefore demanding our right to self-determination in the country of our birth. The UDF declaration states this clearly:

- \* We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country
- \* We stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas
- \* We say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

This is our vision of a new South Africa and what we in the UDF are striving for. We will therefore welcome any moves which will set us on this course of change. But, in order to embark on such a course, certain realities of the South African situation needs to be considered.

Firstly, the widespread support of the African National Congress and in particular, its leader, Nelson Mandela, is a reality that

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the government needs to reckon with. Despite being banned for more than 25 years, the support for the ANC among the masses of our people is unquestionable.

Secondly, for the government to parade certain individuals in the Bantustan governments, in the tricameral parliaments and the Black Local Authorities as moderate and responsible leaders, is not only misleading, but also deceitful. Less than 17% of eligible Coloured and Indian voters cast their ballots last year. Further, in the elections for the Black Local Authorities, the poll was even lower - at times, less than 1%. And recently, more than 150 councillors have resigned and many town councils are no longer functioning. We therefore question the legitimacy and the right of this government to rule over us.

It is patently clear that there can be no peaceful solution to the problems of this country without taking the ANC and the recognised leaders of the people into account. Because we in the UDF accept this reality, it in no way implies that we are a front for the ANC.

The UDF is a broadly based, non-racial front of over 600 organisations with indisputable support throughout the country. These organisations include trade unions, student, youth, women's groups, cultural, religious, political organisations, sporting bodies, traders association and many others. All these organisations are united in their opposition to apartheid. Some of these organisations have adopted the Freedom Charter while others have emerged from very different traditions. It is therefore incorrect to say that the UDF has adopted the Freedom Charter.

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We in the UDF are deeply committed to peace in our country.  
It is in this spirit that we once again appeal to this  
government to abandon the destructive course upon which  
it is embarking.

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A handwritten symbol consisting of a vertical line with two horizontal strokes crossing it, resembling a stylized hash or a signature.